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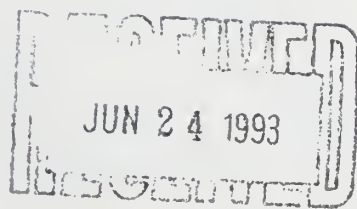
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March 12–September 30, 1783

Paul H. Smith, Editor

Gerard W. Gawalt and Ronald M. Gephart  
Associate Editors

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## Editorial Method and Apparatus

In its treatment of documents this edition of delegate letters strives to achieve a middle ground between facsimile reproduction and thorough modernization. The original spelling and grammar are allowed to stand except where editorial changes or insertions are required to make the text intelligible. Words omitted through oversight, however, have been supplied at appropriate places in italic type in brackets, and obvious slips of the pen and inadvertent repetitions are usually silently corrected. Capitalization and punctuation have been standardized according to certain conventions. Each sentence begins with a capital letter, as do all proper and geographic names as well as days of the week and months of the year. Doubtful cases have been resolved in favor of modern usage; otherwise the usage of the original texts has been followed. Generally, abbreviations, contractions, and monetary signs are preserved as they appear in manuscript except when they are ambiguous or misleading. On the other hand, the thorn and the tilde are consistently expanded. "Ye" always appears as "The," for instance, and "rēcvd" as "received." Likewise, "pr." and tailed *p*'s are always expanded to "per," "pre," or "pro," as the case demands. Finally, superscript letters are always lowered to the line.

Gaps in the text are indicated by ellipses in brackets for missing words and by blank spaces in brackets for missing numbers. Conjectural readings are supplied in roman type in brackets, and editorial insertions in italic type in brackets. Material canceled in manuscript but restored to the printed text is included in italic type in angle brackets ("square parentheses"). Marginalia in letters are treated as postscripts if not obviously keyed to the body of the document, and postscripts which appear without explicit designation are supplied with a *P.S.* in brackets. Documents are arranged chronologically, with more than one document of the same date arranged alphabetically according to writer. Documents dated only by the month or by the year are placed at the end of the respective month or year. Place-and-date lines always appear on the same line with the salutation regardless of their position in the manuscript.

A descriptive note at the foot of each entry provides abbreviations indicating the nature and location of the document when it was copied for this project, except for privately owned manuscripts whose ownership is explained. The descriptive note also contains information on the document's authorship if explanation is necessary, and endorsements or addresses are quoted when they contain more than routine information. Other editorial practices employed in this work are explained in the sections on editorial apparatus which follow.

## TEXTUAL DEVICES

The following devices will be used in this work to clarify the text.

[...], [...]	One or two words missing and not conjecturable.
[...] <sup>1</sup> , [...] <sup>1</sup>	More than two words missing; subjoined footnote estimates amount of material missing.
[ ]	Number or part of a number missing or illegible.
[ ] <sup>1</sup>	Blank space in manuscript; explanation in subjoined footnote.
[roman]	Conjectural reading for missing or illegible matter; question mark inserted if reading is doubtful.
[ <i>italic</i> ]	Editorial insertion in the text.
< <i>italic</i> >	Matter crossed out in manuscript but restored.

## DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in this work to describe the kinds of documents drawn upon. When more than one symbol is used in the descriptive note, the first to appear is that from which the main text is taken.

RC	recipient's copy
FC	file copy
LB	letterbook copy
MS	manuscript
Tr	transcript (used to designate not only contemporary and later handwritten copies of manuscripts, but also printed documents)

## LOCATION SYMBOLS

The following symbols, denoting institutions holding the manuscripts in the present volume, are taken from *Symbols of American Libraries*, 13th ed. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1985). Each volume of this edition will contain a revised list.

CCamarSJ	Saint John's Seminary, Camarillo, Calif.
Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtY	Yale University, New Haven
DLC	Library of Congress
DLC(ESR)	Library of Congress, Early State Records Collection
DNA	National Archives and Records Administration
DeHi	Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington
ICHi	Chicago Historical Society
IHi	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield



InU-Li	Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington
M-Ar	Massachusetts Archives, Boston
MH-BA	Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MSaE	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
MdAA	Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis
MdAN	United States Naval Academy, Annapolis
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
MeHi	Maine Historical Society, Portland
MiDbEI	Edison Institute, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village Library, Dearborn, Mich.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
N	New York State Library, Albany
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
NN	New York Public Library
NNMus	Museum of the City of New York
NNPM	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
NRom	Jervis Library Association, Rome, N.Y.
Nc-Ar	North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh
NcD	Duke University, Durham, N.C.
NhD	Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H.
Nj	New Jersey State Library, Trenton, N.J.
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
NjR	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.
O	Ohio State Library, Columbus
PHC	Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
PHarH	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.
PHI	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
PPIn	Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia
PPPrHi	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia
R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence
RHi	Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence
RPB-JH	John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, R.I.
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence

Vi	Virginia State Library, Richmond
ViHi	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
ViU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville
ViW	College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
VtU	University of Vermont, Burlington
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield)

Adams, John. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*. Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield et al. 4 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1961.

Austin, *Life of Gerry*

Austin, James T. *The Life of Elbridge Gerry, with Contemporary Letters to the Close of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1828–29.

Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*

Balch, Thomas, ed. *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line During the Revolution*. Philadelphia: Printed for the Seventy-Six Society, 1857.

Bartlett, *Records of R.I.*

Bartlett, John A., ed. *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*. Vols. 8–10. Providence: Cooke, Jackson & Co., 1863–65.

*Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*

*A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*. Edited by Edward C. Papenfuss et al. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979–85.

*Bio. Dir. of S.C. House*

*Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*. Edited by Walter B. Edgar et al. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974–.

Bland, *Papers* (Campbell)

Bland, Theodorick. *The Bland Papers*. Edited by Charles Campbell. 2 vols. Petersburg, Va.: Edmund & Julian C. Ruffin, 1840–43.

Blount, *Papers* (Keith)

Blount, John Gray. *The John Gray Blount Papers*. Edited by Alice Keith. Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1952.

Boudinot, *Life and Letters*

Boudinot, J. J. *The Life, Public Services, Addresses, and Letters of Elias Boudinot*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1971.

Burnett, *Letters*

Burnett, Edmund C., ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. 8 vols. Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921–36.

*Cal. of Va. State Papers*

Virginia. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. Edited by William P. Palmer. 11 vols. Richmond: 1875–93; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Corp., 1968.

*Clinton, Papers (Hastings)*

Clinton, George. *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777–1795, 1801–1804*. edited by Hugh Hastings and J. A. Holden. 10 vols. New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co. et al., 1899–1914.

*Collins, Congress at Princeton*

Collins, Varnum L. *The Continental Congress at Princeton*. Princeton, N.J.: The University Library, 1908.

*DAB*

*Dictionary of American Biography*. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone.

*Dict. of N.C. Biog.*

*Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. Edited by William P. Powell. 6 vols. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979–.

*Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783–89*

*The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States of America, from the Signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, 10th September, 1783, to the Adoption of the Constitution, March 4, 1789*. 3 vols. Washington: John C. Rives, 1855.

*DNB*

*Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee.

*Evans, Am. Bibliography*

Evans, Charles. *American Bibliography*. 12 vols. Chicago: Privately printed, 1903–34.

*Hamilton, Papers (Syrett)*

Hamilton, Alexander. *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*. Edited by Harold C. Syrett et al. 26 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961–86.

*Heitman, Historical Register*

Heitman, F. B. *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783*. Washington [Baltimore]: Press of Nichols, Killam & Maffitt, 1893.

*Iredell, Papers (Higginbotham)*

Iredell, James. *The Papers of James Iredell*. 2 vols. Edited by Don Higginbotham. Raleigh, N.C.: Division of Archives and History, 1976.

*JCC*

U.S. Continental Congress. *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*. 34 vols. Edited by Worthington C. Ford and Gaillard Hunt. Washington: Library of Congress, 1904–37.

Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd)

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by Julian P. Boyd et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–.

Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda)

Idzerda, Stanley J. et al., eds. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776–1790*. 5 vols. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977–83.

Livingston, *Papers* (Prince)

Livingston, William. *The Papers of William Livingston*. Edited by Carl E. Prince et al. 5 vols. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979–88.

McRae, *Iredell Correspondence*

McRae, Griffith J. *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States*. 2 vols. New York: Appleton, 1857–58.

Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson)

Madison, James. *The Papers of James Madison*. Edited by William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962–.

Md. Archives

*Archives of Maryland*. Edited by William H. Browne et al. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–.

Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson)

Morris, Robert. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784*. Edited by E. James Ferguson et al. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973–.

N.C. State Records

North Carolina. *The State Records of North Carolina*. Edited by Walter Clark. Vols. 11–16. Winston and Goldsboro, N.C.: N.I. and J.C. Stewart et al., 1895–1914.

N.H. State Papers

New Hampshire. *Provincial and State Papers*. 40 vols. Concord, 1867–1943.

OED

*Oxford English Dictionary*.

Pa. Archives

*Pennsylvania Archives*. 9 series, 119 vols. in 120. Philadelphia: J. Severns & Co., 1852–56; Harrisburg: State Printer, 1874–1935.

Pa. Council Minutes

Pennsylvania. *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from its Organization to the Revolution*. 6 vols. [Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, vols. 11–16]. Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852–53.

PCC

Papers of the Continental Congress. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, D.C.

PMHB

*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

## PRO

Public Record Office. London.

*Report on American Manuscripts*

Great Britain. Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*. 4 vols. 1907; reprint ed., Boston: Gregg Press, 1972.

Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden)

Rodney, Caesar. *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756–1784*. Edited by George H. Ryden. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933.

Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield)

Rush, Benjamin. *Letters of Benjamin Rush*. Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. 2 vols. Princeton: Published for the American Philosophical Society by Princeton University Press, 1951.

Staples, *Rhode Island*

Staples, William R. *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress, 1765–1790*. Providence: Providence Press Co., 1870.

Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick)

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. 39 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931–44.

Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*

Wharton, Francis, ed. *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*. 6 vols. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889.

## WMQ

*William and Mary Quarterly*. 3d series.



## Acknowledgments

This edition began in 1970 as a project of the Library of Congress American Revolution Bicentennial Office, now incorporated into the Library's Manuscript Division as the Historical Publications Office. The Library has had a long tradition of publishing scholarship on the period of the American Revolution. Its monumental edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-37) is a predecessor of the present work and will be a companion to it. The editors wish to thank the Ford Foundation for a substantial gift which has been indispensable to the progress of the edition. Our appreciation is also extended to the innumerable individuals who have contributed to enriching the holdings of the Library of Congress to make it the premier institution for conducting research on the American Revolution.

The photocopies of the more than twenty-two thousand documents that have been collected for this project have been assembled through the cooperation of several hundred institutions and private individuals devoted to preserving the documentary record upon which the history and traditions of the American people rest, and it is to their work that a documentary publication of this nature should ultimately be dedicated. Unfortunately, all the many contributors to this collecting effort cannot be adequately recognized, but for permission to print documents appearing in the present volume we are especially grateful to the following institutions: the American Antiquarian Society, American Philosophical Society, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères (Paris), Archivo General de Indias (Seville), John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Chicago Historical Society, William L. Clements Library, Connecticut Historical Society, Connecticut State Library, James S. Copley Library, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Historical Society of Delaware, Duke University, Essex Institute, Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, Harvard University, Haverford College, Illinois State Historical Library, Independence National Historical Park, Indiana University, Jervis Library Association, Maine Historical Society, Maryland Hall of Records, Maryland Historical Society, Massachusetts Archives Division, Massachusetts Historical Society, Pierpont Morgan Library, Morristown National Historical Park, National Archives and Records Administration, New Jersey Historical Society, New Jersey State Library, New-York Historical Society, Museum of the City of New York, New York Public Library, New York State Library, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Ohio State Li-



brary, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Free Library of Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, Presbyterian Historical Society, Princeton University, Public Record Office (London), Rhode Island Historical Society, Rhode Island State Archives, Rutgers University, Saint John's Seminary, Scottish Record Office (Edinburgh), South Carolina Historical Society, United States Naval Academy, University of Vermont, Virginia Historical Society, Virginia State Library, University of Virginia, College of William and Mary, Windsor Castle Royal Archives, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and Yale University. And in addition we express our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Andrew Fiske, Mr. Ronald von Klaussen, Mr. Herbert Klingelhofer, Mr. Paul H. Smith, Mrs. Elsie O. and Mr. Philip D. Sang, and Mrs. Aileen Moore Topping.

This work has benefitted not only from Edmund C. Burnett's path-finding 8-volume edition of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* but also from the generous cooperation of the editors of several other documentary publications with a common focus on the revolutionary era. From them the Library has borrowed heavily and to them it owes a debt it can never adequately acknowledge. It is a pleasure to give special thanks to the editors of the papers of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Laurens, James Madison, Robert Morris, and George Washington. Finally we owe thanks to the historians who served on the Advisory Committee on the Library's American Revolution Bicentennial Program, and especially to Mr. Julian P. Boyd, Mr. Lyman H. Butterfield, and Mr. Merrill Jensen, who generously acted as an advisory committee for the *Letters* project.

Paul H. Smith  
Historical Publications Office  
Manuscript Division

## Chronology of Congress

MARCH 12–SEPTEMBER 30, 1783

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| March 12 | Receives the preliminary treaty of peace.  |
| 12–15    | Reads treaty and foreign despatches.   |
| 17       | Receives Washington's report on the army crisis at Newburgh.   |
| 18       | Debates report on the public credit.   |
| 19       | Debates proposal to censure ministers for ignoring negotiating instructions.   |
| 20–21    | Debates report on the public credit.   |
| 22       | Adopts resolve to commute Continental officers' half pay for life to full pay for five years.  |
| 24       | Recalls all Continental ships on cruise.   |
| 27–28    | Debates report on the public credit.   |
| 29       | Rejects proposal for increasing congressional oversight of the office of finance.  |
| 31       | Renews committee for overseeing the office of finance.   |
| April 1  | Recommends that states revise formula for setting Continental quotas; learns of call for an economic convention at Hartford; receives invitation to locate Continental capital in Kingston, N.Y. |
| 4        | Orders suspension of enlistments in Continental Army; debates report on the public credit.   |
| 7        | Revises Continental quotas.  |
| 11       | Adopts cease-fire proclamation.  |
| 15       | Ratifies preliminary treaty of peace.  |
| 17       | Orders sale of Continental horses.   |
| 18       | Asks states for authority to levy revenue duties.  |

- 23 Authorizes Washington to discharge Continental troops.
- 24 Directs Washington to confer with Gen. Guy Carleton on the evacuation of New York.
- 26 Adopts Address to the States on new revenue plan.
- 28 Requests Robert Morris to continue as superintendent of finance until the reduction of the Continental Army.
- 30 Rejects motion to hold debates in public.
- May 1 Directs secretary at war to negotiate cease-fire with hostile Indian nations; authorizes American ministers to negotiate treaty of commerce with Great Britain.
- 2 Appeals to states for collection of taxes for payment of discharged troops; recommends that states adopt copyright laws for protection of authors.
- 9 Asks states to convene assemblies to adopt fiscal recommendations.
- 15 Revises rules to appoint committees by secret ballot.
- 19–20 Debates treaty article on restitution of confiscated loyalist property.
- 22 Instructs Francis Dana on negotiating treaty with Russia.
- 26 Instructs American ministers on peace terms concerning evacuation of American posts and carrying off of American slaves; instructs Washington on furloughing Continental troops.
- 29–30 Debates treaty articles on British debts and loyalist property.
- June 2 Appoints Oliver Pollock commercial agent to Cuba.
- 4 Debates Virginia cession of western land claims; refers offers to locate the Continental capital at Kingston, N.Y., or Annapolis, Md., to the states (to be debated October 6).

- 10     Receives report of the mutiny of a troop of Virginia dragoons.
- 11     Directs furlough of Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia troops.
- 12     Instructs American ministers on avoiding treaties of armed neutrality.
- 13     Receives "mutinous memorial" from Continental Army sergeants.
- 17     Commends the conduct of business in the office of finance.
- 19     Receives notice of the mutiny of Continental troops at Carlisle; appoints committee to confer with Pennsylvania officials on the mutiny.
- 20     Debates Virginia cession of western land claims.
- 21     Confronts mutineers of the Pennsylvania Line; authorizes president to reconvene Congress at Trenton or Princeton, N.J.
- 21     President Boudinot issues proclamation reconvening Congress at Princeton.
- 30     Reconvenes at Princeton, N.J.
- July 1     Directs Gen. Robert Howe to suppress mutiny; adopts report explaining congressional response to the mutiny.
- 2     Thanks New Jersey officials for their reception of Congress.
- 9-11     Debates proposals for paying arrears due Continental troops.
- 16     Orders recall of commissioners investigating British embarkations from New York; directs Secretary Thomson to maintain record of unrepresented states.
- 23     Receives Philadelphia address inviting Congress' return.
- 28     Returns noncommittal response to Philadelphia address; directs General Washington to attend Congress; relieves General Howe's detachment ordered to suppress Pennsylvania mutiny.

- 29 Ratifies treaty of amity and commerce with Sweden.
- 30 Directs superintendent of finance to publish regulations for receiving "Morris notes" in payment of taxes.
- August 1 Rejects motion to adjourn to Philadelphia.
- 6 Authorizes distribution of "necessities" to Delaware Indians and friendly "northern nations."
- 7 Orders preparation of "an equestrian statue of the Commander in Chief."
- 9 Authorizes furloughing additional Continental troops and continuation of subsistence for Hazen's Canadian regiment.
- 13-14 Debates motion for returning to Philadelphia.
- 15 Receives proceedings of the court-martial of the Philadelphia mutineers.
- 18 Directs superintendent of finance to report estimate of the Continental debt.
- 26 Conducts audience with General Washington.
- 28 Debates ordinance for prohibiting settlement of Indian lands.
- September 1 Receives Pennsylvania Assembly resolves for returning to Philadelphia.
- 10 Orders renewal of committees to oversee the executive departments.
- 13 Adopts stipulations concerning the cession of Virginia's western land claims; confirms acquittal of leaders of the Philadelphia mutiny.
- 16-19 Debates Massachusetts' call for retrenchment of Continental expenses.
- 22 Adopts proclamation regulating the purchase of Indian lands.
- 24 Adopts secret order authorizing Washington to discharge Continental troops "as he shall deem proper and expedient."

- 25 Reaffirms commitment to commutation of half-pay claims; proclaims treaty with Sweden; debates report on federal jurisdiction over site of congressional residence.
- 29 Lifts injunction of secrecy on most foreign dispatches.
- 30 Promotes Continental officers not promoted since 1777.



## List of Delegates to Congress

This section lists both the dates on which delegates were elected to terms falling within the period covered by this volume and the inclusive dates of their attendance. The former are generally ascertainable from contemporary state records, but the latter are often elusive bits of information derived from the journals of Congress or extrapolated from references contained in the delegates' correspondence, and in many cases the "facts" are inevitably conjectural. It is not possible to determine interruptions in the attendance of many delegates, and no attempt has been made to record interruptions in service caused by illness or brief trips home, especially of delegates from New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania living within easy access of Congress. For occasional references to such periods of intermittent service as survive in the correspondence and notes of various delegates, see the index under individual delegates. Until fuller information is provided in a consolidated summary of delegate attendance in the final volume of this series, the reader is advised to consult Burnett, *Letters*, 7:lxiii–lxxvii for additional information on conjectural dates of attendance. Brief biographical sketches of all the delegates are available in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989*, and fuller sketches of more than half of the delegates can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

### CONNECTICUT

#### *Eliphalet Dyer*

Elected: October 15, 1782

Attended: March 12 to May 29, 1783

#### *Oliver Ellsworth*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Attended: April 1 to July 28? 1783

#### *Benjamin Huntington*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Attended: July 29 to September 30, 1783

#### *Samuel Huntington*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Attended: July 29 to September 30, 1783

#### *Richard Law*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*Stephen Mix Mitchell*

Elected: May 8, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*Jesse Root*

Elected: May 9, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

*Jedediah Strong*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Did not attend Congress

*Oliver Wolcott*

Elected: May 9, 1782; May 8, 1783

Attended: March 12 to April 11? 1783

#### DELAWARE

*Gunning Bedford, Jr.*

Elected: February 1, 1783

Attended: March 12–29?, April 15?–24?, May 30? to June 21, July 9?–11?, September 22?–30, 1783

*Eleazer McComb*

Elected: February 1, 1783

Attended: March 12 to April 4, April 14–30, May 26 to July 18, July 21 to August 2, 1783

*Caesar Rodney*

Elected: February 1, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*James Tilton*

Elected: February 1, 1783

Attended: September 22–30, 1783

#### GEORGIA

*William Few*

Elected: January 9, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

*Noble Wimberly Jones*

Elected: January 9, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

*Edward Telfair*

Elected: January 9, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

#### MARYLAND

*Daniel Carroll*

Elected: November 27, 1782

Attended: March 12 to May 23, August 7 to September 30, 1783

*Edward Giles*

Elected: November 27, 1782

Did not attend Congress

*William Hemsley*

Elected: November 27, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 1?, April 21 to May 6?, May 12-23? 1783

*Thomas Johnson*

Elected: May 12, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*Thomas Sim Lee*

Elected: November 27, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 22? 1783

*James McHenry*

Elected: May 12, 1783

Attended: June 11 to August 14?, August 27? to September 19?, September 29?-30, 1783

## MASSACHUSETTS

*Tristram Dalton*

Elected: June 27, 1783

Did not attend Congress

*Timothy Danielson*

Elected: June 28, 1783

Did not attend Congress

*Elbridge Gerry*

Elected: June 6, 1782; June 27, 1783

Attended: August 14 to September 30, 1783

*Nathaniel Gorham*

Elected: October 24, 1782

Attended: March 12 to June 21, 1783

*Stephen Higginson*

Elected: October 24, 1782

Attended: March 12 to September 20, 1783

*Samuel Holten*

Elected: October 24, 1782

Attended: March 12 to September 30, 1783

*Samuel Osgood*

Elected: June 6, 1782; July 9, 1783

Attended: March 12 to April 30? 1783

*George Partridge*

Elected: June 6, 1782; June 28, 1783

Did not attend March to September 1783

*James Sullivan*

Elected: June 28, 1783

Did not attend Congress

*James Warren*

Elected: October 24, 1782

Did not attend Congress

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE

*Josiah Bartlett*

Elected: February 26, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*Jonathan Blanchard*

Elected: February 28, 1783

Declined

*Nathaniel Folsom*

Elected: February 19, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*Abiel Foster*

Elected: February 19, 1783

Attended: July 29 to September 30, 1783

*John Taylor Gilman*

Elected: September 14, 1782

Attended: March 12–31, 1783

*Ebenezer Thompson*

Elected: February 27, 1783

Did not attend Congress

*Phillips White*

Elected: September 13, 1782

Attended: March 12 to May 19? 1783

#### NEW JERSEY

*Elias Boudinot*

Elected: October 30, 1782

Attended: March 12 to September 5, September 13–30, 1783

*Abraham Clark*

Elected: October 30, 1782

Attended: March 12 to August 19?, September 13–30, 1783

*Silas Condict*

Elected: October 30, 1782

Attended: March 12–22?, April 17 to May 7?, May 30? to August 27?,  
September 16?–30, 1783

*Jonathan Elmer*

Elected: October 30, 1782

Did not attend March to September 1783

*Frederick Frelinghuysen*

Elected: October 30, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

## NEW YORK

*James Duane*

Elected: July 22, 1782

Attended: July 16 to September 30, 1783

*William Floyd*

Elected: July 22, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 24? 1783

*Alexander Hamilton*

Elected: July 22, 1782

Attended: March 12 to July 29, 1783

*Ezra L'Hommedieu*

Elected: July 22, 1782

Attended: August 7 to September 30, 1783

*John Morin Scott*

Elected: July 22, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

## NORTH CAROLINA

*William Blount*

Elected: May 3, 1782

Did not attend March to September 1783

*Benjamin Hawkins*

Elected: May 3, 1782; April 25, 1783

Attended: March 12 to September 30, 1783

*Abner Nash*

Elected: May 3, 1782; April 25, 1783

Did not attend March to September 1783

*Richard Dobbs Spaight*

Elected: April 25, 1783

Did not attend March to September 1783

*Hugh Williamson*

Elected: May 3, 1782; April 25, 1783

Attended: March 12 to September 30, 1783

## PENNSYLVANIA

*Thomas FitzSimons*

Elected: November 12, 1782

Attended: March 12 to May 7?, May 19? to July 11?, August 7?, September 11-13, 17-29? 1783

*Thomas Mifflin*

Elected: November 12, 1782

Attended: March 28?-31, April 11?-24?, May 7?-30? 1783

*John Montgomery*

Elected: November 12, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 1, May 8 to August 14, August 27? to September 30, 1783

*Richard Peters*

Elected: November 12, 1782

Attended: March 12–22?, April 1? to May 5, May 12? to June 21, July 15? to August 14, August 27? to September 13?, September 25?–30, 1783

*James Wilson*

Elected: November 12, 1782

Attended: March 12–21?, April 7? to May 12?, May 23 to June 21, August 7 to September 5? 1783

## RHODE ISLAND

*Jonathan Arnold*

Elected: May 1, 1782; May 7, 1783

Attended: March 12 to July 11? 1783

*John Collins*

Elected: May 1, 1782

Attended: March 12 to June 21, 1783

*Ezekiel Cornell*

Elected: May 1, 1782

Did not attend in 1783

*William Ellery*

Elected: May 7, 1783

Attended: June 30 to September 30, 1783

*David Howell*

Elected: May 1, 1782; May 7, 1783

Attended: July 23 to September 30, 1783

*Henry Marchant*

Elected: May 7, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

## SOUTH CAROLINA

*Richard Beresford*

Elected: March 15, 1783

Attended: May 30 to June 21?, July 26 to September 18, September 25?–30, 1783

*John Lewis Gervais*

Elected: January 31, 1782

Attended: March 18–29?, April 7, April 15 to May 30? 1783

*Ralph Izard*

Elected: February 12, 1783

Attended: March 12 to August 19?, September 5?–11? 1783



*Henry Laurens*

Elected: February 13, 1783

Did not attend in 1783

*David Ramsay*

Elected: January 31, 1782

Attended: March 12–17?, March 28 to April 2, 1783

*Jacob Read*

Elected: February 12, 1783

Attended: June 17 to August 14?, August 25? to September 20?, September 25?–30, 1783

*John Rutledge*

Elected: February 13, 1783

Attended: March 12 to June 21?, September 8–13? 1783

*Thomas Sumter*

Elected: February 12, 1783

Declined

## VIRGINIA

*Theodorick Bland*

Elected: June 15, 1782

Attended: March 12 to July 11?, July 29? to September 19, September 25–30, 1783

*Joseph Jones*

Elected: June 15, 1782

Attended: March 12–18?, March 24 to May 5?, August 27? to September 4, September 13–22? 1783

*Arthur Lee*

Elected: June 15, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 1, April 23 to May 12, July 16 to September 19, September 25?–30, 1783

*James Madison*

Elected: June 15, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 26, May 5 to June 21, July 1–4?, July 22–26, August 27? to September 4, September 13–25, 1783

*John Francis Mercer*

Elected: December 18, 1782

Attended: March 12 to April 11?, April 18 to July 11?, August 7?–9?, August 14? to September 13?, September 18?–30, 1783

## Illustrations

### Map of New Jersey

endpapers

"A Sketch of the Northern Parts of New Jersey, Copied from the Original by Lieut. J[ohn] Hills, 23d Regt., 1781." This lower right-hand quadrant of Hills' pen-and-ink sketch is bisected by the road from Trenton on the Delaware River to Brunswick on the Raritan. "Kingstown" (Princeton) and its College, where Congress met from July to November 1783, is located on the road north from Trenton nearly midway to Brunswick at the top of this detail.

Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. G3810.1781. H5Hills15.

### Gunning Bedford, Jr.

77

Bedford (1747–1812), of Wilmington, Del., was born in Philadelphia, graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1771, studied law and was admitted to the Delaware bar in 1779. He was elected to three terms as a delegate to Congress, served as Delaware attorney general from 1784 to 1789, and attended the Constitutional convention in Philadelphia in 1787. He was also elected to the Delaware Senate in 1788 and was appointed a federal judge in 1789, a position he held until his death. Bedford's service in Congress covered the period March 1783 to September 1785. He first took his seat just two days before the arrival of news of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace in Paris and consequently became involved in the congressional debate over its negotiation and terms. And as he was present during the early debates over the invitations of New York and Maryland to locate the federal capital at Kingston or Annapolis, he urged his constituents to enter the competition by proposing a location for Congress in Delaware.

Engraving by Albert Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62-54665.

### William Hemsley

104

Hemsley (1737–1812), a Queen Anne's County, Md., planter, became provincial treasurer of Eastern Shore, Md., in 1773 and colonel of militia and justice of the peace of Queen Anne's County in 1779. He was elected to the Maryland house in 1778 and the senate 1779–84 and 1786–91. A delegate to Congress in 1782–83, Hemsley was in Philadelphia at the arrival of the preliminary treaty of peace and sup-

ported its immediate ratification to ensure that a cease-fire and revival of trade quickly followed. He also participated in the debate on the new revenue plan adopted in April to help meet the needs of the Continental Army, but he opposed the reimbursement of states for military expenses incurred during the war without prior authorization of Congress. And as a large slaveholder himself, Hemsley joined the Maryland delegates in a demand that the British be prohibited from carrying away "negroes or other property" upon the evacuation of American ports, a prohibition specified in the peace treaty.

Engraving by Max Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62-54679.

## Eleazer McComb

290

McComb (ca. 1740–98), a Dover, Del., merchant and captain of Delaware militia during the revolution, was elected to the Delaware Council in 1779, and a delegate to Congress in 1783. McComb was also an entrepreneur who in 1785 proposed the chartering of a bank in the state and participated in a 1786 conference on the building of a Chesapeake and Delaware canal. He served as Delaware auditor of accounts, 1787–93, ultimately becoming a director of the Bank of Delaware in 1796. In Congress McComb was particularly concerned that Wilmington should offer Congress a site for the location of the federal capital, and although he initially regretted Congress' departure from Philadelphia in June 1783 he eventually became opposed to Congress' return to the Pennsylvania capital. He participated in the debates over the terms of the preliminary peace treaty, especially those concerning the return of confiscated loyalist property and the collection of prewar debts, and had a lively interest in Congress' acceptance of Virginia's western lands cession. McComb's death in October 1798 followed by five weeks that of his wife, Lydia Irons McComb, during the great yellow fever epidemic of that year.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy, The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. Gift of H. Rodney Sharp.

## Benjamin Hawkins

363

Hawkins (1754–1818) was born in North Carolina, was educated at the College of New Jersey, and because of his facility with languages was employed as an interpreter at General Washington's headquarters early in the war. After seeing action at the Battle of Monmouth, he returned to North Carolina and undertook a mission to St. Eustatia to obtain military supplies. He served in the North Carolina Assembly in 1778–79 and 1784, and was elected a delegate to Congress, 1781–83 and 1787. He was a delegate to the second North Carolina convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1789, and was elected to the first United States Senate. He also served as United States com-

missioner to treat with the southern Indians in 1785–86, and when his term as senator expired Washington appointed him agent to the southern Indian nations in 1796, a post he held until his death. During his 1783 term in Congress, Hawkins was particularly concerned with the terms of the treaty of peace and the postwar trade of the United States with Europe, and as a witness to the Philadelphia mutiny of June 1783 was incensed at the failure of Pennsylvania officials to protect the Continental government.

Engraving by Max Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62–54678.

## Nassau Hall

384

Nassau Hall, Princeton, the home of the College of New Jersey, was the site of congressional deliberations from June 30 to November 4, 1783, following the flight of Congress from Philadelphia in the aftermath of the June 21 mutiny of Continental troops. A three-story structure measuring 176 by 54 feet and consisting of 49 rooms, Nassau Hall had been damaged by the occupation of British troops in December 1776 and by American artillery during the battle of Princeton, January 3, 1777. It had also served as a Continental Army hospital from October 1777 to November 1778. Speculation that Congress actually assembled at "Prospect," the home of Col. George Morgan, rather than at Nassau Hall for its first three sessions in Princeton can now be dismissed on the basis of information contained in the June 30, 1783, letter of Secretary Charles Thomson to his wife Hannah printed in this volume.

Engraving by Henry Dawkins from a drawing by W. Tennant. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62–2177.

## James McHenry

424

McHenry (1753–1816) was born in County Antrim, Ireland, educated in Dublin, emigrated to Philadelphia in 1771, and studied medicine with Dr. Benjamin Rush. He volunteered for military service at the outbreak of the revolution, was appointed to the hospital staff at Cambridge in 1776, and became surgeon of the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion before its capture with the fall of Fort Washington in November 1776. Upon his exchange in May 1778 McHenry was appointed secretary to General Washington, and he subsequently served on Lafayette's staff in 1780–81. A partner in the mercantile firm formed by his father Daniel and brother John in Baltimore, McHenry established residence there before the end of the war and was elected to the Maryland Senate, 1781–86, 1791–96. He also served as a Maryland delegate to Congress, 1783–85, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, in the Maryland Assembly, 1787–91, and as Washington's and John Adams' secretary of war, 1796–1800. His courtship of and marriage to Margaret Caldwell of Philadelphia in January 1784 while serving in Congress is

well documented in this and the following volume and forms a large part of his surviving delegate correspondence.

Mezzotint by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62-64713.

Richard Peters

458

Peters (1744–1828) was born at his family's seat "Belmont" near Philadelphia, graduated from the College of Philadelphia, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1763. He served as Pennsylvania commissioner to the Indian conference at Fort Stanwix in 1768, served as the state's register of admiralty, 1771–76, and was elected secretary to the Continental board of war in June 1776. The following year he became a regular member of the board, a post he occupied until December 1781 when it was superceded by the newly created war office. He was a delegate to Congress, 1782–83, and a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1787–90, serving two terms as speaker. After a term in the Pennsylvania Senate, he was appointed judge of the United States district court of Pennsylvania, a post he held until his death. The central events of Peters' congressional career were the Philadelphia mutiny and Congress' flight to Princeton in June 1783, but his repeated appeals to congressional colleagues to return to the Pennsylvania capital fell on deaf ears. Reflecting his continuing interest in military issues, which developed during his tenure on the board of war, was his attention to such concerns as the half-pay claims of Continental officers and the postwar army establishment, which loomed large in his correspondence with leading officers such as major generals Horatio Gates, Arthur St. Clair, Baron Steuben, and Anthony Wayne.

Painting by Rembrandt Peale. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, John W. and Eliza W. Field Collection.

Alexander Hamilton

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Hamilton (1755–1804) was born in the British West Indies, migrated to New York in 1772, was educated at King's College, and became a captain of New York artillery in the Continental Army in 1776. He served as aide-de-camp to General Washington, 1777–81, commanded a battalion at the battle of Yorktown, and was elected to represent New York in Congress in 1782, having won attention by the incisiveness of his correspondence and political writings during the war. Entering Congress at a critical moment of collapsing Continental authority and finances, Hamilton became strongly identified with initiatives to energize the federal government, such as the impost amendment, and was a confidant of Washington during the Newburgh crisis. As chairman of the committee for dealing with the Philadelphia mutiny of June 1783, Hamilton played a key role in the decision of Congress to adjourn to Princeton, after which he drafted a lengthy



proposal for amending the Articles of Confederation and a detailed explanation of the congressional response to the mutiny. Although he returned to Congress briefly in 1788, Hamilton subsequently turned his energies to the practice of law and the movement for reforming the federal government which led to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and the ratification of the Constitution in 1788. And as Washington's secretary of the treasury from 1789 to 1795, he indelibly marked national fiscal policy during the new nation's most critical years. His life came to an untimely end in July 1804 as a consequence of his celebrated duel with vice president Aaron Burr.

Painting by John Trumbull. National Gallery of Art.

### John Francis Mercer

656

Mercer (1759–1821), of Stafford County, Va., and half-brother of James Mercer, who was 23 years his senior, received his education at the College of William and Mary, although he left at age 17 to enlist as lieutenant in the 3d Virginia Regiment. He became aide-de-camp to Gen. Charles Lee, whose court-martial after the battle of Monmouth prompted Mercer's resignation. He returned to the military in 1779, however, as a lieutenant colonel in Col. James Monroe's Regiment of the Virginia State Line and in 1780–81 joined Gen. Robert Lawson's Virginia militia regiment until the conclusion of the battle of Yorktown. During intervals in his military service, Mercer studied law under the direction of Thomas Jefferson, and practiced briefly at Fredericksburg before his election in 1782 to the Virginia House of Delegates and in 1783–84 to the Continental Congress. During his career in Congress, the young and impressionable Mercer witnessed a succession of dramatic events—disbandment of an unpaid army, mutiny in Philadelphia, and the flight of Congress to Princeton—that caused him temporarily to abandon his localist views in favor of a strong union, which he articulated in two remarkable pseudonymous "North American" essays. In 1785 Mercer married Sophia Sprigg of Maryland and though he moved to her Anne Arundel County estate Cedar Park he served again in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1785–86. Subsequently Mercer was a Maryland delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, from which he abruptly withdrew, opposing the Constitution in the Maryland ratifying convention. He served in the Maryland House of Delegates in 1788–89, 1791–92, 1800–1801, and 1803–6, in the United States Congress, 1792–94, and as governor of Maryland, 1801–3.

Engraving by Albert Rosenthal. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. LC-USZ62-48108.

### Arthur Lee

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Lee (1740–92), a member of a famous Virginia family, was a brother of two signers of the Declaration of Independence, Francis Lightfoot

and Richard Henry, and of the American commissioner to Austria and Prussia, William. He was educated in England and at the University of Edinburgh, where he received a medical degree in 1764, but after practicing in Virginia briefly he returned to London and took up his pen against the policies of the British ministry. He flourished in the arena of the city's radical politics, and served as Massachusetts' agent in London. At the outbreak of war in America he went to Paris where he served as a secret commercial agent for Congress under the direction of the Committee for Secret Correspondence. In this work he joined Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin, but he soon became estranged from his colleagues and eventually accused both of fraud and neglect of duty. From Paris Lee also undertook abortive missions to Madrid and Berlin in 1777 and, after leveling serious charges against Deane, returned to America in 1780. He was a member of the Virginia Assembly in 1781–83 and 1785–86, a delegate to Congress, 1782–84, commissioner of Indian affairs, 1784–85, and commissioner of the United States treasury board, 1785–89, and he actively opposed the adoption of the federal constitution. Lee never married and died at his Lansdowne estate in Middlesex County, Va., in 1792. In Congress Lee was a vigorous defender of his state's western land interests, though often aligned against his Virginia colleagues Joseph Jones, James Madison, and Edmund Randolph; and his obsession with the presumed malfeasance of Deane, Franklin, and superintendent of finance Robert Morris colored his relations with all his congressional colleagues.

Painting by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park.





LETTERS OF DELEGATES  
20  
March 12-  
September 30, 1783  
TO CONGRESS



## Gunning Bedford, Jr., to Nicholas Van Dyke

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia March 12th. 1783.

I take the earliest opportunity of communicating the intelligence brought by Capt Barney. He brings us the preliminaries as settled between us & Britain, & which are to make a part of the definitive treaty when finished between the belligerent powers.<sup>1</sup> They acknowledge the Independance of the States—have bounded Nova Scotia & Canada agreeable to the treaty of Paris, give us a line from thence through all the northern lakes from thence to the head waters of the Massacipi, then down the waters of that river to Florida & then to the sea coast including all the isles within twenty leagues of our coast. This gives us a vast extent of country back not included within any of our States, names to us the navigation of those great lakes & of the fine river Massacipi, which we are to enjoy in common with them. We are to have equal priviledges in the fisheries, to take & cure fish on the uninhabited isles as usual, but if on the lands in a territory of either, the permission of the inhabitants to be obtained. All old Debts contracted before the war on either side to be paid. And our commissioners agree that Congress shall recommend to the different States to repeal their confiscatory laws, & to permit the offenders to come in & purchase of the holders by paying the real value of the consideration, they had paid for the property—that the property of British residents should also be restored, & that all others have the priviledge of staying one year to settle their affairs—that no more confiscations shall be made & no further prosecutions for offences hitherto committed. The whole of this you will observe is but a recommendation, which the wisdom of each State will not hesitate to reject, & only consented to, to gratify in appearance the foolish pride of Britain. The preliminaries give satisfaction, & come up to the full wish of every American. We had rather the mention of refugees had been omitted, but in fact it amounts to nothing as it stands, & is a mere finess to avoid doing any thing for them.

Barney has a letter from Franklin as late as the 6th Jany. He left France the 17th Jany & his dispatches were made up the 1st & 14th Decemr. the Preliminaries signed the 30th Novr.<sup>2</sup> In Franklins letter to Barney he sais the negotiations seem further from a conclusion than they expected. The Count De Vergennes in his letter to Franklin inclosing dispatches to the French Minister here, sais that he still rather hopes that the Definitive treaty will be compleated.<sup>3</sup>

By all these you will find a peace still doubtful, & our hopes & fears not yet satisfied.

Should tomorrows papers produce anything, I will send them to you; if the Preliminaries should not be published I will copy them & send them down.

I am in great haste, with [...]ments to the family, Your most [...] hble servt,  
Gunning Bedford junr

RC (DeHi: Richard S. Rodney Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See also Elias Boudinot to George Washington, and James Madison's Notes of Debates, this date.

<sup>2</sup> The articles of the preliminary peace treaty agreed to by the American and British commissioners on November 30, 1782, are in *JCC*, 24:243–51.

<sup>3</sup> Vergennes had informed Franklin on December 25 that a French treaty with Britain was "far distant as yet." "It will be well," he went on to explain, "for you to advise Congress to be on their guard against anything that may happen. I do not despair, I rather hope; but everything is as yet uncertain." Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:168.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Sr.

Philadelphia March 12th 1783

I Sieze the first Moment to convey to you by Express the Authentic news of the Preliminaries of the Peace having been Signed at Paris the 30th of Novr. 1782 by the American Ministers Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jay & Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Oswald on the Part of the King of great Britain—they consist of nine Articles the Chief of which are a full acknowledgment of our Independence, our Boundaries (which are sufficiently extensive), the Right of fishing &c. &c. &c. which are all to make part of the difinitive treaty of Peace when Signed. I have not time to be more particular and am with the Sincerest wishes for yr Happiness, and congratulation on this Happy event.

Yr. Most obedt. & affecte. Servt.

Theok. Bland Jr.

[P.S.] The news arrived by the Washington Packet, Capt. Barney, this morning with a British Passport.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia March 12th 1783

Your Favour with the garden Seed per Post came safe. I am sorry that you suffered so much about your Daughter, tho' as she was taken very violently, and the Doctor seemed so much alarmed, that I

thought right to let you know the Truth. The great bleeding had a great & good Effect, and she is now quite recovered, tho' she looks thin & pale. She sends her Love. Hanny has got her at last with a Mistress of the best Character that takes but 12 Scholars. Not a word of News. You have the Papers enclosed. I am not very doubtful about a Peace. I think the Delay is a favourable Symptom and can scarcely expect official Intelligence till between the 15th & 20th of this Month.

Hanny joins me in Love to Mrs. P. & all Friends. Am Dr Sir, Yours Affectly. EB

March 12th 1783. Since writing the above, Capt. Barney has arrived. He left L'Orient the 17th Janry. His last despatches is dated 25th Decr. 1782. He brings the preliminaries of Peace signed the 30th Novr. They consist of 9 Articles 1st. acknowledgmt of Independence. 2d. Boundaries of united States, full & clear. 3d free right to Fisheries. 4th Creditors on either side to recover all just Debts. 5th. Congress to recommend to the States the restoration of all Confiscated Property, belonging to british Subjects who have not taken arms—and to all others on their paying the bona fide purchase Money that the Possessors gave for them. 6th No future prosecutions for Crimes and all now on foot to be discontinued. 7th a Firm Peace & Hostilities to cease in plundering—all american Artillery to be left—all archives, Deeds, Papers &c to be restored. 8th Navigation of Mississippi to be free to both Nations. 9th Any Place conquered after the date of Articles to be restored. As I have sketched this off as I was reading, do not suffer a Copy to be taken, but you may communicate the Contents generally.

These Articles are not to be in Force untill a Treaty between France & GB. is perfected, which is in great forwardness.

Capt. Barney Came with a british Passport.

Am in the greatest Haste & Hurry,

Yours &c

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir, Philadelphia 12th March 1783, 3 O'Clock. P.M.

The arrival of Captain Barney this morning creates so great a field for the circulation of reports agreeably to the complexion of the Reporter, that I have thought it not amiss to inform your Excellency of the substance of his dispatches, tho' you may perhaps receive it from other hands.

He left L'Orient the 17th of January last. His latest dispatches are dated the 25th December. The Preliminaries between America and

Great Britain were signed the 30th of November and contain nine articles, in substance as follows.<sup>1</sup>

1st. The acknowledgment of our Independence and the relinquishment of all rights, Claims &c. over us.

2dly. The Boundaries of the United States very Consonant to our Claim.

3d. A full and free right to the fisheries, with liberty to take fish on the several shores &c.

4. Creditors, on either side, to recover their just debts.

5. Congress to recommend the restoration of confiscated estates to British subjects, who have not born arms, and all others to be suffered to endeavour to prevail on the States to restore their property on their paying the *bona fide* purchase money paid by the Possessor. This indulgence to last 12 Months.

6th. No future prosecution for any past crimes and all present prosecutions to cease.

7. A firm peace, and hostilities to cease, on signing the Treaty. No plundering on the evacuation of Posts. All American Artillery to be left. All Prisoners of War to be set at liberty. All Archives, Deeds and papers taken by British Officers to be returned.

8. Navigation of Mississippi to be left open for both Nations.

9. Any place conquered by either party after the Articles shall arrive in America to be returned.

As I have sketched out the substance of these Articles from hearing them read amidst a variety of papers and while attending to the duty of my office in Congress, your Excellency will see the impropriety of depending greatly on their accuracy or suffering them to be made public.

The preliminaries are to take place on the Treaty between France and Great Britain being perfected, the principal articles of which were agreed on, and the negociation was going on when Capt. Barney left France, but not finished; and the Minister writes, that he *rather thinks* they will be soon finished.

I have the honor to inclose a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette,<sup>2</sup> which came under cover to me, requesting it to be sent by an Officer.

Your Excellency will be so kind as to excuse the extreme haste of this Scrawl, as the time obliges me to the greatest hurry.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Your Excellency's Most obedt. & very humb. Servt,

Elias Boudinot

P.S. Capt. Barney came under the protection of a British Passport.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Washington also received "the substance of these Articles" this date from the secretary for foreign affairs, Robert R. Livingston, who in addition sent him the complete texts of articles 5 and 6 of the preliminary treaty. Washington Papers, DLC.

<sup>2</sup> Lafayette's December 4, 1782, letter to Washington is in Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 5:72-74.

## Daniel Carroll to Unknown

Dr. Sr.

Pha. March 12th. 1783

It is some[time] Since I receivd your favor respecting Mr Jefferson. I have been in daily expectation, of hearing something agreeable, at least conclusive, on the important object you are so properly anxious about. Capt. Barney ariv'd here this morning from France—he left L'Orient the 17th of Jany with a British passport, & some money & brought dispatches for Congress they have not all been yet read. The latest I can at present inform you of are under the 25th of Decr. at Paris.

We have sent by express the provis[iona]l articles signd between our Comrs. & Mr Oswald the 30th of Novr.

The Substance (for I have not to make a fair copy for the Executive) are—Boundaries restricting Canada to the articles of peace in 1763—or nearly—Fishing allowed under moderate restrictions—Refugees to depend on the Assemblies of the several States—British debts to be dischargd—Navigation of Mississippi free—our Independence fully acknowledgd.

By the letter of the 25th of Decr. there were some apprehensions, that matters between the other powers woud not be very soon concluded, but the hopes & expectations on the contrary was most prevalent. France had made some progress in their Negotiation, but Spain & Holland little.

The King of Sweden had given powers to his Minister at Versailles to treat with Doctr. Franklin on a treaty of Amity & Commerce. I beg my respectful Comps to yr. Lady, & that you will believe me, Dr. Sr, with great esteem & regard, Yr Most Ob Sert,

Danl Carroll <sup>1</sup>

[P.S.] Mesrs. Wm Smith & ca can inform you more particularly.

RC (MiDbEl: Americana Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Carroll also wrote the following brief letter this day to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer: "I wrote you by post [*i.e.*, *March 11th*] that Mr. MacClanaghan had promis'd to pay me £75. I call'd upon him at the time appointed, but he was not at home, nor have I heard from him since.

"I must refer you to the joint Letter from the Delegates by express to the G[overnor] & C[ouncil] on the subject of dispatches receivd." Red Books, 10:41, MdAA.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia March 12th 1783

I have but a moments time to Inform you that Capt Barney in a Congress Packet arrived this morning from France under a British passport with Dispatches from our Ministers there the latest date of



the 23d Decembr by which we are fully Informed of the Preliminary & other articles of Peace Between Great Britain & the United States of America are mutually agreed to and signed, tho not to take Effect till the Negotiation is fully settled with France which is expected would soon be Accomplishd that is in the Course of the Winter. Many articles between Great Britain & France were agreed to, others remaind Undetermined, tho still in Agitation, in General those agreed upon between Great Britain & France may be acceptable, tho possibly not every thing as we could Wish. I conclude they will in a Very few days be Communicated to the respective States, but at present as they are now in reading in Congress they cannot be Communicated. Indeed if I should attempt it might be Very Uncertain & Imperfect, on memory & catchd up in hast & while other Communications are in reading, therefore as the post hour is near at hand Am Confined to this short Sketch & am with great respect & Esteem Yr Excells most obedt hle Servt,

Elipht Dyer

RC (CtHi: Jonathan Trumbull Jr., Papers).

## William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, March 12th, 1783

Congress have for some time past been employed in endeavoring to restore public credit, and to fall on some plan for doing justice to, and satisfying of our Army. And as it is not possible to obtain a sufficient sum of money in any reasonable time to answer the above purposes, it is concluded that there is no mode in the power of Congress, and the several States, but only to establish funds that will be adequate to the payment of the interest of all debts due from the United States.

What will be the most proper articles to recommend to the States, on which to lay duties is now before us. Many things have been proposed, and many objections to each of them have been stated, and finally what we shall agree to, I am not able to even conjecture, (except that the impost of 5 per cent with a little variation, from what it was before, I believe will be one).

We have had under consideration at the request from the Army a commutation for their half pay after the war;<sup>1</sup> we yesterday had the question after many days being spent thereon; it was lost by the vote of one single person: but I believe that it is a matter of so much consequence to the Army, that the person (after consideration) will bring on the matter again and give his assent to it; in that case it will be carried by nine States.<sup>2</sup> And if the Army agree to accept it, it will be



funded and the interest yearly paid if the States will make the provision for that purpose, which I expect we shall soon recommend.

I have for some time past been in hopes that I should have been able before this day to have congratulated your Excellency that a happy peace was actually concluded; but we are still in suspense, no news from Europe for this long time; what the difficulties are which prevents it, we are entirely at a loss.

By Mr. Shattuck we rec'd Colo. Hay's order on Mr. Parker, which is accepted, and which I suppose will soon be paid; it is for two hundred pounds for Colo. Hamilton and myself; as I do not expect any more money from the State, I shall continue here as long as this will last, with what I have of my own, which will be but a few days longer. I hope, therefore, that one of my colleagues will soon come on to take my place.

From your Excellency's most obedt. and humble Servt.

Wm. Floyd.

[P.S.] Since writing the above this morning our packet, the Ship Washington, Capt. Barney, is arrived here; he has brought us letters as late as 25 Dec'ber—the General Peace not concluded, but in a fair train. We have rec'd the Articles between Great Britain and America—to take place when France agrees to a peace. I cannot mention particulars at present, but in general the Articles of our peace are favorable excepting one which I do not like: but it was not to be avoided. But I believe it will not work much to our disadvantage. I hope in my next I shall be able to be more particular. He did not sail from France till the 17th January; peace was not finished then; the negotiations were going on.

The post is now going, and I have not a moment; from, &c.

Wm. Floyd

Tr (MH-H: Jared Sparks Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 10 and 11, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The lone dissenter was Eliphalet Dyer, who eventually explained his decision to support the measure, as Floyd predicted, in a long letter to Connecticut governor Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., of April 12, 1783. His performance at this time and the pressure brought on him to reverse his stand is also explained in the following March 15 letter from Gen. Alexander McDougall to Gen. Henry Knox.

"The tenth Instant all the States but Georgia were represented in Congress. Before the arrival of the Delegates from Delaware, there had been several Divisions on the question of the Commutation; on the last, seven States were for it, Connecticut divided, Jersey, Rhode Island and New Hampshire were against it. Colonel Dyer who was the Connecticut Member who dissented, assured Congress, myself and others, that when Delaware came up, if they should be for the measure, he would vote for the question; so that Connecticut and Delaware would compleat Nine States. It is a rule of the house, that when a question is lost, it cannot be called up for reconsideration but on the motion of a member who was for the Negative. When the Delaware Members arrived, Colonel Dyer moved to have the Report of the Committee for commuting the half pay re-committed: which was accordingly done: and brought in the 10th instant, when to the

astonishment of Congress, *he voted against it*, and lost us the question, there being eight States for it; those for the Negative the same as on the last Division. The only Reason he could assign for this extraordinary Conduct was that *all* the Officers of the Army should accept of the Commutation to render it obligatory on the States; the Report *confined it only to Lines*. It is easy to conceive his mode is utterly impracticable, because however desirous the Officers may be to give their assent, it is impossible now to get them collected for the purpose; and the dissent or non appearance of one Officer would defeat the whole System, which possibly may be his intention. For if he really wished the Commutation to be settled, he would not oppose it on such futile Ground, as five years is near a whole year short of an equivalent for the half pay. It is not known when Georgia will be represented, for Congress have no advice from that State. The Representation is now fuller than common; but if one State whose delegation is for the Commutation should become unrepresented, by sickness or other accident, the prospect of settling it, is very distant; and such Contingencies may daily be expected; as several of those States are represented by two Members only. But if nothing of that kind should take place for some time, I have very little hope of Colo. Dyers being brought to vote for the question, although several Gentlemen think otherwise. This is a State of our prospects.

"I shall however wait on him once more, to endeavour to convince him of the impracticable Nature of his opinion and tell him in plain terms, in what light the Army and all honest Men must consider his Conduct, if he persists in it. If I fail of Success, I shall return to the Army the latter end of this Month; for I shall then have no hope of accomplishing the end of my Mission. The last intelligence from Europe is contain'd in the Newspapers which accompanies this." Knox Papers, MHI.

## John Taylor Gilman to Meshech Weare

Sir

Philada. March 12th. 83.

This Morning Capt. Barney (in the Continental Packett Washington) Arrived here from L'Orient which place he left the 17th January. He had a Passport Signed by the British King. Congress have sundry dispatches by him, some of which have been read, others are Decyphering &c.—have the Preliminary Articles which were Signed Novr. 30th by Mr. Oswald on the part of the British King, Messrs. Adams, Franklin, Jay & Laurens on the part of the U.S and which are to be inserted in the General Treaty for Peace, when the same shall be agreed to.

The Articles respecting the Boundaries of the United States & that respecting the right of Fishery, are Ample & I believe Equal to the most Sanguine Expectation. These Two very Important Articles are highly pleasing, as are most of the others.

Preliminaries between the other Belligerent powers are proceeding in but their are some Obstructions in the way, and it is Uncertain when a Genl. peace will take place, tho. hope the time is not far distant.

It is probable Congress will direct some Official Communications to be made to the several States of these dispatches though it cannot be done this day.

Want of time prevents me from writing further.

I have the Honor to be. Your most Hum servt.

John Taylor Gilman

P.S. Please to inform Collo. Bartlett, that I have recd. his Letter of the 14th Ultimo. Want of time prevents my Answering it this Post.

RC (MHi: Weare Papers).

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear Sir

Philada. 12th March 1783.

A few hours since, Congress recd. from our Commissioners the articles agreed upon between them & the Minister appointed by the King of G.B. to negotiate a peace. They are to take place as soon as the genl. Peace is concluded between England & France; the articles in ful or in part will be communicated to the several states as soon as Congress has determined the propriety of making them or any part of them public at this time; & as the post may sit out before this gits to the office I can only add that they are considered here, so far as I can form judgment, in a favorable light, and I think I can say that they are as much in our favor as I ever expected.

I have the Honr. to be with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant.

P.S. From the appearance of the whole intelligence I find it uncertain when a Peace will take place.

FC (PPIn: Americana Collection). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## Arthur Lee to James Warren

Dear Sir,

In Congress. Decr. [i.e. March] 12th. 1783<sup>1</sup>

I enclose you three Newspapers containing the Essays of Lucius, Valerius, & Bellisarius which deserve your perusal & being reprinted in your Papers.<sup>2</sup> Barney is arrivd with Dispatches. He left L'Orient the 17 Jany. He keeps strict silence & none of his Crew are allowd to come on shore. The Letters were all carried to Mr. Morris, from whom Congress have not yet receivd any intelligence. When his speculations are settled we shall be favord with the news. All these restraints upon public information & the engrossing all the Letters, are by his own order, Congress knowing nothing of it; & I verily believe for the sole purpose of speculation. I was persuaded when his friends proposd the purchasing Barney's vessel & dispatching her under his direction, that it was

for the same purpose. Thro' the whole war he has made his public trust subservient to his private Speculation, & has thereby become as rich as a Jew.

You wish to have some observations on the manners of this place. They are as little worthy of panygeric as an awkward imitation of the French can make them. Broke suddenly loose from the simplicity of quaker manners, dress & fashion & affecting the vanity, & nonsense, if nothing worse, of french parade, you may conceive they are more fit subjects of redicule than of admiration. Mr. Morris, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Ross & others, who have made large fortunes during this war, employ their wealth in a manner not very consistent with that un-ostentatious virtue which ought to animate an Infant republic. Extravagance, ostentation & dissipation distinguish what are calld the Ladies of the first rank. There are however exceptions, these being prudent, amiable & worthy persons of both Sexes. But the generality seem to be intoxicated with a sudden change of manners & unexpected elevation.

I had not time to finish this Letter, being occupied by attending to the Dispatches. The preliminary Articles are well enough, but being conditiond on the conclusion of Peace with France, which seems to me not probable this year; they still remain dependent on the issue of this campaign at least, which if very successful on the part of the Enemy may make them retract these conditions, & if ever so prosperous on the part of our Ally, we cannot hope for any thing better, as the latter seems more averse to our participation in the Fishery, & our possessing the western Country, than the English themselves are. We are placd in this uncomfortable situation, by the ambition of our Ally, And by the obligation our Alliance is supposd to have imposd upon us not to make Peace without their concurrence. My latest Letters give the most sanguine expectations of speedy peace.<sup>3</sup> But from reasoning on all circumstances it appears to me at least very doubtful. I wish most sincerely that peace may take place, & give us an opportunity of arranging our governments & Finances & of paying our Debts.

I receivd the two Joe's you was so good as to send me for interest; & am very much obligd to you for your attention to my Affairs. When peace will permit the travelling in the extreme parts of your State, & I am freed from Congress, I shall revisit you, & take a view of the Country where the grant to me may be located. In the mean time I trust to your goodness & care to have the location made as advantageously as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. J. Adams is so persuaded, that Peace is settled that he has desird leave to resign & return home.<sup>5</sup> I am not of opinion that we can spare him yet. He & Mr. Jay have acted a spirited, independant, & therefore, in my judgment, a most laudable part; & will be necessary in Europe to counteract the treachery of old Franklin. I had drawn up a vote of thanks to Mr. Adams for the extraordinary Services he has renderd us

in Holland; but upon sounding I found the jealousy which Dr. F's friends, after his example, entertain of any approbation bestowd upon another, being a censure upon him, woud render the passage of it doubtful. It was therefore thought more prudent not to move it. There never I think existed a man more meanly envious & selfish than Dr. Franklin. The reason probably why it is not seen so as to make men dispise him is, that men in general listen much to professions, & look little to actions.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Adams has mentiond one mark of his tricking & selfish disposition. He obtained a promise from Mr. Jay when at Madrid, to give his voice for appointing his Grandson W. T. Franklin, a young insignificant Boy as any in existence, to be Secretary to the Embassy for making Peace, who ought to be a person of consummate prudence, ability & worth. Upon this he appoints him to that office without consulting the other Commissioners.<sup>7</sup> Thus while Govr. Franklin is planning our destruction in London his Father & Son, are entrusted with all our Secrets in Paris. If it should be said that the establishd character of the old man will justify such a confidence; the same can not be urg'd in favor of the young one, who is yet to be tried & has no character at all.

I enclose you a Paper containing the preliminary Articles. With the most cordial remembrance of Mrs Warren's politeness & very agreeable conversation, I beg you will present to her my best respects. My Nephew T. Shippen<sup>8</sup> is equally pleas'd with the Society at Milton & desires his respects.

Farewell,

A. Lee

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers). Endorsed: "Dr. Lees Lettr., Decr. 82."

<sup>1</sup> Lee inexplicably misdated this letter, as he clearly acknowledged in his first paragraph the arrival of Capt. Joshua Barney with dispatches from the peace commissioners—news that filled the letters of his fellow delegates this date.

<sup>2</sup> Lee probably enclosed the February 19, and March 5 and 12 issues of the *Freeman's Journal*. Essays by "Lucius" denouncing Robert Morris were published March 5 and 12, by "Valerius" attacking John Dickinson on February 19 and March 5 and 12, and by "Belisarius" assailing Morris on February 19. Earlier attacks on Morris and Dickinson under these pseudonyms had also appeared in the issues of January 21, 29, and February 12; they continued on April 2, 9, and 23.

<sup>3</sup> For one of the "latest Letters" received by Lee, see the first paragraph of his letter to Washington, March 13, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> For Lee's Massachusetts land grant, see these *Letters*, 10:4n.3.

<sup>5</sup> John Adams' requests of December 4 and 14, 1782, are in PCC, item 84, 4:301, 317; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:106, 133–34.

<sup>6</sup> For another disparaging view of Franklin that Lee included in a March 11 letter to Edmund Randolph, which has not been found but which Randolph quoted in a March 22 letter to James Madison, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:380. See also Madison's praise of Franklin in his letters to Randolph of this date and April 1, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> John Adams had made the following observation about the appointment of William Temple Franklin in his November 6, 1782, letter to Robert R. Livingston. "Dr. Franklin, without saying any thing to me, obtained of Mr. Jay a promise of his vote for Mr. W. T. Franklin to be Secrey. to the Commission for Peace." See PCC, item 84, 4:235; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:855. John Jay later denied that Franklin had so-



licited his vote and to avoid the appearance of division over the appointment, Adams and Henry Laurens also signed Temple's commission. See Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:38-39, 102-3; and Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 355-56.

<sup>8</sup> That is, Thomas Lee Shippen, son of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., and Lee's sister, Alice.

## Eleazer McComb to Caesar Rodney

Sir, Philadelphia 12th March 1783.

I sit down to mention the news of the day, which you will be pleased to communicate to our friends in Dover.

Captain Barney arrived this day from France, under the protection of a passport signed by the British King, and brought the Preliminary Articles of Peace, signed by the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain and the United States of America, on the 30th November last. The Preamble sets forth that they are not to take effect 'till a Peace with France is concluded, and that they are to be included in, and make part of, the definitive Treaty.

By the 1st Article, the King of G. Britain, acknowledges the United States of America to be free, independant and sovereign States, and for himself, his heirs and Successors, forever relinquishes all right and title to them. By the 2d the boundaries are fixed, to begin at the North West Angle of Nova Scotia, and run to the North West head of Connecticut River—then down the River to the 45th degree of North Latitude—then thro' the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superiour, long Lake, and Lake of the Woods; and from the North West end of the latter a due West Course to the river Mississipi—then down that river to the 31st degree of North Latitude—then to the river Apalachicola—from thence to the Flint river—from thence to St. Mary's river, and down that river to the Atlantic Ocean. The line between New England and Nova Scotia to begin at the mouth of the river St. Croix, which empties into the Bay of Fundy, and run from thence to the first place of beginning, including all Islands within 20 leagues of the Land, except such as were formerly known to belong to Nova Scotia. By the 3d we have a right to fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, and to cure the fish on certain uninhabited islands. By the 4th Creditors in either Country are to be allowed to recover their just debts contracted before the year 1775. By the 5th Congress is to recommend to the Several States to restore confiscated property to real British subjects, and also to Persons resident within the British lines who have not borne Arms against the United States; and to suffer others of different descriptions to go into any of the States and remain 12 Months in order to endeavour to recover their property—to revise their Laws for Confiscation, so that the estates which have been sold may be restored to

the former owners, they refunding the real value of the sums Actually paid for such estates. By the 6th there are to be no confiscations in future, nor any prosecutions for past offences. By the 7th Firm friendship is to be established—all Hostilities to cease—all prisoners set at liberty, and the British troops withdrawn as soon as possible, without destroying or carrying off property. American artillery to be left behind, and all Records which have fallen into the hands of their officers to be restored. By the 8th the Navigation of the river Mississippi is to be free to both Countries. By the 9th it is agreed that if any place should be conquer'd by either party from the other before the arrival of the Articles the same shall be restored.

This Account is taken from short Notes made in Congress during the reading of the Articles, and therefore cannot be supposed to be very Accurate. I write it in haste in hopes of meeting with a conveyance this evening—if it should not go before to-morrow it may be accompanied with a News Paper.

Please to present my Compliments to Dr. Tilton, and inform him that the Commutation of the officers half-pay was agitated in Congress on Monday last, and the question lost by the division of Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> I think it probable it will be brought on again in a few days.

I am Sir, with much respect, your most obedient and most humble servt.

E. McComb.<sup>2</sup>

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 10 and 11; and William Floyd to George Clinton, this date, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> McComb had just taken his seat in Congress on March 10. See *JCC*, 24:177.

His accounts as a Delaware delegate indicate the following periods of attendance the following six months: "For going to Philada. attending there as a Delegate in Congress, and returning home, from 4th March 1783 to 6th April following, inclusive, 34 days . . . ; Do a second time, from 14th April 1783, to the 30th same Month, inclusive, 17 days . . . ; Do a third time, from 26th May 1783, to the 18th July following, inclusive, 53 days at Philada. & Princeton . . . ; Do a fourth time from 21st July 1783 to 2d August following, inclusive, at Princeton, deducting 4 days spent at Philada. 8 days." George Read Papers, DeHi.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday 12, Th. 13, F. 14, S. 15 of March [1783].

These days were employed in reading the despatches brought on Wednesday morning by Capt. Barney commanding the Washington Packet. They were dated from Decr. 4 to 24 from the Ministers Plenipo. for peace, with journals of preceding transactions, and were accompanied by the Preliminary articles signed on the 30th of Novr. between the said Ministers & Mr. Oswald the British Minister.<sup>1</sup>



The terms granted to America appeared to Congs. on the whole extremely liberal. It was observed by several however that the stipulation obliging Congs. to recommend to the States a restitution of confiscated property, altho it could scarcely be understood that the States would comply, had the appearance of sacrificing the dignity of Congs. to the pride of the British King.<sup>2</sup>

The separate & secret manner in which our Ministers had proceeded with respect to France & the confidential manner with respect to the British Ministers affected different members of Congs. very differently. Many of the most judicious members thought they had all been in some measure ensnared by the dexterity of the British Minister,<sup>3</sup> and particularly disapproved of the conduct of Mr. Jay in submitting to the Enemy his jealousy of the French without even the knowledge of Dr. Franklin, and of the unguarded manner in which he, Mr. A. & Dr. F. had given in writing sentiments unfriendly to our Ally, and serving as weapons for the insidious policy of the Enemy.

The separate article was most offensive, being considered as obtained by G. B. not for the sake of the territory ceded to her, but as a means of disuniting the U. S. & France, as inconsistent with the spirit of the Alliance, and a dishonorable departure from the candor, rectitude & plain dealing professed by Congs.<sup>4</sup> The dilemma in wch Congs. were placed was sorely felt. If they sd communicate to the F. Minister<sup>5</sup> every thing, they exposed their own Ministers, destroyed all confidence in them on the part of France, & might engage them in dangerous factions agst. Congs. which was the more to be apprehended, as the terms obtained by their management were popular in their nature. If Congs. sd. conceal everything, & the F. Court sd. either from the Enemy or otherwise come to the knowledge of it all confidence wd. be at an end between the allies; the enemy might be encouraged by it to make fresh experiments, & the public safety as well as the national honor be endangered. Upon the whole it was thought & observed by many that our Ministers particularly Mr. Jay, instead of making allowances for & affording facilities to France in her delicate situation between Spain & the U. S. had joined with the enemy in taking advantage of it to increase her perplexity; & that they had made the safety of their Country depend on the sincerity of Ld. Shelburne, who was suspected by all the world besides, and even by most of themselves. See Mr. L——'s letter Dcr. 24.<sup>6</sup>

The displeasure of the French Court at the neglect of our Ministers to maintain a confidential intercourse & particularly to communicate the preliminary articles before they were signed, was not only signified to the Secty. of F. A. but to sundry members by the Chevr. de la Luzerne. To the former he shewed a letter from Ct. de Vergennes directing him to remonstrate to Congs. agst. the conduct of the Amr. Ministers; which a subsequent letter countermanded alledging that

Docr. F. had given some explanations that had been admitted; & told Mr. L. that the American Ministers had deceived him (de Vergennes) by telling him a few days before the preliminary articles were signed, that the agreement on them was at a distance; that when he carried the articles signed into Council, the King expressed great indignation, & asked if the Americans served him thus before peace was made, & whilst they were begging for aids, what was to be expected after peace &c. To several Members he mentioned that the King had been surprised & displeased & that he said he did not think he had such allies to deal with.

To one of them who asked whether the Ct. of F. meant to complain of them to Congs. Mr. Marbois answered that Great powers never *complained* but that they *felt & remembered*. It did not appear from any circumstances that the separate article was known to the Court of F. or to the Chevr. de la Luzerne.<sup>7</sup>

The publication of the preliminary articles excepting the separate article in the Newspapers was not a deliberate act of Congs. A hasty question for enjoining secrecy on certain parts of the despatches which included these articles, was lost; and copies havg. been taken by members & some of them handed to the Delegates of the Pena. one of them reached the printer. When the publication appeared Congs. in general regretted it, not only as tending too much to lull the States, but as leading France into suspicions that Congs. favored the premature signature of the articles and were at least willing to remove in the minds of people the blame of delaying peace from G. B. to France.<sup>8</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:328–30.

<sup>1</sup> This entry in Madison's Notes provides an instructive reminder of the striking gaps found in Secretary Charles Thomson's journal of Congress, which contains no entries for the dates March 11 through 17, although the editor of the modern edition of the journals created a number of entries for these dates drawn from various other documents in the PCC. Cf. PCC, item 1, vol. 34, and *JCC*, 24:181–86. Thomson's "despatch book" (PCC, item 185, 3:56–57) contains the principal listing of the documents delivered by Capt. Joshua Barney. Among them were John Adams' dispatches of November 6, 11, 18, 21 and December 4 and 14 (2), 1782, to Robert R. Livingston, his November 17 letter to Robert Morris, and extracts from his Paris journal from November 2 to December 13 (PCC, item 84, 4:234–302, 309–18, item 137, 2:221–27; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:845–46, 849, 854–58, 869, 872–80, 6:6–11, 52–54, 56–66, 70, 72–74, 82–88, 90–93, 103–6, 109, 122–25, 133–34); Benjamin Franklin's November 26 letter to Richard Oswald, and his December 4, 5–14, and 24–25 dispatches to Livingston, the latter of which inclosed his May 9–July 1 journal of negotiations, and the comte de Vergennes' December 25 letter to him (PCC, item 82, 2:289–337, item 100, 1:357–481, item 137, 2:216–18; and Wharton, 5:535–85, 6:77–80, 106–7, 110–14, 159–60, 163, 168); Henry Laurens' December 15 and 24 dispatches to Livingston, the first of which included a copy of his December 9 letter to Lord Cornwallis (PCC, item 89, fols. 237–47; and Wharton, 6:121, 138–40, 160–65); and John Jay's November 17 and December 12 dispatches to Livingston, the first of which included his journal kept at Paris from June 23 to November 17 (PCC, item 110, 2:142–263; Wharton, 6:11–41, 130). The commissioners joint dispatch to Livingston of December 14 included copies of the peace terms initially proposed by them and by the British commissioners, the

preliminary articles signed on November 30, and various letters exchanged in the course of negotiations. Another joint dispatch of December 20 inclosed a proposal from Bridgen & Waller of London to supply Congress with blank copper coinage. See PCC, item 85, fols. 254-94; and Wharton, 5:805-8, 842-43, 848-53, 859; 6:74-77, 96-100, 131-33. Other papers considered by Congress at this time were Thomas Barclay's October 19, 23, and December 14-January 5 dispatches to Livingston (PCC, item 91, fols. 11-16, 23-25), Francis Dana's November 1 and 18 (October 21 and November 7 O.S.) letters from St. Petersburg (PCC item 89, fols. 659-65; Wharton, 5:840-42, 6:54-56), and the marquis de Lafayette's December 3 letter to the president of Congress (PCC item 156, fols. 300-302; Wharton, 6:102-3).

<sup>2</sup> Madison is referring to the 5th of 9 articles, which were entered on the journals when Congress ratified them on April 15. See *JCC*, 24:243-51.

<sup>3</sup> That is, William Petty, the earl of Shelburne.

<sup>4</sup> For this separate article, which set the southern boundary of the United States farther north should Great Britain succeed in gaining control of West Florida in its negotiations with Spain, see *JCC*, 24:250-51.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the chevalier de La Luzerne.

<sup>6</sup> For Henry Laurens' December 24, 1782, dispatch, see note 1.

<sup>7</sup> For the dispatches that La Luzerne had received from the comte de Vergennes and which had been conveyed by Pierre François Barbé-Marbois, younger brother of French consul general François de Barbé-Marbois, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:558n.3. See also William E. O'Donnell, *The Count De La Luzerne. French Minister to the United States, 1779-1784* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1938), pp. 232-36.

<sup>8</sup> A summary of the preliminary articles had appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of March 13; the full text on March 18.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir,

Philada. March 12. 1783

Capt. Barney commanding the American packet boat which has been long expected with official intelligence from our Ministers in Europe arrived here this morning.<sup>1</sup> He brings a supply of money the sum of which I cannot as yet specify & comes under a passport from the King of G. B. The despatches from our Ministers are dated the 5, 14 & 24 of Decr. Those of the 14th inclose a copy of the preliminary articles provisionally signed between the American & British Plenipotentiaries. The tenor of them is that the U.S. shall be acknowledged & treated with as free, sovereign & independt., that our boundaries shall begin at the mouth of St. Croix, run thence to the ridge dividing the waters of the Atlantic from those of St Laurence, thence to the head of Cont. river, thence down to 45° N. L. thence to Cadaraqui, thence thro' the middle of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron & Superior to Long Lake, to the lake of the woods & thence due W to the Mississippi, thence down the middle of the river to L. 31, thence to Apalichicola, to Flint river, to St. Mary's & down the same to the At-

lantic, that the fisheries shall be exercised nearly as formerly; that Congress shall earnestly recommend to the States a restitution of Confiscated property a permission to the refugees to come & remain for 1 year within the States to solicit restitution, and that in the most obnoxious cases restitution may be demanded of purchasers on reimbursing them the price of the property, that debts contracted prior to 1775 shall be mutually paid according to sterling value; that all prisoners shall be mutually set at liberty; troops withdrawn & all records & papers restored; that the navigation of the Mississippi from the source to the mouth shall be mutually free for the subjects of G. B. & the Citizens of America, a proposition comprehending the W. I. was offered on the subject of Commerce, but not admitted on the part of G. B.

In the course of the negociation G. B. contended for not only the limits marked out in the Quebec Act, but all ungranted soil, for a contraction of the fisheries, and for absolute stipulations in favr. of the loyalists.

The despatches of the 14th speak also of the principal preliminaries between F. & G. B. being settled; but of little progress being made in those between Hold. & Spn. & the latter; & of none between Spn. & U.S.

A letter of the 24 Decr. from Dr. Franklin varies the scene somewhat. It says that uncertainties were arising from the unsettled state of minds in England & incloses a letter from Ct. de Vergennes observing that difficulties had arisen from the very facilities yielded on the part of France; & concluding with these words as well as I can recollect, "Je ne desespere pas, J'espere plutôt; mais tout est incertain."

Franklin's correspondence on this occasion denotes a vigor of intellect, which is astonishing at his age, a letter to the British Minister on the case of the Tories in particular is remarkable for strength of reasoning, of sentiment & of expression.<sup>2</sup> He concludes his letter to Congs. with observing that he is now entering on his 78th year, 50 of which have been spent in the public Service; and that having lived to see like Simeon of old the salvation of his Country, his prayer is that he may be permitted to retire from public life. Mr. Adams has also transmitted a resignation.

The arrival of this intelligence will probably procure from Congs. some final decision with respect to Mr. Jefferson.

Having given you all the facts which hurry wd. admit I leave you to your own conclusion as to the object of them.

Farewell.

J Ma[dison Jr.]

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:339-41.

<sup>1</sup> For the dispatches brought by Capt. Joshua Barney, see the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Benjamin Franklin's letter of November 26, 1782, to Richard Oswald.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir

Philadelphia 12th March 1783.

Captain Barney arrived here this Morning from France—he left L'Orient the 17th of Jany. under a british passport and brought dispatches for Congress, they have not all been yet read—the latest we can at present inform you of are to the 25th of December at Paris.

Considering the long delay of intelligence, and the anxiety which that and the importance of the Object under Negotiation must have occasioned, we have concluded to forward what intelligence we are possessed of at present & therefore inclose a Copy of the provisional Articles signed by our Ministers and Mr. Oswald on the 30th November. We hope you will be able to make them out, time is not permitted to make a fair Copy.

By the information under the 25th of Decr. there were some apprehensions, that matters between the other powers wou'd not be very soon concluded, but the hopes & Expectations on the contrary were most prevalent. France had made some progress in her Negotiations, Spain & Holland but little.

The King of Sweeden had given powers to his Minister at Versailles to enter on a Treaty of Amity & Commerce with the American Minister.

We have been under the necessity of agreeing to give £8.0.0 to the Express to Baltimore.

We have the honor to be Your Excellencys & Honors Most respectful & Obt Servts,

Tho. S. Lee

Danl Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Hemsley and signed by Carroll, Lee, and Hemsley. Endorsed by William Smith: "The Express who will have the honor to deliver this to yr. Exy will call on you for payment. I have made no agreement with him. Balto. Mr. 15. 1783."

## Richard Peters to John Dickinson

Dr Sir

12th March 1783

At the Instance of the other Delegates I have made a hasty Copy of the Provisional Treaty between Gt Britain & the U States which I have not time to compare. You will be pleased to communicate it for the Satisfaction of the Hble Council & House of Assembly 'till a more complete Communication can be made. The Letters accompanying the Treaty are too long to copy at this Time. It appears that Holland have done little—Spain not far advanced & the affairs of France not con-



cluded. The *Compte de Vergennes* says on the whole Subject however that he has more Hopes than Fears of a happy Conclusion. A Treaty of Amity & Commerce is begun between Sweden & the U States.

I have the Honour to be with respectful Esteem, Yr obed Servt,  
 R. Peters  
 In Behalf of the Delegates of  
 Pennsylvania

RC (PPL: Logan-Dickinson papers).

## Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene

Sir, Philadelphia March 12th. 1783.

We have the pleasure of Announcing the Arrival of the preliminary Articles for a Peace—they were signed by Mr Oswald on the part of G. B. and by Messrs. Franklin, Adams, Jay & Laurens on the part of the U.S.—on the 30th of November last.

Capt Barney who brought the dispatches Arrived this Morning—he left L'Orient the 17th Jany. at which time he had no information that the definitive Treaty was completed.

The Arrival is too late to admit [of] giving any particulars this post. In Our [next] we hope to make a more full communication.

We are very respectfully, Your Excellency's Very humble Servts.

John Collins

Jona Arnold

P.S. The above Articles will be in force when all the Belligerent powers, have advanced so far towards a general peace.

RC (RPJCB: Americana Miscellaneous). Written by Arnold and signed by Arnold and Collins.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir Phila. March 12th. 1783.

We have judged it most advisable to communicate to your Excellency by Express the purport of the dispat[c]hes from our Ministers at Paris, which have this day arrived by Capt. Barney, who left l'Orient the 17th of Jany. protected by a passport under the signature of his Brittanick Majesty, after having been long detained for the purpose of forwarding advices relative to the negotiations for Peace.

These will be found important, altho' not decisive, & we consequently think it our duty, to furnish yr Excellcy. with the information requisite to form your own judgement respecting the prospect we have of a *speedy* Peace, not doubting that you will so far diffuse communications (as may appear necessary) on a subject that must influence the measures of the Public & of individuals.

The preliminary Articles of Peace were signed by Mr. Ozwald, Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain, & Messrs. Adams, Franklin. Jay & Adams, our Ministers—provisionally, that is to say, to be effective when the definitive treaty may be concluded between France & Great Britain. They are forwarded to us & contain 8 Articles, substantially of the following import.

An ample recognition of the independance of the United States & relinquishment on the part of his Brittanick Majesty for himself, heirs & successors, of all claim to right of sovereignty, property or jurisdiction within the limits of the territory of the States, which are fully settled & described in the second Article.

They are affixed much on the principle of the treaty of Paris, but to give you a more accurate idea without a minute detail, the line established, is from the mouth of the River St. Croix to the source, thence north along those mountains which divide the waters that fall on each side into the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Ocean, thence to the head of Connecticut River, thence down the middle of that River to the 45th degree of Latitude, thence west to the River Iroquois or Cataroquy, thence along the middle of the said River to the Lake Ontario, thence thro' the middle of that Lake & the Lakes Erie, Huron, Superior & the lake of the woods, pursuing the middle of their water communications, thence due west to the Mississippi, thence along the middle of that River to the 31 degree of North latitude, & thence from that intersection, nearly an East course to the source of St. Mary's River, thence down the middle of that River to the Atlantic Ocean, together with all Islands in sd. Ocean within 20 Leagues of the Continent.

The great Fisheries to remain free to both nations, with liberty, to cure on the shores subject to either power, & we are also admitted to fish & cure on the shores of Labrador untill they may become settled. Debts due on both sides are to be recovered—no farther confiscations to take place & Congress are earnestly to recommend to the different States to revise those Laws, which forfeit the property of British subjects who have never born Arms against the United States, and all those refugees who have born Arms are to be permitted to make personal application to the different Legislatures to be reinvested, in their Estates on repaying any Sums which may have been bona fide paid by the present possessors.

The subjects of either Power are reciprocally to enjoy in every commercial intercourse all advantages that the subjects of each respective



Power enjoy within their own dominions, saving the exclusive rights of the chartered Companies of Brittain, from an interference with which all other British subjects are precluded.<sup>1</sup>

All posts within the territorial limits of the United States at present held by the British troops, are to be evacuated, without carrying any property which may have been seized from the Americans. All Posts taken since the signing of these Preliminaries to be immediately relinquished. These together with a general amnesty on both sides for all offences, & a ceasing of all criminal prosecutions arising on such offences, constitute the ground work of the agreement which has been thus reciprocally signed.

On the 24th Doctr. Franklin writes that difficulties had intervened between that date & the 15th of Decr. when his last was dated accompanying the above in the prosecution of the Negotiations between France & Great Britain.<sup>2</sup>

It appears from the Journals of these negotiations & the Letters of our Ministers previous to that date that the chief difficulty arose from Gibraltar. France had offered to give G. B. the Island of Guadaloupe for that post & to receive in return from Spain the half of St. Domingo, which belongs now to Spain but Britain obstinately contended for Porto Rico. However to give your Excellency a just idea of the present information of Congress on this subject, We transcribe to you quotations from a Letter from the Comte de Vergennes to Doctor Franklin, dated the 24th transmitted by him to Us. "*Our Negotiations* (i.e. between France & G. B) *are at the same point with yours; but yet far from an end,*" then again "*Our facility has occasioned difficulty*" and again, "*I do not despair; I rather hope, yet every thing is uncertain.*" On the whole I believe the preliminaries between France & Britain are agreed on tho' not signed (an account of them such as we have will be communicated in our next) & that Spain & Holland have made but little progress in their business.

Thus far go the dispatches which we have already perused, matters of importance may yet be behind, & communications of very consequential import are expected from the Minister of France. If from these sources any intelligence may spring, yet unknown—Yr. Excellency may expect it by our next, which will follow this by an Opportunity that will give it a speedy & safe conveyance.

A Copy of the Commission of his Swedish Majesty, to his Minister in France, empowering him to conclude a treaty with the United States, is now transmitted us.<sup>3</sup> The terms in which it is conceived are not only ample but honorary & flattering &c. We are happy to assure Yr. Excellency that some progress has been made in a treaty with that Power.

We are assured that a deputation from the Refugees at N York are Sent to the legislature of that State requesting to know what terms they are to expect & every thing there portends a very speedy evacuation.

With high respect, We have the honor to be, Yr. Excellency's most ob. & very humble Servants.

Jos. Jones

Arthur Lee

James Maddison

John F. Mercer

Theodorick Bland

P. S. I find that the Article respecting Commerce altho' adjusted as above, yet was excluded by Mr. O. when about to sign, as several Acts of Parliament stand in the way.<sup>1</sup> The Express who brings you this will apply to yr. Excellency for 24 £ which was the price stipulated, one third however will be repaid us by the Maryland Delegates.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written and signed by Mercer who also signed for the other four delegates. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:333–36.

<sup>1</sup> The delegates are referring here to the 4th article of those proposed by the American commissioners on October 8 and not a provision of the preliminary articles signed November 30, 1782. See PCC, item 82, 2:293–96; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:805–7.

<sup>2</sup> For Benjamin Franklin's December 24–25 dispatch to Robert R. Livingston enclosing the comte de Vergennes' letter of December 25th (not the 24th), see PCC, item 82, 2:317–18, 335–37; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:163, 168.

<sup>3</sup> This information was conveyed in John Adams' December 14 and Franklin's December 24–25 dispatches to Livingston, the latter of which included a copy of the commission from King Gustavus III to Gustav Filip, count Creutz. See PCC, item 82, 2:317–25, item 84, 4:317–18; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:133–34, 163–64.

<sup>4</sup> For the "Article respecting Commerce" eliminated by Richard Oswald, see note 1 above.

## John Collins to Nathanael Greene

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia March the 13th. 1783

Incloasd. is a letter from Rhode Island which I was Requested to forward to you.<sup>1</sup>

I Received a letter from my Sister who spends the [*winter?*] with your mother in South Kings Town, She mentions your Borthers [*sic*] are all well.

The Washington packet arrived here the 11th instant<sup>2</sup> from france with dispatchis from ouer minsters that Contain the prolimentary articals Concluded between them and the British minesters, which are more favourable the [*than*] I ever Expected we Should obtain.

I must Refer you to Major Burnet for proticulars. I Wrote you by Major Edwards. Relateing to Some of my affairs in Georgey,<sup>3</sup> I[f] you Can give me any information you Will Greatly oblige, Your friend & Humble Servant,

John Collins

RC (MiU–C: Greene Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Actually the 12th.<sup>3</sup> See Collins to Greene, January 5, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear sir,

Philadelphia 13th March 1783.

I did myself the honor of addressing your Excellency yesterday (in haste) a few moments before the post set out, but as Mr. Brown is about returning to Boston, & may arrive before the post, I take the liberty to inclose a newspaper which contains the most important part of the European intelligence, received here yesterday by captain Barney; by the articles you will perceive our right to fish secure & also the boundaries to the eastern parts of our State.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## Arthur Lee to George Washington

Dear Sir,

In Congress Mar. 13th. 1783

In a Letter I recieved yesterday, dated Paris, Decr. 14 from a Gentleman exceedingly well acquainted with the Politics of St. James's,<sup>1</sup> is this passage—"The acknowlegment of American Independency gives a right to Neutral Powers to trade directly to America. This will be a great advantage should the War continue, of which I think there is little probability. Europe seems to be in a disposition for Peace; & it is absolutely necessary for England."

This necessity of England, seems pretty clear from the King's Speech; & Mr. Jay writes that on the return of Count de Vergennes Secretary from London, whither Mr. Jay supposes he was sent to prevent the british Court from treating with us as an independent Nation, the Count told him he believd Ld. Shelburne was sincere in his desire of Peace.<sup>2</sup> If he is so, I am sure it must be from the necessity mentiond by my Correspondent, as I am persuaded that is not his inclination.

So far the prospect is fair for Peace; but Count de Vergennes writes that tho' he has hopes, he has fears<sup>3</sup>—the preliminary Articles with France were not signed the 6th of Jany. Count d'Estaing & M. de la Fayette had saild for Cadiz apparently upon an expedition which woud hardly have taken place, if the Cabinet of France had not been determind upon a continuance of the war.

Our Dispatches mention that the british Commissioner made a proposition to ours, that we should agree not to molest their troops in their evacuation of N. York; which implies their wish of doing so; & the stipulation that if any place should have been taken by us between the signing the Conditional Articles & their arrival in America, it should be restored—seems to suppose that on such arrival hostilities should cease.

There are many complaints of the most atrocious depredations of the Refugees on the shores of Potomac. These at least I presume the british Commander in Chief will now restrain, as being not only contrary to the pacific professions of his Master; but to the Laws of war among civilizd Nations.

Congress have thought proper to enjoin secrecy with regard to communications of some of our Ministers, touching the conduct of the French Court during the negociation. What I have mentiond, relative to the mission of the Count's Secretary to London, is strictly speaking within that injunction. But I apprehend, the Secret will be at least as safe with your Excellency as with us; & it seems to me as necessary that you should be circumstantially informd.

I beg you will make my best respects acceptable to Mrs. Washington.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect & esteem, Yr. Excellency's most Obedt. Servt.

A. Lee

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> This information was conveyed in John Jay's lengthy dispatch of November 17, 1782, for which see PCC, item 100, 2:142–262 (especially 195–98, 248); and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:11–49 (especially 29–30, 45–46).

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the comte de Vergennes' December 25 letter to Benjamin Franklin had been enclosed in Franklin's dispatch of December 24–25, 1782. See PCC, item 82, 2:317–18, 335–37; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:163, 168.

## John Montgomery to William Irvine

Sir

Philada 13th March 1783

I Recd your letter by Dr. Rose <sup>1</sup> he has waited on Mr Wilson and the Presdt. I am a Little Doubtfull of his obtaining a Brevet for a Capt. Several applications of a Similar nature has been made to Congress but without Effect. I am Certain that he will have Mr Wilsons and my hearty assistance.

Yesterday morning Capt Barney who Commands the Ship Washington arrivd from Franc with Despatches for Congress and has brought the preliminary articles between this Countray and England. They were Signed the 30th Novbr. last. In the first our Independence is Declared, in the 2d the Boundray begining at the northwest angle of

Novia Scotia and Runing from thence to the 45th Degree of north Latitude to Conecticut River thence down Said river and alonge the midle of the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, long lake and the Lake in the woods and from northwest End of Said Lake a west Course to the Massisipie and it said river to the River Apicahia from thenc to head of St marys River and Done the same to the Atalantic from thenc to the mouth of a River falling into the Bay of fundie and thence to the place of Begining. The full freedom of fishing on the Banks of Newfundland and of Dreing thire fish on the Shores of Sable Island and other places not inhabited by the English, a free trade to all the English ports in Eroupe.

The franc and English had agreed on preliminaries before Capt Baney Sald but were not Signed. The English to Leve all the amirican Cannon that is now in the forts in thire Poss[ess]ion and not Desstroy any property when they [*leave*] those place[s] that they now Possess. The Du[t]ch have Done nothing as yet, the Spaniards have made possalls the[y] want to have Gibaralter and offer west floridia and some Islands in the westindias in Exchange. We have No Doubt of peace but it may be some time before it is finally Concluded.

I am Sir with perfect Regard your Verry Humb Sert,

John Montgomery

RC (PHi: Irvine Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. John Rose (Gustavus, baron de Rosenthal) of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, and one of the few Russians to serve as an officer of the Continental Army, had served as General Irvine's aide-de-camp during the latter's command at Fort Pitt and as Col. William Crawford's aide during the ill-fated Ohio expedition of the spring of 1782. See John Rose, "Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky, from May 24 to June 13, 1782," *PMHB* 18 (1894): 129–57, 293–328; and Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 351.

## Richard Peters to Horatio Gates

Dear Sir

Philada. March 13. 1783

We have recieved official Accounts of the Signature of the Preliminaries of Peace between Gt Britain & the United States to take Effect if the Affairs between France & Great Britain are adjusted. These Preliminaries contain everything we ought to wish. The Boundaries are eligible as we have the complete Navigation of the Lakes & that of the Mississippi our Lines running thro' those Waters. Our Fisheries are secured in the most ample Manner. There are some Articles which were inserted to serve british Pride wherein it is agreed that Congress shall *earnestly recommend* to the States the Revision of their Confiscation Laws & endeavour to bring about a Restoration of Property to those Loyalists who have not taken up Arms. But the States will be left of Course to their own Way of thinking as to Compliance with this Rec-



ommendation & this being the Case the Chance for the Adherents to their gracious Sovereign is but a blue one. The Preliminaries were signed the 30th of Novr. The Ship left France the 17th of January under a british Passport wherein the Word Rebel is omitted & we are stiled the United States. Tis signed by the King of the British Penitents. About 100,000 Crowns arrived in the Ship very opportunely Part of a Loan from France. The Affairs of a final Treaty were not brought to perfect Consistency, but every thing looks favourably & I believe in a Peace. You will no Doubt get particular Information from Head Quarters as the Secretary for foreign Affairs has wrote the General.<sup>1</sup>

Yours afftely,

R Peters

[P.S.] The latest official Accounts we have are of the 25th Decr.

RC (NH: Gates Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Robert R. Livingston's March 12 letter to General Washington is in the Washington Papers, DLC; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:291–92.

## Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Sir,

Philadelpa. 13th March 1783

I recd. your Letter inclosing our Act of Assembly to secure literary Property. A Committee of Congress is Appointed to consider how literary Property shall be secured to the Authors who have not yet reported.<sup>1</sup>

I wrote to Mr Ellsworth yesterday<sup>2</sup> by the Post informing him that Preliminary Articles of Peace had been agreed to and Signed between G Britain and America these will soon be published and Sent to the several States. N Scotia is limited by the River of St Croix so that Penobscot &c is retained by us. A Right to the Fishery is secured. Our Extent is from the North West Angle of N Scotia across the Keg Islands West to the head of Connecticut River, thence down the River to 45° N Lat. thence West to the River Iriquois—and to the middle of Antario, thence to the Waters which flow into this Lake from Eri, thence thro Eri, Huron, Michigan and Lake Superior, to the Lake of the Woods, thence West to Mississippi, thence down thro the middle of Mississippi to Lat 31—thence by the Southern Line of Georgia to the River St. Mary to the Ocean comprehending the Island belonging to the Coast. Some other particulars you will find in the enclosed Papers.

I have recd. a Letter from Mr Lawrance<sup>3</sup> who gives me but little Incouragment to receive any Money from him—tho' he says what I beleive is true that he shall be glad to Oblidge Me. If I shall not be able to receive some of him, the Disappointment will be great and distressing—if you Shall know of any Oppertunity I wish that you would

procure an order and receive such money for me as you shall be able to get.

The Policy of G Britain with Regard to America I beleive is totally changed. She probably will endeavour to accomedate herself to the Wishes of a People whom she has in Vain endeavored to conquer. But her Conduct has been so insidious that Notwithstanding the Strong Appearances to the contrary, We must be upon our Guard till Matters are settled and preserve good Faith with our allies.

My Compliments to Mr. Ellsworth and Mr Lyman. I hope that Mr. Ellsworth will soon Return. You will keep up your Correspondence with Me and expect a punctual Answer to your Letters. I am, yours with the kindest Regard,

Oliver Wolcott

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The committee appointed on March 10 to consider copyright authorization reported on April 28, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 6, 1783, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> That is, John Lawrence, Connecticut state treasurer.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Cadwalader

Dear Sir

Philadelphia, March 14. 1783

Though disagreeable to appear in any manner in a personal dispute, yet I cannot in justice to you refuse to comply with the request contained in your note.<sup>1</sup> I have delayed answering it to endeavour to recollect with more precision the time, place and circumstances of the conversation to which you allude. I cannot however remember with certainty more than this, that sometime in the campaign of seventy seven, at Head Quarters, in this state, you mentioned to Col Harrison, Col Tilghman, myself and I believe some other Gentlemen of General Washington's family, in a confidential way, that at some period in seventy six, I think after the American army had crossed the Delaware in its retreat, Mr. Reed had spoken to you in terms of great despondency respecting the American affairs and had intimated that he thought it time for Gentlemen to take care of themselves and that it was unwise any longer to follow the fortunes of a ruined cause, or something of a similar import. It runs in my mind that the expressions you declared to have been made use of by Mr. Reed were that he thought he ought no longer to "risk his life and fortune with the shattered remains of a broken army"; but it is the part of candour to observe that I am not able to distinguish with certainty whether the recollection I have of these words arises from the strong impression made by your declarations at the time, or from having heard them more than once repeated within a year past.



I am Dr. Sir with great esteem Your Obedt ser. A Hamilton

RC (PHi: Cadwalader Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Cadwalader, a brigadier general of Pennsylvania militia, was embroiled in a controversy with former Pennsylvania president Joseph Reed, who according to Cadwalader had been on the verge of abandoning the American cause in December 1776. Cadwalader claimed that Reed had actually articulated this to him in a personal conversation, and that he had later related the substance of the conversation to Hamilton. In a brief letter of March 2, Cadwalader had asked Hamilton to "recollect" the incident, and requested that he "be particular with respect to time, place, & any other Circumstance which you may remember." Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:276-77.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia March 17th. 1783.

The Arrival of Capt. Barney in the Washington Packett, has afforded us, a large Budget of Intelligence & opened a new Scene in this Western World.<sup>1</sup>

I have endeavoured to discover if any of the confidential Servants of Congress, have made it a Business to communicate freely to your Excellency the political State of our Affairs both at home & abroad, from time to time as they have turned up.

The necessity of this Knowledge to one in your Excellency's responsible Situation, struck me as essentially necessary; but to my mortification, I cannot convince myself of the Certainty of this Measure, but am rather left in doubt.

Conscious of my own want of both Time & Talents for so important a business, nothing but the necessity & usefulness of the work, could have tempted me to have troubled your Excellency with the essay at this critical Period, when perhaps unknown to me, some able Pen is engaged daily for the purpose.

My present design therefore is, as an individual who has access to the Intelligence of Congress, and also the benefit of some private, confidential Communications, to give your Excellency a short Compendium of the State of our Affairs in Europe, that you may be possessed of Facts necessary for your Station. As I act in this Business, but as an individual in a private Character, I shall combine the information obtained from the public dispatches, with that of private intelligence but of undoubted Authority.

In the beginning of the last Spring the Court of London being reduced to very disagreeable Circumstances occasioned as well by the State of her Finances, as by the Change of, and divisions in her Ministry, made some very distant movements to sound our Minister at Passy, relative to a separate Peace. Finding no encouragement on this Head, small beginings were soon ripened into a promising Appear-

ance, by England authorizing Mr Grenville in due form, to treat with France &c and giving instructions to Mr Oswald, a gentleman of great candour, Integrity & Abilities, (as is asserted by two of our Commissioners) to treat with Dr. Franklin. Great pains were taken to bring on negotiations in form, without farther express Powers with respect to America; our Commissioners resolutely determined to oppose every attempt to conduct the Business on a narrow Scale, tho' Count de Vergennes thought they might safely proceed on these limited Powers; however they refused to harken to any formal propositions, or rather refused to make any propositions of an explicit nature, untill the United States of America were expressly or implicitly acknowledged as independant States by Great Brittain and considered as one of the Nations of the Earth.

In the Course of the Communications, our Commissioners convinced the Court of Great Brittain (at least in Appearance) of the great impolicy of their past Conduct, and of the absolute necessity they were under, of acting without delay on a more enlarged Scale, and by the generosity & Candor of their Behavior on this Occasion, to wipe away, the almost indelible Stain, of british Cruelty & Barbarism from the American Mind. This produced a Commission to Mr. Fitzgerald [*i.e.*, Fitzherbert], to negotiate with France &c &c and another to Mr Oswald, to treat with america, wherein the Sovereignty & Independance of these united States are expressly acknowledged. Negotiations now took place in real Earnest between the Commissioners, whatever might have been the designs & dispositions of the Ministry of GB; as it clearly appears from our Ministers Letters that Mr. Oswald acted merely on the principles of a lover of Peace, being neither a creature or dependant of the Minister; and his honesty, candor & purity of Intentions, soon produced such a union of Sentiment, that an accomodation appeared to be fast ripening towards perfection. The principle points of discussion were, *the Boundaries—The Fisheries—and the Tories*. At first England appeared tenacious of the two first but were speedily convinced of their Error, and as to the last it rather appeared to be held up merely to save their national honor. Here *it is said by some*, that the Court of France took the Alarm at our extensive Claims on every Point, and began to fear lest the policy of England should grant to America too much. She see G Britain heartily repenting of her Folly, and all of a sudden putting about, and attempting to lay a Foundation for reconciliation with the United States, by granting all her reasonable Demands, with an appearance of Generosity. The ample Share in the Fisheries and our refusal to compensate or restore the Tories, gave her little Pleasure, and the extensive Claim of Territory, pleased her less but when she saw the possibility of Success on the part of our Commissioners, it is alledged, that she unhappily tarnished her Glory & reputation, by secretly sending Emissaries to England in order to foment divisions and pro-

mote suggestions of the unreasonableness of our propositions, and perswading that Court of the possibility of obtaining concessions on the part of America, far more advantagious than what was insisted upon. The british Ministry taking the advantage of these blunders of the Court of Versailles, instead of indeavouring to reduce the pretensions of America, candidly (in Appearance) communicated this conduct of France to our Commissioners and thereby created a Jealousy in their Minds agt that Court, as insidious & inimical. This perhaps might have too great an Effect, in alarming & souring the Minds of our Commissioners and it would not be unnatural to suppose, that it was greater than necessity dictated, when we consider the interest the Court of London had in exaggerating on the Occasion. The whole issued in our Commissioners signing the provisional Articles of Peace (a copy of which I shall endeavour to send herewith)<sup>2</sup> without the Knowledge of France, on the 30th Novr. and not till the next Day and after they were sent to the Court of London, were they anounced to Count De Vergennes, when he discovered great surprize, and covered his Chagrin by expressing his astonishment at our having obtained such advantagous Terms. Our public dispatches give us no Acct. of the Issue of the negotiations on the part of other belligerent Powers, except that some disputes had arose that delayed so desirable an Object, and suggesting doubts of the real desire of Great Brittain to do more then what was concluded with us, hoping to draw off the united States from the War, by putting them in a Situation, which would leave them nothing to contend for. But by a very confidential Letter from good, tho' private Hands of a later date it appears that the negotiations with France & Spain had gone on; and on this Authority I may almost venture to say, that I believe the Terms are fully digested, if not signed, between them. Spain insisted on the Cession of Gibraltar and offered to France, the spanish half of Hispaniola, if she would obtain Gibraltar for her at the Expençe of France. Count De Vergennes thereupon offered to England the Island of Gaudalope in Exchange for that Rock, which was refused. She then added Dominica & the neutrality of St. Vincents. As this was the Ultimatum of France, it is supposed that it would be complied with.

Holland demands three things—a restoration of her captured Possessions—Compensation for Damages unjustly sustained contrary to the Laws of Nations—and free navigation. A Commissioner is gone to Holland to settle these points, which are too unimportant to cause much difficulty, so that I hope a general Peace is not far off. But I do not mean by this, that there is so much certainty, as that any thing should be discontinued that is necessary for our defence. To be well prepared for War, is the surest way to make peace. A great deal has been suggested about the insidious Character of the English Minister, and that there is great reason to fear, as some think, by granting

America all that they have asked, the People here will never consent to a war being continued, in which they have no Interest, and that therefore her scheme is still to embarrass the definitive Treaty, especially as France will wish to prevent America from enjoying the Terms of the provisional Treaty. This Jealousy might be plausible, was not England in a Situation too critical to sport with such Important Matters. Her finances loudly call for an immediate Peace, being reduced (as her Commissioners acknowledged) to the necessity of stopping the Interest due on the national Debt, to carry on the war another Campaign in Case a Peace should not take Place. It is therefore on her real Interest, that I depend for the ratification of our Treaty & the Completion of that with the other belligerent Powers, in Case France is not so weak as to embarrass the Proceedings from an idle fear of America. Her Magnanimity, Generosity & Knowledge of her true Interest, have been so great & conspicuous, that I should feel severely hurt, should she tarnish her Glory at the last Hour. This I cannot believe, but will still hope for the best.

There has been great Harmony between our Commissioners thro' out the Business. Mr Adams & Mr Laurens have resigned their Employments, intending to return immediately to America. In the Washington came over, 600,000 Liveres in Cash, part of 6 Millions obtained of the Court of France, instead of 20 Millions demanded.

Thus I have in a hurry, given your Excellency a general State of the foreign Negotiations. I have done it in the most confidential Manner, knowing to whom I write, and that the utmost Care will be taken to preserve the Facts entirely to yourself. I have stated facts, but dare not to hazard Opinions. As I write in my private Character, your Excellency will not mention the Subject to me in your publick dispatches.

I cannot help taking Notice, that the *Ship Washington* is the first American Vessel which ever had an English Passport, signed by the King's own Hand, and in which he certifies that she belongs to the United States of America.

I need not to mention to your Excellency the present embarrassed situation of Congress. Perhaps there has not been a more critical, delicate & interesting Period during the War. Our Finances are in the most deplorable State, and it will take a considerable Time, before they can be replenished.

Mr. Morris (on whom every disinterested, intelligent Member of Congress greatly relied) has resigned his Office, unless Conditions are complied with, which tho' reasonable in themselves, yet depend on very doubtful Events.

Some difficulties of importance, attending the Etiquette of the Treaty in France (on which I may hereafter enlarge) give us great uneasiness and add much to our perplexity.



The Situation of our Army, as stated in your Excellency's Letter of last Wednesday,<sup>3</sup> by no means lessens our Anxiety & Mortification, especially as we have been for five or Six weeks, past, most faithfully & honestly engaged in laying a Foundation for their future Security, as well as making provision for a present Supply. More is not in our power, and I fondly hope that in this last hour, they will not dishonor themselves, and forfeit that Glory which they have supported with so much dignity to themselves & advantage to their Country. Violent Measures will certainly tend to prevent the Success of those Endeavours, Congress have been so laboriously exerting, for their emolument & Security—and however they may think that they are the only sufferers, yet they may be assured, that our Shoulders are not free from the Burden. There is not a Man among them, who would envy us our Station, was he to be one week in Congress.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan take this Opportunity of presenting their most affectionate respects and kindest Love & good Wishes to Mrs. Washington, whom they remember with the highest Sentiments of Esteem, in which may I be permitted most cordially to Join those of mine.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedt. & afft. Hble Servt, Elias Boudinot

P.S. By some Conversation I have Since had with the Minister of France, I find that the King his Master is greatly offended with our Commissioners, for signing the provisional Treaty without a confidential communication with his Ministers.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 12–15, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the provisional articles is filed under the date November 30, 1782, in the Washington Papers, DLC.

<sup>3</sup> See James Madison's Notes, March 17, note 1.

## William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, March 17th, 1783.

Since writing to your Excellency by the last post in which I mentioned the Arrival of our packet from France with Dispatches,<sup>1</sup> and amongst other things the Articles to be Inserted in the Treaty for a General Peace (when that shall take place) as agreed to, and signed on the part of our Commissions and those of Great Britain, and as they are now made public I do my Self the pleasure to Inclose them to you.

As to the Boundaries Contained in the Articles, they are not Quite so well in the Northwest part of the United States as we could wish, but I believe, and it is generally thought here, that they are as Exten-

sive as we had any Reason to Expect, Considering our Circumstances; as to the fishery, and the Navigation of the River Missipia, which are two very Important objects, they are settled to Satisfaction.

As to the Articles Concerning the Tories, if it was Really Intended as it is Expressed, that Congress should Recommend to the Several States the Restoration of the Tory property (I mean If they should be serious in such a Recommendation, and the States should be serious in Complying with it) we should be Involved in very Great Difficulties Indeed; but I am Clearly of Opinion, and I believe most Every one here is of the Same, who have seen the Letters from our Ministers, that it was done in order that the king of Britain and his ministers might say to the Tories, that they had attended to their Interest as far as Lay in their power on the Settlement of a peace.

Soon after the Negotiation was opened, Mr. Oswald among other things, proposed to our Commissioners, that the Tories should be Compensated for the Confiscations which had been made Among us. Our Ministers gave them for Answer, that it could not be done; that they had no power to agree to any such thing, nor had Congress any Authority to give them such powers; that it was a matter that Related Soally to the Internal Regulations of the Several States; that great part of the property was Alienated and out of the possession of the public, and that it would be utterly impossible to Raise Taxes on a Country which had Suffered so much Distress; for the purpose of Compensating the authors of their Distresses.

These Reasons appeared to satisfie Mr. Oswald so that he said no more on the Subject; but in the Course of the Negotiations, he found it necessary to go to England, and after he Returned, he urged that an Article should be imported in favour of the Loyalists, and, Notwithstanding, our Ministers assured him that no advantage would arise to the Tories from it, yet he Insisted on it; they Informed him that if Congress should Recommend it to the States many months would elapse Before the Several Legislatures could meet on the Subject, and when they did, they would all Reject the propositions; but for some Reasons our Commissioners Agreed that it should be Inserted.

On my Return from here, which will be in a few Days, I shall make a point of Seeing Governor Livingston for the purposes mentioned in Mr. Lhommedieu's Letter.<sup>2</sup> I shall not probably be here Long Enough to Receive a Letter from your Excellency after you have Recd this, But I shall write you on my way to the Northward. I would write to Mr. Lhommedieu, but Expect he will be gone to Connecticut before this Reaches you, I shall write to him in Connecticut by the next post. By my last Letter from Nicoll he mentions that his fever Continues on him and that he was in a very Low, weak State. I am under distressing Apprehensions for him.



Since writing the above, Colo. Hamilton has Concluded to Joyn me in Enclosing the Articles, and as we have But one printed Copy have Inclosed it in our Joynt letter.

With the Greatest Respect I am, Sir, your most obedt. and humble  
Servt, Wm. Floyd.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:86–89.

<sup>1</sup> See Floyd to Clinton, March 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the interest of Floyd and Ezra L'Hommedieu in the purchase of William Livingston's claims to lands on the upper Mohawk River, see L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 16, 1783.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia, March 17. 1783

I am duely honored with Your Excellency's letter of the 4th and 12th instant.<sup>1</sup> It is much to be regretted though not to be wondered at, that steps of so inflammatory a tendency have been taken in the army. Your Excellency has in my opinion acted wisely. The best way is ever not to attempt to stem a torrent but to divert it.

I am happy to find You coincide in opinion with me on the conduct proper to be observed by yourself. I am persuaded more and more it is that which is most consistent with your own *(honor)* reputation and the public safety.

Our affairs wear a most serious aspect as well foreign as domestic. Before this gets to hand Your Excellency will probably have seen the provisional articles between Great Britain and these states. It might at first appearance be concluded that these will be the prelude to a general peace; but there are strong reasons to doubt the truth of such a conclusion. Obstacles may arise from different quarters, from the demands of Spain & Holl[and], from the hope in France of greater acquisitions in the East, and perhaps still more probab[ly] from the insincerity and duplicity of Lord Shelburn[e], whose politics founded in the peculiarity of his situa[tion], as well as in the character of the man will be suspected of insidiousness. I am really appr[ehensive] if peace does not take place, that the negotiation[s] will tend to sow distrusts among the allies and wea[ken] the force of the common league. We have I fear men [among] us and men in trust who have a hankering afte[r] British connection. We have others whose confidence in France savours of credulity. The intrigues of the former and the incautiousness of the latter may be both, though in different degrees, injurious to the American interests; and make it difficult for prudent men to steer a proper course. There are delicate circumstances with respect to the late foreign transactions which I am not at liberty to re-

veal; but which joined to our internal weaknesses, disorders, follies & prejudices make this country stand upon precarious ground.

Some use perhaps may be made of these ideas to induce moderation in the army—an opinion that their country does not stand upon a secure footing will operate upon the patriotism of the officers against hazarding any domestic commotions.

When I make these observations I cannot forbear adding that if no excesses take place I shall not be sorry that ill-humours have appeared. I shall not regret importunity, if temperate, from the army.

There are good intentions in the Majority of Congress; but there is not sufficient wisdom or decision. There are dangerous prejudices in the particular states opposed to those measures which alone can give stability, *(consistency, security)* & prosperity to the Union. There is a fatal opposition to Continental views. Necessity alone can work a reform. But how *(is this)* necessity *(to be produced)*, how apply it, and how keep it within salutary bounds?

I fear we have been contending for a *(bubble)* shadow.

The affair of accounts I considered as having been put on a satisfactory footing. The particular states have been required to settle 'till the first of August 80 and the Superintendant of Finance has been directed to take measures for settling since that period. I shall immediately see him on the subject.

We have had Eight states and a half in favour of a commutation of the half pay for an aver[age] of ten years purchase—that is five years full pay instead of half pay for life, which on a calculation of annuities is nearly an equivalent. I hope this will now shortly take place.

We have made considerable progress in a plan to be recommended to the several states for funding all the public debts including those of the army—which is certainly the only way to restore public credit and enable us to continue the war by borrowing abroad, if it should be necessary—to continue it.

I omitted mentioning to Your Excellency that from European intelligence, there is great reason to believe at all events, peace or War, New York will be evacuated in the Spring. It will be a pity if any domestic disturbances should change the plans of the British Court.

I have the honor to be, With the greatest respect, Yr Excellency's Most Obedt se[rvant]

P.S. Your Excellency mentions that it has been surmised the plan in agitation was formed in Philadelphia—that combinations have been talked of between the public creditors and the army—and that members of Congress had encouraged the idea. This is partly true. I have myself urged in Congress the propriety of uniting the influence of the public creditors & the army as a part of them to prevail upon the states to enter into their views. I have expressed the same sentiments out of doors. *(Many)* Several *(of the most sensible)* other members of

Congress have done the same. The meaning however of all this was simply—that Congress should adopt such a plan as would embrace the relief of all the public creditors including the army; in order that the personal influence of some, the connections of others, and a sense of justice to the army as well as the apprehension of ill consequences might form a mass of influence in each state in favour of the measures of Congress. In this view, as I mentioned to Your Excellency in a former letter, I thought the discontents of the army might be turned to a good account. I am still of opinion that their earnest, but respectful applications for redress will have a good effect.

As to any combination of *Force* it would only be productive of the horrors of a civil war, might end in the ruin of the Country & would certainly end in the ruin of the army.

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> For Washington's letters to Hamilton of March 4 and 12, reporting the crisis that had developed out of the dissatisfaction of the officers at Newburgh with Congress' failure to make adequate provision for their pay and subsistence, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:185–88, 216–18. Washington had also explained that the sudden "Storm" recently experienced was believed by some to be the result of a "scheme . . . digested and matured in Philadelphia," and that to avoid being plunged "into a gulph of Civil horror" Congress should address the needs of the army "without further delay." See also James Madison's Notes of Debates, this date.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear sir.

Philadelphia 17th March, 1783.

In the name & at the desire of my Colleagues, I have the honor of inclosing to your Excellency a printed copy of the Articles of a treaty, between G Britain & the united States of America; it is expected, that in a few days, the states will be officially notified of the same, but as Mr. Lamb is about siting out for Boston, it was adviseable to forward them to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant.

FC (PPIn: Americana Collection). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday March 17 [1783].

A letter was rcd. from Genl Washington inclosing two anonymous & inflammatory exhortations to the army to assemble for the purpose of

seeking by other means, that justice which their country shewed no disposition to afford them. The steps taken by the Genl. to avert the gathering storm & his professions of inflexible adherence to his duty to Congress & to his country, excited the most affectionate sentiments towards him.<sup>1</sup> By private letters from the army & other circumstances there appeared good ground for suspecting that the Civil Creditors were intriguing in order to inflame the army into such desperation as wd. produce a general provision for the public debts. These papers were committed to Mr. Gilman, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Clark, Mr. Rutledge & Mr. Mercer.<sup>2</sup> The appt. of These gentlemen was brought about by a few members who wished to saddle with this embarrassment the men who had opposed the measures necessary for satisfying the army viz, the half pay & permanent funds, agst. one or other of which the individuals in question had voted.

This alarming intelligence from the army added to the critical situation to wch our affairs in Europe were reduced by the variance of our ministers with our ally, and to the difficulty of establishing the means of fulfilling the Engagemts. & securing the harmony of the U. S. & to the confusions apprehended from the approaching resignation of the Superintt. of Finance, gave peculiar awe & solemnity to the present moment, & oppressed the minds of Congs. with an anxiety & distress which had been scarcely felt in any period of the revolution.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:348.

<sup>1</sup> In his letter to Congress of March 12, Washington had enclosed (1) a March 10 call to the general and field officers at Newburgh to meet the following day to seek a redress of grievances, (2) Washington's general orders of March 11 postponing the meeting until March 15, and (3) two anonymous addresses to the army, all of which are in PCC, item 152, 11:105–24. Washington's letter and general orders are in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:208–9, 211–12; the letter and all the enclosures, which were later sent to the states with a congressional appeal for action, are in *JCC*, 24:294–99. See also Freeman, *Washington*, 5:431–37. For the controversy stirred among historians over the events at Newburgh in mid-March, see Richard H. Kohn, "The Inside Story of the Newburgh Conspiracy: America and the Coup d'Etat," *WMQ* 27 (April 1970): 187–220; Paul D. Nelson, "Horatio Gates at Newburgh, 1783: A Misunderstood Role," with a rebuttal by Kohn, *WMQ* 29 (January 1972): 143–58; and C. Edward Skeen, "The Newburgh Conspiracy Reconsidered," with a rebuttal by Kohn, *WMQ* 31 (April 1974): 271–98.

<sup>2</sup> This committee was discharged March 22 and Washington's letter was reassigned the same day to a committee appointed to consider his letter of March 18 reporting the outcome of the officers' meeting on March 15. See PCC, item 186, fol. 88; and Madison's Notes, March 22, note 1.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia, Feby. [*i.e.* March] 17. 1783<sup>1</sup>

We have the honor to inclose Your Excellency the provisional articles agreed upon between the United States and Great Britain, which

are upon the whole as advantageous as could have been expected. Whether the negotiations terminate in a general peace or not, important and it is to be hope useful consequences will flow from what has been done. The acknowledgement of our independence by Great Britain will facilitate connections and intercourse between these states and the powers of Europe in general. With respect to the probability of a peace we can only observe that the interest of every party calls for it, but that the state of the negotiations when the last advices left France makes the event not a little doubtful.

One thing however may be inferred with tolerable certainty, which is that whether there is peace or war New York will ere long be evacuated.

We have the honor to be, With perfect respect, Your Excellency's Most Obed servs.

FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> Although Hamilton clearly wrote "Feby.," the contents of this letter indicate that it was written after the arrival on March 12 of the provisional treaty with Great Britain.

## Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Sir.

Philadelpa 17th March 1783.

I have recd. your Favour of the 24th last by Mr Little. I had before by Letter informed you, that Mr Morriss promised me to write to a Mr Thompson of Boston, to Accept of the Office of Commissioner for Connecticut,<sup>1</sup> I beleive that he has not yet recd any Answer from him. The general Principles upon which the Accounts will be liquidated will be those established by Acts of Congress. I have not yet had an Oppertunity to forward a Sett of them to the Pay Table but will Attend to it, I wish that the Pay table could with more Accuracy than I think that they will be able to do, Ascertain the State Account, but it cannot be expected that they will be able to do this with Precision, til the Accounts of the U States are settled.

I wrote to you the 13th instant, and shall now inclose to you a Copy of the Preliminary Articles as agreed to and Signed. You will observe by the Papers which I also Send you, that the british Ministry do not agree wheither a permanent settlement is intended to be made with America conformable to those Articles in Case a Pacification shall not be effected between France and G Britain—certainly according to the Terms of the Treaty their Effect is as it ought to be, Suspended upon that Condition—and the future Conduct of G B in Regard to them will be governed by what they Shall apprehend will be a Matter of Policy. This Policy may probably direct them (as it seems to do) fully to gratify America, and depend upon Such advantages as may Result from it, and may hope that our want of System to regulate So Vast a



Country may render us very liable to the Impressions of their Councils, and Altho they may not expect to reestablish a political Relation with this Country, yet they may hope to recover in some degree those Affections which they have So wantonly lost, and that they Shall also finally recover Substantially the Benefits of Commerce—and induce us to place some Confidence in them. But it is but to little purpose to indulge ourselves in Conjectures upon the Subject when it will probably be so soon Ascertained whiether we shall have Peace or not. Upon Such an Event it is easy to be conceived that much must be done to put our Affairs upon a proper footing. Such a Territory has but rarely fallen to the Lot of one Nation. Some of the States are hesitating wheiether they will grant a five per Cent Impost for National Purposes—but why will they hesitate? when the whole object of foreign Commerce ought to be under one Direction?

I shall write to you or some of my Freinds by every Oppertunity, as I am sensible that you will wish for every Information at this important Period. I shall write no more to Mr Ellsworth as I Shall expect him here Very soon. I hope that he will not fail. You will present my Compliments to him, If he has not Set out on his Journey which I hope is the Case, and desire him in my name not to delay his coming forward.

I may by this Conveyance write a Letter to some of the family, if it Shall come into your Hands you will forward it. My Compliments to Mr Lyman and Mrs. Lyman. I am yours, with the kindest Regard,

Oliver Wolcott

NB. I expected to have sent my Letter yes[terday] by Mr Lamb—since which I have recd. a Letter from Mr. Ellsworth who says he shall come forward this Week which I am glad to know. No News of the Morning. I take it Sir Guy Carelton is getting rid of the Refugees as fast as he can, and Sending them off to N Scotia. It is I think impossible but he must have recd. more Information from his Court than is pretended—perhaps he wishes to get rid of those Troublesome Fellows and make some other dispositions before he makes any Communications which must Subject him to much Vexation.

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr., March 4, 1783.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia March 18th 1783

Immediately on Congress recieving Authentick Intelligence of the Provisionary Treatys being agreed to & signed between His Britanic Majestys Commissioner & the Commissioners of the United States I



transmitted to you an Account thereof,<sup>1</sup> but, then was not Able to give a Copy, which I now send you here Inclosed. The design, opperation & full Effect time will disclose. By the best Information we have reciev'd from our Commissioners at Paris the Prospects of a general Peace seem the most Probable, but it is possible we know that the Negotiation still may break off, & whether the provisional agreement as it is Stiled will signifye any thing or not is left a doubt, & by the Debates in Parliament we find it is not fully agreed what Construction to give them. Since my last I had the Honor of Receiving your favor of the 24th Ulmo by Mr Little with its Inclosures relating specially to the affair of Mr Smith.<sup>2</sup> I was happy in recieving them, as much had been said upon the matter here & a Variety of reports were Circulating to cast an odium on the State, but I am ready Armd on all Occasions for its Defense. In Connecticut, a full hearing & Consideration by the Legislature and all things Considered it was Judged proper to recieve him with his Effects, here I find a Gentn. may have been gone 7 years to the West Indies in Constant trade from thence to Great Britain & now returnd with his Effects, & tho Publickly known, yet no notice taken of it, nor animadversions thereon; tho' I am not called upon to Judge of the propriety of the Resolutions of the Assembly on that affair, neither would it be proper for me to do it as I did not hear the Cause, Yet I am Clear that when the Assembly on full Consideration had permitted him to become a Subject of that State & to bring in his Effects, thereby such a Confidence must be placed in the State that it would be highly dishonorable for them to suffer Any persons in the State in Contempt of their Authority, to frustrate their Intentions, Violate their pledged protection, or pay any regard to the pretended Authority of a Neighbouring State to Protect them therein.

I hope the tumult & Combinations referd to in Govr Bowens Letter to your Excellency has Subsided, as we hear nothing further from either Rhodisland, or the Massachusetts, & that they will not be able to make any Impressions on Connecticut, tho when taxes press hard, and the prospects of success from our foreign Enemies Weakens & the common danger (the Strongest Cement to our Union) lessens, A large Debt Contracted both at home & Abroad, which must be paid tho gradually, our Army loudly calling upon us for Justice if not more, our Creditors Numerous & Clamorous, Our Credit sinking, our pledged faith failing, New dangers spring up from every quarter, States Jealous, people tumultuous, Counsels perplexed, then it is that the wi[s]dome & fortitude of those entrusted in publick affairs is brot to the Test, then they are called upon to exert themselves & with Patience and perseverance Ind endeavor to save the Sinking Ship tossed with Tempest, dashed with Angry Waves, suffering patiently ill report, keen reproaches, ingratitude & slander, Trusting in the supreme Governor of the Universe to direct the Storm, still the Waves, & Guide the Ship

into a Haven Calm & safe. When I am attending Congress the Demands of the Army are Continually pressing; Unable to Relieve them, the difficulties attending every State to Contend with & secure our own. If I could have every thing done in Congress according to my own mind & opinion it would be far from remedying all the Evils, or accomplishing the good Wished for, but the Variety of Interests As well as Conceptions of measures producing different opinions not only delay, but obstruct our proceedings & perplexes those concerned that the mind is Continually filled with anxiety tho not with despair. If I was to return home, the Acting within a smaller sphere yet am sensible I should have the same difficulties to encounter Unless they should cast me over board as a Jonas to appease the Storm, which if it will, & save the Ship I think I should be Very Content. The Officers of the Army have had a Comtee or Agents attending here this 3 months, Not only to solicit justice, pay or Security therefor (which Congress have been ready to Comply with to the Utmost of their power) but to enforce their half pay for life (which is their darling object) or what they now move for, a commutation for whole pay for a Term of Years after the Close of the War, to be Computed at equal Value. I was in hopes, & which seemd till late the disposition of Congress, to have referd each line to their respective States for a Compensation, but it is represented by their Agents that the Army, especially the Connecticut line, are most averse to that, they think they have obtaind security from the States for their pay & depreciation & dare not or will not trust them for a further Compensation, their proposal on that head has met with difficulties in Congress, as it requires Nine States. 8 States & half Connecticut have agreed to it, but for reasons which I have & have offered I have been in the Negative<sup>3</sup> & which has hitherto stoppd the measure, New Hampshire, Rhodisland & Jerseys in the Negative,<sup>4</sup> tho I have proposed, if some alterations could be made in the formed resolve that might remove some special difficulties that now lyes in the way, that I would finally give my Vote for it as now the whole blame if any they say lyes upon me alone, against the Voice of 8 states & half Connecticut. We are lately Informed that the officers in the Army finding their measure obstructed on that Account have thrown out many Indecent threats, & a proposed Combination forming to carry their points & do themselves Justice as they call it with their Arms & at the Point of the Bayonet threaten not to disband even if Peace is established, but to make themselves a Compleat Compensation by force of Arms, & Judge for themselves. This has been often held out as an Argument boldly on the floor of Congress; They have a prudent & discreet General at Head, & a wise Providence which superintends, therefore fear ought not, & trust will not direct or Influence our Conduct, but the great principl[e]s of right & Justice lead us on our way.

I am Very glad our Assembly made a requisition of all our Civil list &c their salaries & expenditures.<sup>5</sup> It is preparing & hope will have a beneficial Effect. I think they are much too numerous and expensive & have not been wanting in my Indeavours to lessen all needless expenditures ever since I have been here, Indeed their numerous establishment has All been since I was last at Congress tho no doubt in part beneficial.

We shall carefully attend to procure relief for the State of Connecticut on Account of their securities given to their line of the Army till Jan'y 1782 which I was in hopes of Preventing by my early information to the Assembly of what was done in Congress on that head.

The Journals of Congress are now made out & printed to a late day which shall forward when Brown returns or put them up in a box or chest with Numerous papers which have lain here & been increasing ever since Congress set, & send them to Hartford when I return which expect if Providence permit may be the fore part of May, *(i.e.) if money is sent me to clear out, otherwise must pawn my self here on expence of the State.* tho I fear the great & Important matters which ought to Command the utmost attention of Congress & which have been long pressing upon them will not be wholly got through by that time. All the N England states have been but a little while represented, some are going off soon, I never have as yet left the State unrepresented, it never needed representation more, nor a wiser nor firmer than at present. I sincerely wish it had been in my power to have done my Country more service. My Indeavors have not been wanting, nor Will, nor Inclination.

I was about Closing my letter, but cannot omit suggesting some observations on our National Debt Contracted by a long tedious & expensive War. The Object to us was truly great & will so appear to the world in Succeeding ages & generations; our present prospects are fair (by the good hand of Providence) for Establishing that freedom & Independence we have been Contending for; & now we begin to repine at the Cost, & Wish we had died in Egypt. The Expence has been great but not equal to Britain our Enemy, or France our Ally; no doubt there has been in the Confusion much Waste, great loss by the Enemy by land & sea, in many instances profusion, imbezlements, frauds, Imprudent management &c &c. It is Incident to a State of War, & to which the most experienced Nations are Subject to, much more to one where everything was New, untried & unexperienced, but it is past & gone & now cannot be helped. What shall become of the honest Debts Contracted and due to the Army, & for their supplies? Shall we, or can we cancell them with a dash, and Implore Heaven for Success? No. Our Army say they will pay themselves & injured Innocence will raise its Crye against us, & Justice demand satisfaction. What shall we do? In the first place lessen all unnecessary expen-

ditures as fast as possible, ascertain our Debt to the line of Justice, & pay as fast as we can, but we cannot pay the Principal, then the call is Secure our Interest and then a person can transferr his Debt at any time if he wants it for or near the Value; this will satisfy the Army & other Creditors; but the Question is how shall that be done by direct taxes on each state, justly proportioned? The People have been so harassed with taxes & Collectors, that they feel galled, fretted, Impatient, & many really unable to pay; must not a new mode then be adopted, which will leave every one pretty much at his Choice whether to pay or not? & when he does pay, not to know or feel it? By this is clearly seen is meant dutys or Impost on foreign trade or Importation to be paid by the Mercht in the first Instance, & then it must take its Chance. This is the mode projected, & for a limited time, & sacredly to be appropriated to the payment of Interest, & the Excess towards sinking the principal, the Debts made out & certifyd to each State, & a strict account yearly rendered of the Expenditure, Superfluous Articles or such as are mostly consumed by the rich & Wealthy to bear the greatest burthen. This is said in general to be the only plan which appears feaseble; Congress have had this subject long under Consideration to be ripened for the Approbation of the several States, for it is they alone can give it its sanction & seal. I only give the Sketch. I now Inclose the articles referd to agreed upon between the Commissioners of Britain & America, with Mr Morris state of expenditures to 1782 and the remainder are making out to be soon transmitted. Am with the greatest esteem & respect your Excellys. most obdrt Hle Sert,  
Elipht Dyer

RC (CtHi: Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Dyer to Trumbull, March 12.

<sup>2</sup> John Smith of Worthington, Conn., formerly of New York, had been granted permission on January 22, 1783, by the Connecticut General Assembly to send his son Justus into New York to bring out "Negroes, Money etc." Connecticut General Assembly Journal, DLC (ESR).

<sup>3</sup> Dyer had voted on March 10 against the proposed commutation of half pay for life to full pay for five years, while his colleague Oliver Wolcott had voted for it. See *JCC*, 24:178-79.

<sup>4</sup> Dyer appears to have added the names of these states as an afterthought.

<sup>5</sup> See Dyer to William Williams, March 2, 1783, note 4.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir,

Philadelphia 18th March 1783.

I should have done myself the honor of writing to your Excellency before now if my Colleague had not promised to communicate the intelligence received by Captain Barney,<sup>1</sup> and to forward a Letter ad-



dressed to you from the minister of France. I have so little to mention at this time that I am scarcely justifiable in troubling you with a Letter. The report of the day is that General Carleton has informed the loyalists that unless they take the advantage of the fleet soon to sail from New York he cannot promise them another opportunity. That, in consequence of this, near 500 families were preparing to depart: but perhaps the preliminary Articles, which allows them a residence of 12 Months, may prevent it at present. We are also informed that 60 Transports, with troops, have fallen down to the hook, suppos'd for the West Indies. A Minister from Holland is expected in a short time. There are great tumults in that Republic. A plot has been discovered for cutting off the Patriots, and there is a strong party for divesting the Prince Stadholder of all his authority.

Since my coming to Town I have been informed that the remains of Colo. Haslet are interred in the Market Street Burying Ground,<sup>2</sup> within about 18 feet of the Wall of the Church. The spot is yet known, but will soon be forgotten unless it is perpetuated by something monumental. Would it not be proper for our State to pay respect to his Memory by ordering a Tomb Stone, at least, with a proper inscription, to be placed over his Grave? This would not Cost, in my opinion, more than ten pounds. If they chose to be more profuse, a monument might be placed against the wall of the Church, as plain, or as much ornamented as they pleased to order. Their Delegates in Congress would not think it a trouble to have their orders carried into execution.

With respectful Compliments to your Lady and Family, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obt & humble Servt

E. McComb.

RC (DeHi: McComb Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Gunning Bedford to Van Dyke, March 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Col. John Haslet had been killed during the battle of Princeton, N.J., in January 1777.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Teusday March 18 [1783].

On the report of the Committee to whom the 3 paragraphs of the report on revenues <sup>1</sup>(see March 6). had been recommitted, the said paragraphs were expunged so as to admit the following amendment which took place without opposition, viz

"Resolved that it be recommended &c &c (see 1st ¶)

Upon all rum of Jamaica proof per Gallon  
Upon all other spirituous liquors

Dolr.  
4/90  
3/90

Upon Madeira wine	12/90
Upon the wines of Lisbon, Oporto, those called Sherry } & upon all French wines	6/90
Upon the wines called Malaga or Teneriff	5/90
Upon all other wines	4/90
Upon common Bohea Tea perlb.	6/90
Upon all other Teas	24/90
Upon pepper perlb.	3/90
Upon Brown Sugar perlb	½/90
Upon loaf Sugar	2/90
Upon all other Sugars	1/90
Upon Molasses per Gallon	1/90
Upon Cocoa & Coffee perlb	1/90
Upon salt after the war per Bushel	1/8

And upon all goods except arms, ammunition & cloathing or other articles<sup>2</sup> imported for the use of the U. S. a duty of 5 perCt. ad valorem: provided that there be allowed a bounty of ⅛ of a dollar for every Quintal of dried fish exported from these U. S. and a like sum for every Barrel of pickled fish, beef or pork, to be paid or allowed to the exporter thereof at the port from which they shall be so exported.

The arguments urged by Mr. Wilson in behalf of his motion (see Journal) for a land tax of ¼ of a dollar per 100 Acres,<sup>3</sup> other than those heretofore generally urged were that it was more moderate than had been paid before the revolution & it cd. not be supposed the people wd grudge to pay as the price of their liberty what they formerly paid to their oppressors; that if it was unequal, this inequality wd. be corrected by the States in other taxes, that as the tax on trade would fall chiefly on the inhabitants of the lower Country who consumed the imports, the tax on land wd. affect those who were remote from the Sea & consumed little;

On the opposite side it was alledged that such a tax was repugnant to the popular ideas of equality & particularly wd. never be acceded to by the S. States, at least unless they were to be respectively credited for the amount; and if such credit were to be given, it wd. be best to let the States chuse such taxes as would best suit them.

A letter came in & was read from the Secry. of F. A.<sup>4</sup> stating the perplexing alternative to which Congs. were reduced by the secret article relating to W[est] F[lorida] either of dishonoring themselves by becoming a party to the concealment or of wounding the feelings & destroying the influence of our Ministers by disclosing the article to the French Court: and proposing as advisable on the whole

1. that he be authorized to communicate the article in question to The French Minister in such manner as wd. best tend to remove unfavourable



vorable impressions which might be made on the Ct. of F. as to the sincerity of Congress or their Ministers.

2. That the sd. Ministers be informed of this communication, and instructed to agree that the limit for W. F. proposed in the separate article be allowed to whatever power the said Colony may be confirmed by a Treaty of peace.

3. That it be declared to be the sense of Congress that the preliminary articles between U. S. & G. B. are not to take effect untill peace shall be actually signed between the Kings of F. & G. B.<sup>5</sup>

Ordered that tomorrow be assigned for the consideration of the said letter.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:350–52.

<sup>1</sup> These three paragraphs were a revision of the first and third paragraphs of the committee's original report with the addition of a recommendation for a bounty on certain exports. The second paragraph of that report, recommending a 5% duty on prizes and prize goods, had been deleted by the committee based on a March 8 response from Robert Morris. See Madison's Notes, March 6–7 and March 11, 1783, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> At this point in the manuscript Madison inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note: "The other exception as to Cards & wire for making them &c. was struck out unanimously on the motion of Mr. Clarke; being considered no longer necessary & contrary to the general policy of encouraging necessary manufactures among ourselves." Abraham Clark's motion was not entered in the journals, but in Thomas FitzSimon's draft of these three paragraphs, the provision exempting "Wool & Cotton Cards & Wire for Making them" from duty was struck out. See PCC, item 26, fols. 423–24.

<sup>3</sup> For the defeat of James Wilson's motion, see *JCC*, 24:191–92.

<sup>4</sup> Robert R. Livingston's March 18 letter, which was referred the following day to a committee of five chaired by James Wilson, is in PCC, item 79, 3:41–54; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:313–16. For the committee's report, see Madison's Notes, March 22, 1783, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> At this point in the manuscript Madison inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following observation: "This was meant to guard agst. a construction that they were to take effect when peace sd. be agreed on by those powers, & the latter be *ready* to sign, altho the former sd. be restrained untill the other parties sd. be ready for signing."

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My Dear Sir

Philada. March 18. 1783

I recd. yesterday your favor of the 7 inst. together with that of the 22 Ult. which ought to have been brought by the preceding mail.<sup>1</sup> I regret much the uncertainty which attends your going into the Legislature. Is it possible that the difference between the amt. of your salary from the State and of the profits from which your office excludes you can form an essential article in your pecuniary plans? I am far from being singular in supposing that the business on the opposite side would be a much more productive fund.

My letter by Express communicated to you the outlines of the intelligence brought by Capt. Barney from our Ministers in Europe.<sup>2</sup> The tediousness of the Cypher does not permit me now to enter into detail. I can only add that notwithstanding the flattering aspect of the preliminary articles there are various circumstances which check our confidence in them, as there are some which will {detract from our joy}<sup>3</sup> if they should be {finally establisshed}. To explain this it must suffice to observe that The latest letters from our Ministers express the greatest {jealousy of G B} and secondly that the situation of {France between} the {interfering claims of Spain} & {U S} to which may perhaps be added some particular {views of her own} having carried {her into a discountenance of} claims, the {suspicions of our ministers} on {that side} gave an opportunity to {British address to decoy them into a} degree {of confidence} which seems to leave their {own reputations} as well as the {safety of their country at the mercy of Shelburne}. In this {business Jay has taken the lead} & proceeded to {a length of which you} can {form little idea. Adams has followed with} cordiality. {Franklin has been dragged into it. Laurens} in his {separate letter} professes a {violent suspicion of G. B.} and {good will & confidence toward France}.<sup>4</sup> The {dilemma to which Congress are} reduced is {infinitely perplexing}. If {they abet the proceedings of their ministers all} confidence {with France is at an end} which in the event of {a renewal of the war must be dread}full as in {that of peace it may} be {dishonourable. If they avow the conduct of their ministers} by {their} usual {frankness of communication} the most serious {inconveniences} also {present} themselves. The torment of this {dilemma can not be justly conveyed} with{out a} full{er recital of facts than is permitted}. I wish you not to hazard even an interlined decyphrement of those which I have deposited in your confidence.

Despatches were yesterday recd. from Genl Washington which have {received} & {increased our apprehenseons on that side}.<sup>5</sup> There seems to be reason to {suspect that} the {intrigues of} the {civil creditors fan} the {discontents of} the {army. The conduct of Washington} does equal honor to {his prudence and to his virtue}.

The state {of our foreign affairs and of the army} combined with the difficulty and uncertainty of providing for justice & for our finances & with the {approaching exit of Morris give a peculiar solemnity to} the {present moment}. God send us a Speedy & {honourable deliverance from every danger}. Pray hasten the new Cypher which you have promised.

I have not yet perused your notes but thank you for them. Mr. J——n<sup>6</sup> is still left in dubio as to his destination. Before the next post the final decision of Congs. will probably take place. The paper inclosed to Mr. Ambler will give you the first part of the parliamentary debates, as the one herewith inclosed will the preliminary articles. The eagerness

of the opposition for them portends violent altercations. The liberality of the articles to the U.S. will probably be the ground of Attack from the old Ministry; the omission of Commerce that of Fox's division.

Farewell.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:355-56.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 279-80, 318-19.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Randolph, March 12, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in cipher.

<sup>4</sup> For the letters from the ministers abroad, see Madison's Notes, March 12-15, 1783, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> For Washington's March 12 letter, see Madison's Notes, March 17, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Thomas Jefferson.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir,

Philadelphia March 18th 1783.

We have the honor to forward the enclosed copy of the Provisional Treaty which we received this Morning from the Secretary of foreign affairs. A rough copy hastily made was sent by express last Wednesday Evening as far as Baltimore Town, from whence some Gentleman of that place was requested to give it a Speedy conveyance to your Excellency.<sup>1</sup>

We are truly sorry to inform you that the discontents of our Army have risen to a very alarming height, in so much as to threaten fatal consequences. Anonymous addresses calculated to inflame the passions had been industriously & clandestinely circulated through the Army, calling a meeting at an appointed place on the 13th Inst. to devise a mode of redressing their own wrongs, while it was yet in their power, declaring at the same time that no reliance was to be placed in the justice of Congress, from whom their unavailing applications had met with only inattention or contempt. The General interposed his authority as soon as he was apprised of this dangerous proceeding, and in general orders reprobated the measure, though in very gentle terms, he proposed, instead of the 13th that the meeting should be on the 15th & then by deputies from the General, field Commissioned & Staff Officers to state their grievances.<sup>2</sup> This proposition was acceded to. The General hoped the step he had taken to dissipate a Cloud so hastily collected & which threatened to burst on a sudden, would meet the approbation of Congress, he has the best disposition to support their Authority with his whole influence & power; at the same time he relies on Congress taking the most efficacious & speedy measures their circumstances will admit of to comply with the reasonable claims of the Army.

The Bill for £300 which the Intendent gave Mr. Carroll reason to expect by the Post of last week, is not received, and when it is, will not be adequate to our claims or necessities.<sup>3</sup> The extravagance of living in this place & the great scarcity of Money said to be felt by all, by us in particular, reduce us to the distressing alternative, of leaving Congress or subsisting, at the expence of a Class of People who cannot afford to give a credit.

We have the Honor to be, with great respect & esteem, your Excellency Mo. Hble servts.

Tho. S. Lee

Danl. Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Lee and signed by Lee, Carroll, and Hemsley.

<sup>1</sup> See Maryland Delegates to Paca, March 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 17, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> For the Maryland Council's March 31 directive to the intendant, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, in response to this appeal, see *Md. Archives*, 48:393.

## John Francis Mercer to William Fitzhugh and George Weedon

Dear Gentlemen:

March 18th, 1783.

I do not recollect writing you since the arrival of Capt. Barney. It was deemed proper by Congress to make the substance of the communications received by him as public as possible, as well to give equal ground to retard the acts of speculation, as to satisfy the minds of the people at large, anxiously looking for peace. A letter of Mr. Laurens, of a date posterior to those of his colleagues,<sup>1</sup> conveys strong suspicions of the designs of the Court of London. He speaks of very late advices received thence, which impressed him with an idea that their plans was to disunite the belligerent powers—and he says that the spirit of the nation is high for the prosecution of the war against France. This minister's own reflections are wise, and merit great attention. He recommends ardently to adhere religiously to our engagements with France, whose views he could discover no reason to suspect, and cautions against trusting to our new and half made friends.

The newspapers enclosed, which contain parliamentary debates,<sup>2</sup> discover an indecision even in the Cabinet Council of the King of Great Britain, as to the effect of the preliminaries signed with A., consequently we have to apprehend that the L[ord] Shelburne has not disclosed all his ultimate views, even to them—for if he had, they could not have disagreed. He who cannot trust his own friends must not expect that his enemies will trust him.

We have advices, which our official dispatches warrant the belief of, that France and England have signed. Upon the whole, if we have not peace, there has been a game played that will be the wonder of ages yet to come; however, I have great hopes and small fears.

You will observe, that altho' what I communicate to you is not under a particular injunction of secrecy, yet anything almost is expected to be secret, until publication is ordered. You will, therefore, use every caution.

With sincere esteem, I am, Dr. Gentlemen, Your friend,

John F. Mercer.

[P.S.] I am sorry to inform you, that an alarming confusion prevails in the army. I hope the wisdom and prudence of the General will prevent any ill effects.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 204–5.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Henry Laurens' letter to Robert R. Livingston of December 24, 1782, for which see James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 12–15, 1783, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the *Pennsylvania Journal* of March 15 and the *Pennsylvania Packet* of March 15 and 18, which included excerpts from debates in the House of Commons on December 9, 11, and 14 and in the House of Lords on December 13.

## John Francis Mercer to Henry Tazewell

Dear Sir <sup>1</sup>

Phila. Mar. 18th 17[83]

I wrote you the substance of the dispatches recd. by Capt. Barney <sup>2</sup> & now enclose you papers which contain Parliamentary debates, which together with the import of a Letter recd. from Mr. Laurens, give much room to suspect the designs of the Court of London. The date of this letter is posterior to that of any from his Colleagues & he seems strongly impressed with an idea that Lord Shelburnes ultimate view is to disunite the belligerent Powers—& he says that the spirit of the Nation is high for the prosecution of the war agt. France. His reflections are wise & merit attention. He recommends ardently to adhere religiously to our engagements with France whose designs he has not the least cause to suspect, & cautions us agt. trusting new & half made friends.

You will perceive that the Cabinet Council of the King of Great Britain are wholly undecided as to the effect of the Preliminary Articles signed with America—consequently we have to apprehend what Fox suggests that Ld. Shelburne has not yet disclos'd all.

However we have reason to believe that France has signed too, & measures are taken to bring the Dutch in. Spain I believe is agreed & if a Peace does not actually take place, it will be the most unexampled train of Jesuitism ever exhibited to the World.



I meant in this to enclose you a state of our National Debt & to have wrote to you largely on a political subject which deserves your most critical Attention. I[n] yours to me you say—The confæderation has pointed out the mode by which Congress are to raise money—true—then Congress to do Justice must demand of the States their proportion of the public Debt. Can they pay it. We shall all answer no: the thing is impossible. Is there any other mode by which Justice can be [done] to those who have furnished the means which ensured our Independance? Yes the establishment of certain appropria[ted] funds, scruple easy to be comprehended & the produce of which is certain for the payment of the interest, whenever the payment of an annual Interest, is so established, we can either borrow money to pay off[f] the principal of our Debt, or the person holding the Capital may dispose of it—untill this is done, those who have demands agt. the Public, have not recd. Justice & I fear unless they soon have some prospect, the consequences which will ensue will prove dangerous indeed. I do not wish that Congress should have the affixing those funds, the States may designate them, all but the duty on *trade* imports which must be subjected to some general regulation or it will not be productive. Experience has taught us that whenever one state lays a duty on a certain Article a neighbouring State takes it off in order to draw the trade thither, thus counteracting forever each other—nothing could be expected from the fund, wch if viewed in every light will be found the best calculated of any that can be devised to produce large sums in the correct mode.

The United States have become generally & constitutionally bound to the individual creditor. You cannot then turn him over to any particular State, you may as well deny him the debt. We contracted with you who had ample power to engage the States generally—they will say—& it was on the fault of no one individual state.

The Situation of Congress at Present is by no means enviable, placed in a responsible Situation, receiving repeated applications, painted in the most lively colours of distress, without the means of relieving—hemmed in on all sides with difficulties that appear insurmountable—they find the fatigue of Office aggravated by reproaches of those who have not on whom else to vent their spleen.

The Army are in a Situation truly alarming & highly critical, & but for the pru[dence] & discretion of the Commander in chief, the [con]sequences woud perhaps prove a reiteration of those Calamities which have already desolated this Country.

Our credit on which alone We could borrow money in Europe to satisfy them—has failed entirely as soon as it was known that the 5 per Cent scheme had failed. Doctor Franklin writes us this & so does Mr. A. I am in hopes you will consider these things well & make up your mind agt. the next Session of Assembly, for I know the strength of



those who wish well to the Union & the true intrest of America will hardly bear down the local politics & prejudices of the many.

Adieu

John F. Mercer

RC (Herbert Klingelhofer, Bethesda, Md., 1986). Addressed: "Henry Tazewell Esqr., Williamsburg, Virginia."

<sup>1</sup> Henry Tazewell (1753–1799) of Brunswick Co., Va., was a lawyer and Williamsburg delegate to the Virginia Assembly, 1778–85.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

[March 18, 1783]

The import of the last Dispatches received by Capt. Barney had been communicated. A Letter from Mr. Laurens received at the same time had not been read in Congress. Its date was posterior to those of his colleagues, and conveyed strong suspicions of the designs of the Court of London—that their plan was to disunite the belligerent Powers & he thinks the spirit of the English high "for the prosecution of the war against France."

The minister's reflections were wise and deserved "the most serious attention." He recommends we "should ardently adhere in all points to every engagement with the Court of France" whose views he did not suspect, and cautions us against "trusting to our new but half-made Friends." The news-paper reports of the Parliamentary debates discovered indecision, even in the Cabinet of the British King, consequently he inferred Ld. Shelburne had not disclosed his ultimate views even to them. . . .

Refer to sundry claims against the State for goods furnished by French Houses &c. and recommends Mr. Barclay the consul in France, be appointed to settle them.<sup>1</sup>

P.S. By a letter from Genl. Washington, rec'd the day before, they "find the army in a situation highly alarming & truly critical." They "trust much to the prudence & discretion of the General to prevent desperate measures."

John F. Mercer

J. Madison, Jr.

Theo. Bland, Jr.

Jos. Jones

A. Lee

MS not found; summary reprinted from *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 3:458. The surviving cover for this letter is in the hand of John Francis Mercer, for whose views see the preceding two entries.

<sup>1</sup> For Robert R. Livingston's March 15 letter to the Virginia delegates on this topic, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:342.

## Elias Boudinot to John Lowell

Sir,

Philadelphia March 19th. 1783

By the last Post, I was favoured with your very polite private Letter of the 12th Ultimo.<sup>1</sup> The Terms of it are too flattering not to claim my warmest acknowledgments for your kind Sentiments towards me, and to embrace your Offers of Friendship with the utmost Pleasure. Be assured Sir that I esteem your Acquaintance as a valuable Acquisition and shall cultivate it, with the highest Satisfaction.

Before the rect. of this, you will have recd the provisional Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. The Circumstances attending it, are not without embarrassments, as France, Spain & Holland are eventually to finish their Terms with England, before we can claim any benefit from this negotiation. By the debates in the Houses of Commons & Lords, it appears as if some of that Body would inculcate an Idea as if America would be bound in Case France refused their Terms. I hope no American will ever have an Idea of deserting France upon any Terms whatever that are inconsistent with good Faith.

We wait the next arrivals with great Anxiety & Expectation. The Conduct of Mr. H——<sup>2</sup> is all of a piece—many People suspect the harshest Things of him. I had entertained the best Ideas of his Integrity, but I confess his late Conduct has stumbled me much—especially the publishing certain Extracts of public Letters which he gave his word should not be made publick by him. Let his Integrity be ever so great, he has been the means of giving these united States a Shock, she will feel for years to come, and which indeed I think threatens our Union more than all the Arms of G B. The Conduct of Rhode Island & Virginia will alarm the Continent not a little, when they see the fatal Consequences, and that Time is not far off. The first Effects of it is, the resignation of our Financier, and this tho perplexing indeed, is among the least Evils attending it.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect & Esteem, Sir, Your most Obedt and very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

P.S. I forgot to mention that the Report<sup>3</sup> handed about by Mr H. was one brought in by a Committee, that appeared so incompatible with the Views of Congress that it recd but one Reading & was never afterwards taken up.

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Endorsed: "(Private)."

<sup>1</sup> Lowell had sent this letter with an official letter to Boudinot of the same date conditionally accepting his appointment to the court of appeals, which was read in Congress on March 17. See *JCC*, 24:186n.2; *PCC*, item 78, 14:531–34; and Boudinot to Lowell, December 11, 1782.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Rhode Island delegate David Howell.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

## Samuel Holten to John Avery

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 19th March 1783.

I wrote you the 11th ultimo,<sup>1</sup> but have not been favor'd with any from you.

Congress have appointed a committee to prepare a recommendation to the several States to sit apart a day of fasting, humiliation & prayer, but I don't expect it will be finished so as to go by this post; Therefore I thought it adviseable to give you this notice.<sup>2</sup>

I suppose before this comes to hand, you will be well acquainted with the late intelligence from Europe; we are still in expectation of more important news from that quarter.

I must beg leave to refer you to the inclosed for the intelligence of the day.

I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> A committee consisting of Holten, Eliphalet Dyer, and Arthur Lee was appointed for this purpose on March 18, but Congress subsequently decided against such a commemoration and eventually discharged the committee on April 28. See PCC, item 186, fol. 89; and Holten to John Hancock, April 30, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday March 19 [1783].

A letter was read from the Superintendent. of Finance inclosing letters from Docr. Franklin accompd. with extracts from the Ct. de Vergennes relative to money-affairs, the Supt. thereupon declaring roundly that our credit was at an end & that no further pecuniary aids were to be expected from Europe.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rutledge denied these assertions & expressed some indignation at them. Mr. Bland said that as the Supt. was of this opinion it would be absurd for him to be Minister of Finance and moved that the come. on his motion for arranging the department might be instructed to report without loss of time.<sup>2</sup> This motion was negatived as censuring the Come. but it was understood to be the sense of Congs. that they sd. report.

The order of the day viz the letter from the Secretary of F. A. was taken up.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Wolcot conceived it unnecessary to waste time on the subject as he presumed Congs. would never so far censure the Ministers who had obtained such terms for this Country, as to disavow their conduct.

Mr. Clarke was decided agst. communicating the separate article,<sup>4</sup> which wd. be sacrificing meritorious Ministers, & wd. rather injure

than relieve our national honour. He admitted that the separate article put an advantage into the hands of the Enemy, but did not on the whole deem it of any very great consequence. He thought Congress ought to go no farther than to inform the Ministers that they were sorry for the necessity which had led them into the part they had taken, & to leave them to get rid of the embarrassmt. as to the separate article in such way as they sd. judge best. This expedient would save Congress & spare our Ministers who might have been governed by reasons not known to Congress.

Mr. Mercer said that not meaning to give offence any where, he should speak his sentiments freely. He gave it as his clear & decided opinion that the Ministers had insulted Congress by sending them assertions without proof as reasons for violating their instructions, & throwing themselves into the confidence of G. B. He observed that France in order to make herself equal to the Enemy had been obliged to call for aid & had drawn Spain agst. her interest into the war: that it was not improbable that She had entered into some specific engagements for that purpose; that hence might be deduced the perplexity of her situation, of which advantage had been taken by G. B.—an advantage in which our Ministers had concurred for sowing jealousies between F. & U. S. & of which further advantage wd. be taken to alienate the minds of the people of this Country from their ally by presenting him as the obstacle to peace. The British Court he said havg gained this point may easily frustrate the negociation & renew the war agst. divided enemies. He approved of the conduct of the Count de Vergennes in promoting a treaty under the 1st Commission to Oswald as preferring the substance to the shadow & proceeding from a desire of peace. The conduct of our Ministers throughout, particularly in giving in writing every thing called for by British Ministers expressive of distrust of France was a mixture of follies which had no example, was a tragedy to America & a comedy to all the world beside. He felt inexpressible indignation at their meanly stooping as it were to lick the dust from the feet of a nation whose hands were still died with the blood of their fellow-citizens. He reprobated the chicane & low cunning wch. marked the journals transmitted to congress,<sup>5</sup> and contrasted them with the honesty & good faith which became all nations & particularly an infant republic. They proved that America had at once all the follies of youth and all the vices of old age: thinks it wd. [be] necessary to recall our Ministers: fears that France may be already acquainted with all the transactions of our Ministers, even with the separate article, & may be only awaiting the reception given to it by Congs. to see how far her hopes of cutting off the right arm of G. B. by supporting our revolution may have been well founded: and in case of our basely disappointing her, may league with our Enemy for our destruction and for a division of the spoils. He was aware of the

risks to which such a league wd. expose F. of finally losing her share, but supposed that the British Islands might be made hostages for her security. He said America was too prone to depreciate political merit, & to suspect where there was no danger: that the honor of the King of F. was dear to him, that he never wd. betray or injure us unless he sd. be provoked & justified by treachery on our part. For the present he acquiesced in the proposition of the Secy. of F. A. But when the question sd. come to be put, he sd. be for a much more decisive resolution.

Mr. Rutledge said he hoped the character of our ministers wd. not be affected, much less their recall produced by declamations agst. them: and that facts would be ascertained & stated before any decision sd. be passed: that the Ct. de Vergennes had expressly declared to our Ministers his desire that they might treat apart, alluded to & animadverted upon the instruction which submited them to French Councils; was of opinion that the separate article did not concern France & therefore there was no necessity for communicating it to her; & that as to Spain she deserved nothing at our hands, she had treated us in a manner that forfeited all claim to our good offices or our confidence, she had not as had been supposed entered into the present war as an ally to our ally and for our support; but as she herself had declared, as a principal & on her own account. He sd. he was for adhering religiously to the Spirit & letter of the treaty with France, that our Ministers had done so; & if recalled or censured for the part they had acted, he was sure no man of spirit would take their place. He concluded with moving that the letter from the Secy. for F. A. might be referred to a special comme. who might enquire into all the facts relative to the subject of it. Mr. Holten 2ded the motion.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Williamson was opposed to harsh treatment of Ministers who had shewn great ability. He said they had not infringed the Treaty, and as they had recd. the concurrence of the Ct. de Vergennes for treating apart, they had not in that respect violated their instruction. He proposed that Congress sd. express to the Ministers their concern at the separate article & leave them to get over the embarrassment as they shd. find best.

Mr. Mercer in answer to Mr. Rutledge said that his language with respect to the Ministers was justified by their refusal to obey instructions, censured wth. great warmth the servile confidence of Mr. Jay in particular in the British Ministers. He said the separate article was a reproach to our character, and that if Congress wd. not themselves disclose it he himself would disclose it to his Constituents who would disdain to be United with those who patronize such dishonorable proceedings. He was called to order by the Presidt. who said that the article in question was under an injunction of secrecy & he cd. not permit the orders of the House to be trampled upon.<sup>7</sup>



Mr. Lee took notice that obligations in national affairs as well as others ought to be reciprocal & he did not know that France had ever bound herself to like engagements as to concert of negotiation with those into which America had at different times been drawn. He thought it highly improper to censure Ministers who had negotiated well, said that it was agreeable to practice & necessary to the end proposed, for Ministers in particular emergences to swerve from strict instructions. France he said wanted to sacrifice our interests to her own or to those of Spain, that the French answer to the British Memorial contained a passage which deserved attention on this subject. She answer'd the reproaches of perfidy contained in that Memorial by observing that obligations being reciprocal, a breach on one side absolved the other.<sup>8</sup> The Ct. de Vergennes he was sure was too much a master of negotiation not to approve the management of our Ministers instead of condemning it. No man lamented more than he did any diminution of the confidence between this country & France, but if the misfortune should ensue it could not be denied that it originated with France, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our territorial rights, those very rights which by the Treaty she had guarantied to us. He wished the preliminary articles had not been signed without the knowledge of France but was persuaded that in whatever light she might view it, she was too sensible of the necessity of our Independence to her safety ever to abandon it. But let no censure fall on our Ministers who had upon the whole done what was best. He introduced the instruction of June 15, 1781,<sup>9</sup> proclaimed it to be the greatest opprobrium and stain to this Country which it had ever exposed itself to, & that it was in his judgment the true cause of that distrust & coldness which prevailed between our Ministers & the French Court, inasmuch as it could not be viewed by the former without irritation & disgust. He was not surprized that those who considered France as the Patron rather than the ally of this Country should be disposed to be obsequious to her, but he was not of that number.

Mr. Hamilton urged the propriety of proceeding with coolness and circumspection. He thought it proper in order to form a right judgment of the conduct of our Ministers, that the views of the French & British Courts should be examined. He admitted it as not improbable that it had been the policy of France to procrastinate the definitive acknowledgment of our Independence on the part of G. B. in order to keep us more knit to herself & untill her own interests could be negotiated. The arguments however urged by our Ministers on this subject, although strong, were not conclusive; as it was not certain, that this policy & not a desire of excluding obstacles to peace, had produced the opposition of the French Court to our demands. Caution & vigilance he thought were justified by the appearance & these alone. But compare this policy with that of G. B. survey the past cruelty & present



duplicity of her councils, behold her watching every occasion & trying every project for dissolving the honorable ties which bind the U. S. to their ally, & then say on which side our resentments & jealousies ought to lie. With respect to the instruction submitting our Ministers to the advice of France, he had disapproved it uniformly since it had come to his knowledge, but he had always judged it improper to repeal it. He disapproved also highly of the conduct of our Ministers in not shewing the preliminary articles to our Ally before they signed them, and still more so of their agreeing to the separate article. This conduct gave an advantage to the Enemy which they would not fail to improve for the purpose of inspiring France with indignation & distrust of the U. S. He did not apprehend (with Mr. Mercer) any danger of a coalition between F. & G. B. against America, but foresaw the destruction of mutual Confidence between F. & U. S. which wd. be likely to ensue, & the danger which would result from it in case the war should be continued. He observed that Spain was an unwise nation, her policy narrow & jealous, her King old, her Court divided & the heir apparent notoriously attached to G. B. From these circumstances he inferred an apprehension that when Spain sd. come to know the part taken by America with respect to her, a separate treaty of peace might be resorted to. He thought a middle course best with respect to our Ministers; that they ought to be commended in general, but that the communication of the separate article to take place. He observed that our Ministers were divided as to the policy of the Ct. of France, but that they all were agreed in the necessity of being on the watch against G. B. He apprehended that if the ministers were to be recalled or reprehended, that they would be disgusted & head & foment parties in this Country. He observed particularly with respect to Mr. Jay that altho' he was a man of profound sagacity & pure integrity, yet he was of a suspicious temper, & that this trait might explain the extraordinary jealousies which he professed. He finally proposed that the Ministers sd. be commended & the separate articles communicated.<sup>10</sup> This motion was 2ded by Mr. Osgood, as compared however with the proposition of the Secy. for F. A. and so far only as to be referred to a Committee.

Mr. Peters favored a moderate course as most advisable. He thought it necessary that the separate art. sd. be communicated, but that it wd. be less painful to the feelings of the Ministers if the doing it was left to themselves; and was also in favor of giving the territory annexed by the separate art. to W[est] F[lorida] to such power as might be invested with that Colony in the Treaty of peace.

Mr. Bland said he was glad that every one seemed at length to be struck with the impropriety of the instruction submitting our Ministers to the advice of the French Court. He represented it as the cause of all

our difficulties & moved that it might be referred to the come. with the several propositions which had been made. Mr. Lee 2ded the motion.

Mr. Wilson objected to Mr. Blands motion as not being in order.<sup>11</sup> When moved in order perhaps he might not oppose the substance of it. He said he had never seen nor heard of the instruction it referred to untill this morning; and that it had really astonished him; that this Country ought to maintain an upright posture between all nations. But however objectionable this step might have been in Congs. the magnanimity of our Ally in declining to obtrude his advice on our Ministers ought to have been a fresh motive, to their confidence and respect. Altho they deserve commendation in general for their services; in this respect they do not. He was [*of the*] opinion that the spirit of the treaty with France forbade the signing of the preliminary articles without her previous consent; and that the separate article ought to be disclosed; but as the merits of our Ministers entitled them to the mildest & most delicate mode in which it cd. be done, he wished the communication to be left to themselves as they wd. be the best judges of the explanation which ought to be made for the concealment; & their feelings wd. be less wounded than if it were made without their intervention. He observed that the separate article was not important in itself & became so only by the mysterious silence in which it was wrapt up. A candid and open declaration from our Ministers of the circumstances under which they acted & the necessity produced by them of pursuing the course marked out by the interest of their Country, wd. have been satisfactory to our ally, wd. have saved their own honor, and would have not endangered the objects for which they were negotiating.

Mr. Higginson contended that the facts stated by our Ministers justified the part they had taken.

Mr. [Madison] expressed his surprise at the attempts made to fix the blame of all our embarrassments on the instruction of June 15, 1781, when it appeared that no use had been made of the power given by it to the Ct. of France, that our Ministers had construed it in such a way as to leave them at full liberty; and that no one in Congs. pretended to blame them on that acct. For himself he was persuaded that their construction was just; the advice of France having been made a guide to them only in cases where the question respected the concessions of the U.S. to G. B. necessary & proper for obtaining peace & an acknowledgt. of Indepe.; not where it respected concessions to other powers & for other purposes. He reminded Congress of the change which had taken place in our affairs since that instruction was passed, and remarked the probability that many who were now perhaps loudest in disclaiming, would under the circumstances of that period have been the foremost to adopt it.<sup>12</sup> He admitted that the change of circumstances had rendered it inapplicable, but thought an

express repeal of it might at this crisis at least have a bad effect. The instructions he observed for disregarding which our Ministers had been blamed, and which if obeyed would have prevented the dilemma now felt, were those which required them to act in concert & in confidence with our ally; & these instructions he said had been repeatedly confirmed in every stage of the revolution by unanimous votes of Congress; <sup>13</sup> Several of the gentlemen present <sup>14</sup> who now justified our Ministers having concurred in them, and one <sup>15</sup> of them, having penned two of the Acts, in one of which Congs. went farther than they had done in any preceding act; by declaring that they would not make peace untill the interests of our allies & friends as well as of the U. S. sd. be provided for.

As to the propriety of communicating to our Ally the separate article, he thought it resulted clearly from considerations both of national honor & national security. He said that Congress having repeatedly assured their ally that they would take no step in a negotiation but in concert & in confidence with him, and havg. even published to the world solemn declarations to the same effect, would if they abetted this concealment of their Ministers be considered by all nations as devoid of all constancy & good faith; unless a breach of these assurances & declarations cd. be justified by an absolute necessity or some perfidy on the part of France; that it was manifest no such necessity could be pleaded, & as to perfidy on the part of France, nothing but suspicious & equivocal circumstances had been quoted in evidence of it & even in these it appeared that our Ministers were divided; that the embarrassmt. in which France was placed by the interfering claims of Spain & the U. S. must have been foreseen by our Ministers, and that the impartial public would expect that instead of co-operating with G. B. in taking advantage of this embarrassment, they ought to have made every allowance & given every facility to it consistent with a regard to the rights of their Constituents; that admitting every fact alledged by our Ministers to be true, it could by no means be inferred that the opposition made by France to our claims, was the effect of any hostile or ambitious designs agst. them, or of any other design than that of reconciling them with those of Spain; that the hostile aspect wch. the separate art. as well as the concealment of it bore to Spain, would be regarded by the impartial world as a dishonorable alliance with our enemies against the interests of our friends; that notwithstanding the disappointments & even indignities which the U. S. had recd from Spain it could neither be denied nor concealed that the former had derived many substantial advantages, from her taking part in the war & had even obtained some pecuniary aids; that the U. S. had made professions corresponding with these obligations; that they had testified the important light in which they considered the support resulting to their cause from the arms of Spain by the impor-

tunity with which they had courted her alliance, by the concessions with which they had offered to purchase it, and by the anxiety which they expressed at every appearance of her separate negotiations for a peace with the common Enemy.

That our national safety would be endangered by Congress making themselves a party to the concealment of the separate article, he thought could be questioned by no one. No definitive treaty of peace he observed had as yet taken place, the important articles between some of the belligerent parties had not even been adjusted, our insidious enemy was evidently labouring to sow dissensions among them, the incaution of our Ministers had but too much facilitated them between the U. S. and France; a renewal of the war therefore in some form or other was still to be apprehended, & what would be our situation if France & Spain had no confidence in us: and what confidence could they have if we did not disclaim the policy which had been followed by our Ministers.

He took notice of the intimation given by the British Minister to Mr. Adams of an intended expedition from N. York agst. W. Florida, as a proof of the illicit confidence into which our Ministers had been drawn, & urged the indispensable duty of Congs. to communicate it to those concerned in it. He hoped that if a Come. sd. be appd. for wch. however he saw no necessity that this wd. be included in their report & that their report wd. be made with as little delay as possible.

In the event the Lettr. from Secy of F. A. with all the despatches & the several propositions which had been made, were committed to Mr. Wilson, Mr. Ghorum, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Clarke & Mr. Hamilton.<sup>16</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:357–65.

<sup>1</sup> With his March 17 letter to Congress, Robert Morris had included a copy of Benjamin Franklin's December 14, 1782, letter to him, extracts of the comte de Vergennes' December 15 letter to Franklin, and a copy of the chevalier de La Luzerne's March 15 letter to Morris. These papers were referred to a committee consisting of John Rutledge, Abraham Clark, Nathaniel Gorham, Hugh Williamson, and Oliver Wolcott, which was "discharged" April 28. Franklin's December 23 letter to Morris had been forwarded to Congress on March 13 and received on March 17. See *JCC*, 24:194n.3; *PCC*, item 185, 3:58, item 186, fol. 89, item 137, 2:213–18, 228–38; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:140, and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:203–5, 230–32, 584–88, 593–96.

<sup>2</sup> For Theodorick Bland's March 5 motion and the appointment of a committee "for arranging the department," see Madison's Notes, March 4–5, 1783, notes 4 and 7. The members of that committee were the same as those appointed this day to consider Morris' March 17 letter.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 18, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 12–15, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the commissioners' "Paris journal," for which see *ibid.*, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Neither John Rutledge's motion nor any others offered in Congress this day were recorded in Charles Thomson's journals, although three located in the *PCC*—those of Richard Peters, Hugh Williamson, and Alexander Hamilton—were printed by Gaillard Hunt in *JCC*, 24:193–94.



<sup>7</sup> Neither the journals nor Madison's Notes for March 12–15 mentioned an "injunction of secrecy" being placed on the separate article at the time it was read, although Madison referred to it in his Notes of March 18 as "the secret article."

<sup>8</sup> The "British Memorial" and the "French answer" were undoubtedly Edward Gibbon's *The Justifying Memorial of the King of Great Britain, In Answer to the Exposition, Etc., of the Court of France* (London, 1779), which had been written in reply to the French *Exposé des Motifs de la Conduite du Roi, Relativement à L'Angleterre* (Paris, 1779), and Joseph Mathias Gérard de Rayneval's *Observations sur le Mémoire Justificatif de la Cour de Londres* (Paris, 1780). On September 11, 1780, Congress approved Madison's motion to have the latter work published and distributed. See JCC, 18:818–19; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 2:79–80. It appeared under the title *Observations on the Justification Memorial of the Court of London* (Philadelphia: F. Bailey, 1781). See Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 17,093, where authorship is mistakenly attributed to Pierre Auguste Caron de Beaumarchais.

<sup>9</sup> See JCC, 20:651–52.

<sup>10</sup> See JCC, 24:194.

<sup>11</sup> Bland's motion violated the 15th procedural rule adopted by Congress on May 4, 1781, wherein a new motion could not be offered as an amendment to one on the floor until the latter was "postponed or disagreed to." JCC, 20:479.

<sup>12</sup> At this point in the manuscript Madison inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note: "The Committee who reported the instruction were Mr. Carroll, Mr. Jones, Mr. Witherspoon, Mr. Sullivan & Mr. Mathews. Mr. Witherspoon was particularly prominent throughout." John Witherspoon, who had drafted the paragraph of the instructions crucial to this day's debate, was no longer in Congress. For his observations on his role in drafting the committee's report, however, see John Witherspoon to Unknown, August 2, 1782. Of the remaining members of that committee—Daniel Carroll, Joseph Jones, John Sullivan, and John Mathews—the latter two had also left Congress.

<sup>13</sup> For the confirmation on May 31 and October 4, 1782, of the instructions of June 15, 1781, see JCC, 22:111–13, 23:638; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 4:302–4, 5:180–82. Madison was undoubtedly referring as well to repeated votes which negated attempts by Arthur Lee and others to amend or cancel the instructions, for which see Charles Thomson's Notes of Debates, July 24, August 2 and 8; and Madison's Notes, December 30, 1782.

<sup>14</sup> At this point Madison keyed: "Mr. Bland, Lee, & Rutledge."

<sup>15</sup> Madison further keyed: "Mr. Rutledge; he formed in the Come first draught of the declaration made in Sepr. last & instruction abt. same time. This was considerably altered hut not in that respect." Rutledge and Madison had served together on the committee appointed on September 24, 1782, and chaired by James Duane whose October 3 report served as the basis for Congress' resolves of October 4. Madison would therefore have known Rutledge's role in the committee's work even though the final report was in Duane's hand. See JCC, 23:603, 632–40; PCC, item 19, 2:245–48; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 5:180–82.

<sup>16</sup> According to Charles Thomson's committee book, the committee received: the "Report of the secy for foreign affairs on the communications from the Ministers for negotiatg a peace, 3 motions thereon, the preliminary Articles, [and] the ministers letters & communications respecting the negotiations." PCC, item 186, fol. 89. It reported on March 21 and its report was taken up the following day, for which see Madison's Notes, March 22, 1783.

## Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene

Sir, Philadelphia, March the 19th. 1783

Incloased we Send you the articles of peace Stipulated between the Minesters of Great Britain and ouer Minesters, not to be Concluded untill peace takes place between Great Brittain and France, we fear peace is not so near at hand as we Could Wish.

Nothing meterial has been Concluded in Congress Since ouer last, we Shall not omit forwarding to you anything that may Require your notice.

We are with Great Respect, your Excellencys most obedient Humbe Servants,

John Collins

Jona Arnold

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Collins and signed by Collins and Arnold.

## Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Sir Philadelpa. 19 March 1783

As I wrote to you yesterday<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Lamb late of Hartford, I shall Say but little to you at this Time, only will Observe that the State of our Finances are in a Very disagreeable Situation. The Loan in Holland fills up Slowly, and no one who reflects that this Loan is made by individuals, and that the U States have not established any Fund to discharge it, but must feel the deepest Regret at the exposed Honour of the U States, and the Ruin which Persons may be invovled in who have put a Confidence in Us. The Refusal of R Island to grant the Impost has as We hear extremely injured our Credit in Europe. Congress has the Subject of recommending to the several States to grant an Impost differently Modified, and enlarged. I hope that it will soon be sent to the States.

We shall be in an unhappy Situation Very soon Unless our publick Credit shall obtain a Restoration, for as but little, Very little Money is recd by the States, and no money can be borrowed either at home or abroad, if the War shall be continued, the late Ecconomical System for Supporting the Army, will I Apprehend fail, unless immediate and Vigorous Measures Shall be adopted. I am Sir, yours,

Oliver Wolcott



RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Wolcott's letter to Oliver of March 17.

## Jonathan Arnold to Welcome Arnold

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia March 20th. 1783.

I wish to have a small Package bro't on by the Waggon which bring your Hemp. if this Arrives timely—to meet them in Providence I pray you to deliver the within as soon as it comes to hand—and the package will in Consequence be delivd. at your Store—seasonably.

Excuse this trouble—from your Friend & hum Servt.

Jona Arnold.

P.S. I have had no Answer respecting the Constitutions—pray let me hear soon, for as the Edition is nearly all sold—it may be a disappointment.<sup>1</sup>

RC (MeHi: Fogg Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold to Arnold, February 11, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday March 20. [1783]

An instruction from the Legislature of Virga. to their Delegates agst. admitting into Treaty of peace any stipulation for restoring confiscated property was laid before Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Also resolutions of the Executive Council of Penna. requesting the Delegates of that State to endeavor to obtain at least a reasonable term for making the payment of British debts stipulated in the preliminary articles lately recd.

These papers were committed to Mr. Osgood, Mr. Mercer & Mr. Fitzsimmons.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Dyer whose vote on the            day of            frustrated the commutation of the half pay made a proposition substantially the same wch. was committed. This seemed to be extorted from him by the critical state of our affairs, himself personally & his State being opposed to it.<sup>3</sup>

The Motion of Mr. Hamilton on the journals was meant as a testimony on his part of the insufficiency of the report of the Come. as to the establishmt. of revenues, and as a final trial of the sense of Congs. with respect to the practicability & necessity of a *general* revenue equal to the public wants. The debates on it were chiefly a repetition of those used on former questions relative to that subject.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Fitzimmons on this occasion declared that on mature reflection he was convinced that a *complete* general revenue was unattainable from the States, was impracticall in the hands of Congress, and that the modified provision reported by the Come. if established by the States wd. restore public credit among ourselves. He apprehended however that no *limited* funds wd. procure loans abroad, which wd. require funds commensurate to their duration.

Mr. Higginson described all attempts of Congs. to provide for the public debts out of the mode prescribed by the Confederation, as nugatory: sd that the States wd. disregard them, that the impost of 5 perCt. had passed in Massts. by 2 voices only in the lower, & one in the upper house; & that the Govr. had never formally assented to the law; that it was probable this law wd. be repealed; & almost certain that the extensive plans of Congress would be reprobated.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:370.

<sup>1</sup> This December 17 instruction, which had been received by the Virginia delegates in January, was referred to committee in conjunction with the March 19 representation from the Pennsylvania Council concerning the debts stipulation in the preliminary articles of peace described in the following paragraph of Madison's notes. See *ibid.*, 5:409–10; *JCC*, 24:204n.1; PCC, item 69, 2:425–32; and Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, January 28, 1783, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Osgood's committee reported on April 1, but its report was not considered until May 19 after Osgood had left Congress. See PCC, item 186, fol. 89; and Madison's Notes, May 19, 1783, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> By dividing Connecticut's vote on March 10, Eliphalet Dyer had narrowly defeated the report of a committee on which he had served favoring the commutation of half pay for retired Continental officers. The report had been referred back to that committee, and this day Dyer reintroduced the proposal prefaced by a statement of justification. It was referred to a committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, Dyer, and Gunning Bedford whose report of the following day was taken up March 22. See *JCC*, 24:178–79, 202–3; PCC, item 186, fol. 89; and Madison's Notes, March 10 and 22, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Alexander Hamilton's motion to postpone the report of the committee on the restoration of public credit and to consider an alternate plan, see *JCC*, 24:195–202. For the committee's report, see Madison's Notes, March 6–7, note 1, and March 18, note 1.

# James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday March 21. [1783]

The Report on Revenue was taken into consideration; and the 5 & 6 paragraphs after discussion being judged not sufficiently explicit were recommitted to be made more so.<sup>1</sup>

A motion was made by Mr. Clarke 2ded. by 2 to complete  
so much of the report as related to an impost on Trade & send it to  
the States immediately apart from the residue.<sup>3</sup>

In support of this motion it was urged that the Impost was distinct in its nature, was more likely to be adopted, & ought not therefore to

be delayed or hazarded by a connection with the other parts of the Report. On the other side it was contended that it was the duty of Congs. to provide a system adequate to the public exigences; & that such a system wd. be more likely to be adopted by the States than any partial or detached provision, as it would comprize objects agreeable as well as disagreeable to each of the States, and as all of them wd feel a greater readiness to make mutual concessions & to disregard local considerations in proportion to the magnitude of the object held out to them.

The motion was disagreed to: N. J. being in favor of it & several other States divided.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:374.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:171–72.

<sup>2</sup> Madison later inserted "Mr. Bland."

<sup>3</sup> That is, those sections of the report that had been approved on March 18, for which see JCC, 24:188–91; and Madison's Notes, March 18, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> According to the journals, Abraham Clark's motion was supported by only two states, six states opposed, three divided, and two unrepresented.

## Theodorick Bland to Baron Steuben

March 22d. 1783

Mr. Bland presents his most respectfull Compts. to the Baron de Stuben, takes the liberty to commit to his care a letter to his Excelly. the Comr. in Chief,<sup>1</sup> wishes the Baron an agreeable Journey to Camp—and cordially felicitates him on the happy termination of a late meeting of the army—whose resolutions on that occasion must do them the highest honor to the latest posterity—as well as on the Passage this day of the vote for the commutation in Congress. Mr. Bland Ardently wishes, and thinks, he hopes not without foundation, that these resolutions will be followed, by measures which will give solidity to the establishments voted—& produce complete satisfaction to a Meritorious, a Brave & a Patriotic Army.

RC (WHi: Gratz Collection). In Bland's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Bland actually wrote two letters to Washington this date, for which see the following entries.

## Theodorick Bland to George Washington

Sr

Philadelphia March 22d 1783

That I have not availd myself of the liberty of writing to you, which your Excellency's request, when you left this place would have Autho-

rized me to take, has been owing in a great measure to the state of things, which offerd no subject sufficiently interesting to engage your attention; the Indulgence of Speculative opinions in Politics, concerning events that might take place, was in my view a field too wide even for Imagination to range in, much too Extensive of Course to be comprized within a letter. I nevertheless felt the Honor you did me Sr., in the proposal to open a correspondence in which I must be so great a gainer. Time, which brings all things to light, has in part unravelld the intricate clue of Politics—And America begins to have a prospect of the end of those struggles in which You Sr. have born so distinguishd and disinterested a part. The Preliminary Articles between Great Britain and America points conclusively to the great objects for which the United efforts of these States have been so long exerted, opens a view of the System of Politics which that Court has adopted—and unfolds the Misteries of the Conduct which the Politic Carleton has observed ever since his last arrival in America. The Present British Ministry appear to see clearly the importance of appreciating the Confidence of the people of America. They have wisely therefore determined on Men and directed their measures to that end—the pacific and conciliatory measures adopted in America were to be the Harbingers of still greater Concessions in Europe, the one without the other would have been Abortive. They have at length discoverd the Value of our Connection with France—they feel the loss of us—they see the impossibility of recovering us—they have therefore bid for our future good Will. They have placed us in a Situation to know and feel our own Value—whatever may be their Idea of their offers and concessions it appears to me that their effects are irrevocable, and that the full stream of Independence will flow from them—no future declarations on their part, will or can do away our Independence in the Eye of every other power in Europe—the Justice of our Cause and of course the Injustice of theirs is tacitly acknowledged in every article of the treaty; but particularly in giving up the Idea of restitution to the Tories. The affixing the boundaries of the United States as stipulated in the Articles appears to me of great importance, as it amounts to a guarantee against the Claims of every other Power—those Boundaries, and the Navigation of the Missisipi having been guarantee'd to great Britain by the treaty of Paris, and no other Power could have ceded them to us—they have thus fairly said to the other powers of Europe—Who bids more? What now must be the Conduct of the court of France? will she say you have given America too much—no surely—this she cannot say without unfolding a declaration that the objects of the War which were specified in our treaties of Alliance & Commerce were not the real but only the Ostensible objects. I cannot suppose the good Faith or the Policy of that enlightend and generous court wd. hazard even the appearance of such an Idea being enter-

taind. Will she Insist on America continuing the War from a Principle of Gratitude for the aid she has received from her Ally during the War? On this Question—I wd. observe that America owes much to the assistance and support of France. But is her Gratitude to be Taxd for the payment of the debt? has not France received Principal and Interest for her aid, *in the effectual dismemberment of the British Empire*? Is not the first object of every independent State, gratitude to its own Citizens in the consideration of their welfare, their preservation, their Happiness, which most intimately concerns that government which they have established for those Ends alone? Would it therefore become America after having Explicitly declared the end and object of their Alliance in the 2d Article of the treaty, and enter'd into a Solemn Engagement for the Same purpose in the 8th Article of the treaty—that the principle of gratitude alone shd. lead them to Spill the Blood of their Citizens—to oppress them with a load of Taxes—to Sustain in her Bowels and on her Commerce all the Horrors of War for the purpose of acquiring or preserving the possessions of Spain, who has spurn'd her offers of Connection—who has ever refused to acknowledge her a Nation. Those Considerations lead me Sr. to Conclude that the Wise and Politic Court of France will *certainly* close with such offers from that of Great Britain, as may be reasonable, and will Bring the War to a Happy Conclusion—and leave our ally in that Honorable and distinguishd Situation among nations, which her arms and her Magnanimous Councils in this Intricate War have so Justly entitled her to hold. viz the dispenser of liberty to an oppressed people and of Signal benefits to all her Allies, at the same time that she reaps the most capital advantages to herself and diminishes in so great a degree all those which her rival possesst over her previous to the commencement of the Present War. Thus Sr. have I unfolded to you my crude Ideas of our political Situation, at this important epoch, and with diffidence submit them to your superior judgment—you will find them purely dictated by my love to my native Country and a Zeal for its future and present happiness independent of every other consideration. I well know that no person exceeds yr. Excellency in those Sentiments, happy shall I be if mine coincide with yours—and still more so shd. they be honord with an elucidation by your more matured and perspicacious Judgment, for which I have ever entertaind the most unfeignd respect.

I have I fear so far exceeded the bounds of your Patience as to prevent me at this time from saying any thing on the present Situation and prospects of our Internal Policy. The Steps we are persuing in Congress to Establish Public Credit, and call forth our resources will I hope prove effectual, and enable us to do Justice to the Merits of our Brave and Virtuous Army. This day has given us a Fresh Proof of their exalted Merit & Patriotism—it is with Pleasure I Inform Yr. Excellency—that your dispatches containing an account of their meritori-



ous conduct on a late occasion<sup>1</sup> arrived in Congress almost Simultaneously with the final Passage of some resolutions which had been prepared, and received the assent of Congress for the Commutation of the half Pay to the whole Army<sup>2</sup> the Particulars of which Yr. Excellly will probably receive as soon almost as this reaches you. On this event I felicitate You Sr. with the same Sincerity that I am, Yr. most obedt. & very Humbl St. Theok. Bland

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Madison's Notes, this date, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., note 2.

## Theodorick Bland to George Washington

Sr. Philadelphia March 22d 1782 [*i.e.*, 1783]

I have taken the liberty to enclose to your Excellency a letter addressed to Genl. Carleton on acct. of two Valuable Servts. who eloped from me in the month of May 1781 who are both as I am informd in New York, and as I have been told in the Service of some officers of the British Army. Shd. yr. Excellency conceive the smallest impropriety in the application which I leave open for your perusal I shall cheerfully desist from prosecuting it and request that you will suppress it. If yr. Excellly shd. think otherwise—I must solicit your goodness to give it an introduction<sup>1</sup>—and shd. it be attended with success—that you will be pleased to Order the negroes to be secured untill I can be advertised of their being returnd when I will immediately send for them. I must add that nothing but the sanction of a Solemn treaty, would ever have induced me to think of such an application notwithstanding the Multiplied losses I have sustained of that kind during the Invasion of the State of Virginia. I need not repeat my entire confidence in your Excellencys prudence as well as goodness or that I am, Yr. most obedt. Servt Theok. Bland

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Washington transmitted Bland's letter to Sir Guy Carleton almost immediately, for which see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:274–75.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Saturday 22. March. [1783]

A letter was recd. from Genl Washington inclosing his address to the convention of Officers with the result of their consultations.<sup>1</sup> This

dissipation of the cloud which seemed to have been gathering afforded great pleasure on the whole to Congress; but it was observable that the part which the Genl. had found it necessary & thought it his duty to take, would give birth to events much more serious if they sd. not be obvious by the establishment of such funds as the Genl. as well as the army had declared to be necessary.

The report of the come. on Mr. Dyer's motion in favor of a commutation for the half pay was agreed to. The preamble was objected to, but admitted at the entreaty of Mr. Dyer who supposed the considerations recited in it wd. tend to reconcile the State of Cont. to the measure.<sup>2</sup>

The order passed for granting 35 licences for vessels belonging to Nantucket to secure the whaling vessels agst. the penalty for double papers. This order was in consequence of a deputation to Congs. representing the exposed situation of that island, the importance of the Whale fishery to the U. S. the danger of its being usurped by other nations & the concurrenc of the Enemy in neutralizing such a number of Vessels as wd. carry the fishery in an extent necessary for the support of the inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

The Come. to whom was referred the letter from the Secy. of F. A. with the foreign despatches &c reported <sup>4</sup>

1. That our Ministers be thanked for their zeal & services in negotiating the preliminary articles.

2. that they be instructed to make a communication of the separate article to the Court of France in such way as would best get over the concealment.

3. that the Secy. of F. A. inform them that it is the wish of Congress that the preliminary articles had been communicated to the Court of France before they had been executed.

Mr. Dyer said he was opposed to the whole report; that he fully approved of every step taken by our Ministers as well towards G. B. as towards France, that the separate article did not concern the interests of France & therefore could not involve the good faith of the U. S.

Mr. Lee agreed fully with Mr. Dyer, said that a special report of facts ought to have [been] made as necessary for enabling Congs. to form a just opinion of the Conduct of the Ministers, and moved that the report might be recommitted. Mr. Wolcot 2ded the motion which was evidently made for the sole purpose of delay. It was opposed by Mr. Clarke, Mr. Wilson & Mr. Ghorum the 1st & last of whom had however no objection to postponing; by Mr. Mercer who repeated his abhorrence of the confidence shewn by our Ministers to those of G. B.<sup>5</sup> said that A.<sup>6</sup> was about to realize the case of those kicked down the ladder by wch. they had been elevated, & of the viper which was ready to destroy the family of the man in whose bosom it had been restored to life, observed that it was unwise to prefer G. B. to Spain as our Neig[h]bours in W. Florida.

Mr. Higgenson supported the sentiments of Mr. Lee, sd. that the Ct. de V. had released our Ministers & that he agreed with those who thought the instruction of June 15 cd. relate only to questions directly between G. B. & U. S.

Mr. Holten thought there was no sufficient evidence for praise or blame; and that both ought to be suspended untill the true reasons sd. be stated by the Ministers. He supposed that the separate article had been made an ultimatum of the preliminaries by G. B. & that there might also be secret arts. between G. B. & F. If the latter were displeased he conceived that she wd. officially notify it. Mr. Rutledge was agst. recommitting but for postponing. The motion for recommitting was disagreed to, but several States being for postponing, the vote was no index as to the main question.<sup>7</sup>

It had been talked of among sundry members as very singular that the British Minister should have confided to Mr. Adams an intended expedition from N. Y. agst. W. Florida; as very reprehensible in the latter to become the depository of secrets hostile to the Friends of his Country, and that every motive of honor & prudence made it the duty of Congs. to impart the matter to the Spaniards. To this effect a motion was made by Mr. Mercer 2ded by [Madison]. But it being near the usual hour of adjournment, the house being agitated by the debates on the separate article; and a large proportion of member[s] predetermined agst. every measure wch. seemed in any manner to blame the Ministers; & the Eastern delegates in general extremely jealous of the honor of Mr. Adams, an adjournment was pressed & carried without any vote on the motion.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:375–77.

<sup>1</sup> For Washington's letter, see the following entry, note 2. It was referred this day, along with his letters of March 12 and 16, to a committee composed of Samuel Osgood, Theodorick Bland, Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Wolcott, and Richard Peters. See *JCC*, 24:210n.1; *PCC*, item 185, 3:59; and Madison's Notes, March 17. See also the first Committee of Congress letter to Washington, March 25, 1783, note 2. While awaiting Washington's reply the committee apparently issued an interim report on April 1 which was not noted in the journals or Madison's Notes for that day. See *JCC*, 24:306n; and *PCC*, item 186, fol. 90.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:207–9; and Madison's Notes, March 20, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Starbuck and William Rotch had presented a March 10 memorial to Congress on behalf of the neutral inhabitants of Nantucket explaining the distressed condition of the whale industry as a result of British and American raids and asking for passports that would exempt Nantucket whalers from seizure by American cruisers. Their memorial was referred on March 11 to a committee of three chaired by Nathaniel Gorham which reported March 17. The report was read three times March 18–20 and recommitting for a draft of a passport which was read and approved this day. See *JCC*, 24:182n.1, 187, 193, 195, 206–7; and *PCC*, item 41, 7:91–96, item 49, fols. 261–64; item 186, 3:87. For Rotch's later recollections of his meetings with members of Congress including Madison, see the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 32 (April 1878): 153.

<sup>4</sup> For the appointment of this committee, see Madison's Notes, March 18, note 4. Although the committee's report had been submitted on March 21 (for which see PCC, item 186, fol. 89), the report itself is not in PCC nor was it mentioned in the journals.

<sup>5</sup> For the initial debate over Robert R. Livingston's March 18 letter to Congress, see Madison's Notes, March 19, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> That is, John Adams, for whom see the final paragraph.

<sup>7</sup> See note 4 above.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia 23d March 1783, 9 O'Clock P.M.

Your Excellency will give me the utmost credit, when I assure you, that it is with the most unfeigned Joy, that I congratulate your Excellency and the whole army on the confirmation of the signing of the definitive Treaty of peace, by all the belligerent powers, on the 21st of January. This happy event has just been announced by an Express from on Board a Sloop of War in the River, dispatched by the Count D'Estaing and the Marquis de la Fayette from Cadiz on the 14th of February, in hopes that she might arrive before those sent from France and Britain. All hostilities had ceased in Europe and the same happy event was to take place here on the 20th instant.<sup>1</sup> These are not official dispatches, but as there can be no doubt of the event I thought it of the highest consequence to give your Excellency and my fellow Citizens of the Army the earliest notice of this glorious end of all their trials and labours.

I duly received your Excellency's letters by the Express, containing the proceedings of the Army which gave Congress and every Friend to the Army the highest satisfaction.<sup>2</sup>

The commutation of the half pay was passed yesterday by nine States in Congress,<sup>3</sup> which adds greatly to our general Joy. I wrote your Excellency by the Baron Steuben, which I hope has got to hand.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect and esteem, Your Excellency's most obedt. & very humb. Sert, Elias Boudinot

[P.S.] Spain has the two Floridas.

RC (Phi: Gratz Collection). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot wrote in the margin at this point: "This is reported by the Capt but not in the Letters."

For the reception in Congress the following morning of this information, contained in "A letter, of February 5, from the Marquis de la Fayette, announcing a general peace, and a copy of orders given by the Count D'Estaing . . . to the Chevalier Du Quesne, commander of the corvette *Triumph*," see JCC, 24:210-11; and Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 5:84-88.

<sup>2</sup> For Washington's letters of March 16 and 18, enclosing "the proceedings of the grand Convention of the Officers" at Newburgh on March 15, which happily terminated the recent unrest in the army "with perfect unanimity, and in a manner entirely consonant to my wishes," see PCC, item 152, 11:127-54; Washington, *Writings* (Fitz-

patrick), 26:228–32; and *JCC*, 24:204n, 210n. For his overall handling of this crisis, see Freeman, *Washington*, 5:430–37. See also the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, note 2.

## William Floyd to George Clinton

My Dear Sir

Philadelphia March 23d. 1783

I have only time to write one line as the Express is now at the Door. We have this moment Certain intelligence that a General peace is Concluded, Hostilities to Cease in America the 20th March—the packet is in the River a few Miles below. We have not Received the Dispatches nor any particulars—But only in General that peace is Concluded and this Vessel Was Sent to bring the Dispatches that will Give us the particulars. I hope in two or three Days to give your Excellency the particulars.

From Sir your Excellencys most obedt and very humble Servt,  
Wm Floyd <sup>1</sup>

RC (PHC: Charles Roberts Autograph Collection). Addressed: "His Excellency, George Clinton Esqr., Governor of the State of New York. A General peace is Concluded, To be forwarded by Express." Endorsed: "Pray forward this, Col Pickering, D Humphrys."

<sup>1</sup> Floyd also wrote a brief letter on March 24 to Udney Hay concerning the New York delegates' finances: "The Draft which you made on Mr. Parker in favour of Colo. Hamilton and my self for two hundred pounds York Currency is paid, I took one hundred and forty of it and Colo. Hamilton Sixty, as at this time my Necessity is Greater than his." Signers Collection, MA.

## Gunning Bedford, Jr., to George Read

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, March 24th, 1783.

I do myself the honor to inclose you a hand-bill, containing the most agreeable intelligence of the signature of the general preliminaries of peace.<sup>1</sup>

We have to thank the Marquis Lafayette for the early information, who obtained leave that the sloop of war called the *Triumph* should touch here, though but the secondary purpose of her voyage.

I most sincerely congratulate you upon the happy prospect of public liberty and independence.

The Superintendent of Marine is directed to call in all our cruisers,<sup>2</sup> and despatches are sent to New York, informing Sir Guy and Digby of the news, that they may take the necessary steps on their side.

I am, with great regard, your obedient and very humble servant,  
Gunning Bedford, Junior.



MS not found; reprinted from William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), pp. 380–81.

<sup>1</sup> For this March 24 David C. Claypoole broadside announcing "The principal articles of the preliminaries of peace, of the 20th of January, 1783" between Great Britain and France, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,234.

<sup>2</sup> Based on a February 5 letter from the marquis de Lafayette "announcing a general peace" and "a copy of orders given by the Count D'Estaing . . . for the purpose of putting a stop to all hostilities by sea," Congress this day directed the agent of marine, Robert Morris, "to recall all armed vessels cruising under commissions from the United States of America." Morris quickly completed this assignment sending a circular to the states on March 25 enclosing a copy of the recall order of Congress. See *JCC*, 24:210–11; Lafayette, *Papers* (Idzerda), 5:84–88; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:632.

## Gunning Bedford, Jr., to Nicholas Van Dyke

Dear Sir

Philadelphia March 24th 83.

I do myself the honor to inclose you extracts from some dispatches received last night, by a Sloop of war from Cadiz, under cover from the Marquis Le Fayatt informing us of the signature of the Preliminary Articles of a general peace among the belligerent powers. France keeps Tobago & Senegal, she restores to Britain Granada, St. Vincents, Dominique, St. Christophers. Britain restores to Holland St. Eustatius, Demarari, Esquebo, Barbrie. Britain restores to France Gorie, St. Lucia, St. Pier & Miquilon. The fisheries between Great Britain & France on the coast of New Foundland to continue as in the treaty of 1763, except from the coast of the Cape of Bonivisto to Cape St. John which is ceded to Britain. France to be established in the East Indies as well at Bengal as on the eastern & western coast of Prisque isle, as regulated by the treaty of 63. The article of proceeding treaties concerning the demolition of Dunkirk shall be suppressed. Spain to retain Minorca & West Florida. Great Britain to cede East Florida to Spain. An arrangement to be made between Spain & Britain about cutting of wood at Compeachy in the bay of Hondoras. Britain to retain the Dutch settlement of Negapatmam in the East Indies. Great Britain to restore Trinquemala to the Dutch if not retaken. Britain acknowledges the sovereignty & Independence of the thirteen United States. The limits of the United States to be as agreed upon as agreed on by the provisional articles, except that they shall not extend further down the river Mississippi than the 32d degree of North latitude from whence a line to be drawn to the head of the river St. Mary & along the middle of that river to its mouth. The captn. of the sloop of war has written orders of Count D Estang to inform all cruisers of the signing the preliminaries & to call in all the French frigates & all other vessels belonging to his majesty.



Gunning Bedford, Jr.

I most sincerely congratulate you on the most agreeable intelligence & on the glorious prospects of peace & happiness. The general signature took place on the 20th Feby.—official accounts are hourly expected. The Marquis, out of his abundant love for America, procured this sloop from D'Estang to come with the earliest intelligence.

I am with much regard, Your Obedt. Hbble Servt,

Gunning Bedford jun

N.B. The above was wrote in great haste the moment the dispatches were read, since I have got a Hand Bill which will be more satisfactory. Our Superintendant of Marine is directed to call in all our cruisers, & letters are dispatched immediately to N York with the intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

RC (DeHi: George Read Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note 2.

## Theodorick Bland to Frances Tucker

My dear & much beloved Sister

[March 24, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

You see I have folded down a large sheet of Paper to answer your first which I have this day received altho it is announced in yr. letter to Patsy to be a second or a third—but this is a stale trick by the by & will not impose on your Politic Brother. God knows whether I shall be able from the farrago of Politics which fill my brain to make out a little Chit Chat—or something else to entertain you with, but of this you may be assured that were I to fill the whole sheet with professions of the Sincerest love varied in as many Phases as wd. equal the variations of Shelin o Geirey <sup>2</sup>—it would not encrease the affection and love I have for you—which is of that truly sincere and constant kind that existed between Brother & Sister before any new modes were introduced, only that it is heightend by a sense of merit which I say without flattery rarely falls to the share of your Sex—to tell you the truth my dear Sister I am rather Proud of you. But with all this I cannot promise to write to you by every post. My time is so taken up—and I have so many correspondents that my station obliges me to write to it is impossible. I have however now the pleasure of congratulating you on a General Peace in Which America is one of the Contracting Parties. America is now free and Independant—and has taken her place formally among the Nations of the Earth—is recognized as a Sovereign Power. The King of great Britain has formally renounced all Claim to Sovereignty or territory within the United States which are bounded by Novascotia, the lakes, the Mississippi—and the Souther Boundaries of Georgia. The Navigation of the Missisipi is conceded to us and the right of fishing. This day arrived a dispatch Vessel a

french Sloop of War—from Cadix, sent by the Count D’Estaing at the request of the Marquis de La Fayette, announcing that the Genl. treaty had been Signed on the 21st of Jany. last—the terms of which from Memory are these: America independt., Fishery, navigation of Mississippi, France St. Lucie restored—Tobago—Gorie—all her possessions in the East Indies restored, that may have been taken—Establishments on the coast of Bengal, and the Peninsula in the East Indies. Great Britain St. Christophers, St. Vincent, Grenada restored in the W.I., Senegal on the African coast. Holland St. Eustatia, Birbice, Esquebo in the W.I. and all her Settlements in the E.I. except one. Spain Minorca and the two Floridas to the 32d degree of N. Latitude. Hostilities have ceased and the Vessel which brought over the dispatches, has brought orders from Ct. d’Estaing in the name and under the Authority of the King his Master, to inform all Vessels he shall meet thereof. Similar orders are this day Issued from Congress to the American Cruizers. These are Jarring and discordant Nations once more bought to shake hands—may we continue my dear Sister to have peace in our time, and to enjoy the fruits of our Virtue & perservance in happy domestic tranquility. You told me you were turnd Politician. You see I have given you a dash of them. You tell Patsy you shall go to Bermuda in the fall. I will not dissuade you from it—because I know not the Urgency of yr. motive—but at any rate I hope you will not go untill I see you. I wrote this day to Tucker a short letter which goes by express containing the abstract of the above glorious news. I think it wd. be prudent and now is the time for you to demand the return of that Part of the Tobo. (which has not been drawn for) which was to be restored in one month after demanded. It will certainly rise to a price much superior which was my original motive for not selling it hastily and for having that Clause Inserted—if my name is necessary to making it—you have my permission to make use of it. Tell Tucker that I do not wish him to sell my Place near Blandford until he hears further from me. I have no objection to Farmin-dell being rented. God bless you and believe me to be yr. Sincerely affectionate & loving Brother,

Theok Bland

[P.S.] Tell Tucker a Bill of Exchange will do as well as Morris’s Note for the money he wd. remit to me and this may be obtained from J Short at any time, we are always in want at this cursed Place.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The dating of this letter is clear from Bland’s references to the arrival “This day” of a “french Sloop of War. . . announcing that the Genl. treaty had been signed” and that he had written “this day to Tucker,” for which see the following entry.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a reference to an Irish fiddle tune, rendered phonetically, which we have not been able to identify.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dear Tucker

Philada. March 24th 1782 [*i.e.*, 1783]

Peace is certainly concluded—a General Peace. Congress have been this moment informd of it—by a Corvette which arrived last night in this River, detachd from Count d’Estaings fleet at Cadiz—at the request of the Marquis de La Fayette—the Sailing of that fleet is countermanded—and the Capt. Brings orders for a Cessation of Hostilities, and to afford all Friendly Succour to all British Vessels &c. &c. in the Usual Form. Now let me felicitate you & my Country. America has obtain’d every thing that can be wish’d—the news affected my poetic organs in such a manner as to draw from me the following Extempore written without correction, therefore very imperfect but such as it is you Shall have it—it will perhaps set your Poetical Mill to work, which I know produces super fine flower.

The Work is done  
 Now War Shall Cease  
 And Much Eyed Peace  
 Shall Bless our Happy land  
 Our Union Strong  
 Shall last as long  
 As we go hand in hand  
 Our great Ally  
 We greet with Joy  
 And Hail the God like Youth  
 His timely Aid  
 Shall be repaid  
 with Friendship—Honor—truth  
 Our Sails Unfurld  
 Shall Ope a World  
 of Commerce wealth & Power  
 And Nations Proud  
 Shall hither Crowd  
 To Sip the new Blown flower  
 Our Heroes Blest  
 Shall now have rest  
 Reposed in Beauties Arms  
 The Warlike Drum  
 Shall now be Dumb  
 And arts Succeed to Arms  
 Great Washington  
 Heav’ns Chosen Son  
 Shall future Ages Bless  
 his Patriot Name



Consigned to fame  
 Himself to Happiness  
 Our Heroes Slain  
 Shall Still remain  
 and in our Mem'ries live  
 and all our Brave  
 Shall ever have  
 What gratefull Souls can Give.

Adieu & belive me to have done my best—for an extempore at least,  
 Theok. Bland Jr.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

## Elias Boudinot to James Robertson

Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia 24th March 1783

I am happy in having an opportunity by an Express Messenger dispatched on the most benevolent and joyous occasion, of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant.<sup>2</sup>

My friendship for Lord Drummond and an attachment to his interest and that of his Family, neither ceased with a difference in our political sentiments or his untimely departure from this troublesome World.<sup>3</sup> I have, tho' with some difficulty, preserved his estate from confiscation, an inquisition having been formd against him. It has also been attempted to draw off from his support by the Friends of the Melfort Family, but I hope I have even extinguished their hopes from this claim, as I verily believe it is not founded in Justice. It will be prudent before you go to England, to leave for me all the papers you have, as also some account of the present state of the Family, that I may not be imposed on by Intruders.

I have the honor to congratulate you, Sir, on a general peace between all the belligerent powers in Europe and that we are once more Friends. This happy event was announced yesterday by letters I received from the Marquis la Fayette, as also from the Compte D'Estaing, by an Express Boat sent for that purpose. A copy of the Compte's Passport is the business on which this Express is sent, which will also announce this happy event to His Excellency Genl. Carlton.<sup>4</sup>

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, Your most obedt.  
 humb. Sert.

Elias Boudinot

RC (Scottish Record Office: Henderson of Fordell Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Lt. Gen. James Robertson, the last governor of New York under British rule, 1780–83, had been military commandant of New York City, 1776–78, when Boudinot was commissary general of prisoners, and was known for his humane policy toward American prison-

ers. See Milton M. Klein and Ronald W. Howard, eds. *The Twilight of British Rule in Revolutionary America: The New York Letter Book of General James Robertson, 1780–1783* (Coopers-town: New York State Historical Association, 1783), p. 38; and J. J. Boudinot, *The Life, Public Services, Addresses, and Letters of Elias Boudinot*, 2 vols. (1896; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 1:89–91, 98–102, 124–25.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson's March 19 letter is not in the Robertson letterbook cited above.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the death, in 1780 at the age of 38, of Thomas Lundin, Lord Drummond, the eldest son of the earl of Perth. Drummond had come to New Jersey in 1768 to manage family lands, and had been the central figure in "the last effort before the Declaration of Independence to reconcile the American colonies with Great Britain," for which see these *Letters*, 3:24–27.

<sup>4</sup> Not found; but for Carleton's reception of this "happy" news via letters of this date from Secty. Robert R. Livingston, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, and the chevalier de la Luzerne, see *Report on American Manuscripts*, 3:414.

## Daniel Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear Sr.

Pha. 24th March 1783.

I congratulate you on the important intelligence containd in the inclosd News Paper.

Not a word from Mesrs Dorsey & Co. This is a cruel disapointment to the Delegates. I feel it perhaps more particularly for reasons which I shall not mention untill I see you.

I inclose by this opportunity an order to my Son for £25—to pay taxes. You will observe that it is drawn for part of the order of the Gr. & Council for my old Ballance. This I hope you will honor. It will be in the Collectors hands.

I am Dr sr. with respect, Yr. Mo Obt Servt, Danl. Carroll

P.S. I cannot forbear mentioning that some of the particular reasons aluded to in the above are that in addition to the other necessary charges of living here I have been lately obligd to call for assistance of Docrs, & unfortunately the night I was most indisposd a Bank Note of 100 Dollars was taken out of my pocket, being one half of what I had received that day from Mr McClanaghan.

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir

Philadelphia, March 24th. 1783

Your Excellency will before this reaches you have received a letter from the Marquis De la Fayette informing you that the preliminaries

of peace between all the belligerent powers have been concluded. I congratulate your Excellency on this happy conclusion of your labours. It now only remains to make solid establishments within to perpetuate our union to prevent our being a ball in the hands of European powers bandied against each other at their pleasure—in fine to make our independence truly a blessing. This it is to be lamented will be an arduous work; for to borrow a figure from mechanics, the centrifugal is much stronger than the centripetal force in these states—the seeds of disunion much more numerous than those of union.

I will add that Your Excellency's exertions are as essential to accomplish this end as they have been to establish independence. I will upon a future occasion open myself upon this Subject.

Your conduct in the affair of the officers is highly pleasing here. The measures of the army are such as I could have wished them and will add new lustre to their character as wel[l] as strengthen the hands of Congress.

I am with great truth & respect. Yr. Excellency's Most Obed ser.  
A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers).

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday March 24th. [1783]

On the day preceding intelligence arrived which was this day laid before Congs. that the preliminaries for a general peace had been signed on the 20th of Jany. This intelligence was brought by a French cutter from Cadiz despatched by Ct. d'Estaing to notify the event to all vessels at sea, and engaged by the zeal of the Marquis de la Fayette to convey it to Congress. This confirmation of peace produced the greater joy, as the preceding delay, the cautions of Mr. Lauren's Letter of the 24 of Decr.<sup>1</sup> and the general suspicions of Ld. Shelburne's sincerity had rendered an immediate & general peace extremely problematical in the minds of many.

A letter was recd. from Genl. Carlton thro' Genl. Washington inclosing a copy of the preliminary articles between G. B. & the U.S. with the separate article annexed.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Carroll after taking notice of the embarrassment under which Congs. were placed by the injunction of secrecy as to the separate article after it had probably been disclosed in Europe & it now appeared was known at N. York, called the attention of Congs. again to that subject.

Mr. Wolcot still contended that it would be premature to take any step relative to it, untill further communications should be recd. from our Ministers.

Mr. Gilman being of the same opinion, moved that the business be postponed. Mr. Lee 2ded it.

Mr. Wilson conceived it indispensably necessary that something should be done; that Congs. deceived themselves if they supposed that the separate art. was a secret at N. York after it had been announced to them from Sr. Guy Carlton. He professed a high respect for the character of the Ministers which had received fresh honor from the remarkable steadiness and great abilities displayed in the negotiations, but that their conduct with respect to the separate article could not be justified. He did not consider it as any violation of the instruction of June 15th, 1781. The Ct. de Vergennes having happily released them from the obligation of it; But he considered it with the signing of the preliminaries secretly as a violation of the spirit of the Treaty of Alliance as well as of the unanimous professions to the Court of France, unanimous instructions to our Ministers, & unanimous declarations to the world, that nothing should be discussed towards peace but in confidence and in concert with our ally. He made great allowance for the ministers, saw how they were affected, and the reasons of it, but could not subscribe to the opinion that Congs. ought to pass over the separate article in the manner that had been urged. Congs. ought he said to disapprove of it in the softest terms that could be devised & at all events not to take part in its concealment.

Mr. Bland treated the separate article with levity and ridicule; as in no respect concerning France, but Spain with whom we had nothing to do.

Mr. Carroll thought that unless some thing expressive of our disapprobation of the article & of its concealment was done, that it would be an indelible stain on our character.

Mr. Clarke contended that it was still improper to take any step, either for communicating officially, or for taking off the injunction of secresy, that the article concerned Spain, and not France, but that if it sd. be communicated to the latter she would hold herself bound to communicate it to the former that hence an embarrassment might ensue; that it was probably this consideration which led the Ministers to the concealment, and he thought they had acted right. He described the awkwardness attending a communication of it under present circumstances; remarking finally that nothing had been done contrary to the Treaty, and that we were in possession of sufficient<sup>3</sup> materials to justify the suspicions wch. had been manifested.

Mr. Rutledge was strenuous for postponing the subject, said that Congs. had no occasion to meddle with it, that the Ministers had done

right, that they had maintained the honor of the U. S. after Congress had given it up; that the manoeuvre practiced by them was common in all courts & was justifiable agst. Spain who alone was affected by it; that instructions ought to be disregarded whenever the public good required it; and that he himself would never be bound by them when he thought them improper.

Mr. Mercer combated the dangerous tendency of the Doctrine maintained by Mr. R. with regard to instructions, and observed that the Delegates of Virga. havg been unanimously instructed not to conclude or discuss any Treaty of peace but in confidence & in concert with his M. C. M. he conceived himself as much bound as he was of himself inclined to disapprove every other mode of proceeding, and that he should call for the yeas & nays on the question for his justification to his constituents.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Bland tartly said that he of course, was instructed as well as his colleague & sd. himself require the yeas & nays to justify an opposite conduct; that the instructions from his constituents went no farther than to prohibit any *Treaty* without the concurrence of our ally;<sup>5</sup> which prohibition had not been violated in the case before Congress.

Mr. Lee was for postponing & burying in oblivion the whole transaction; he sd that delicacy to France required this; since if any thing should be done implying censure on our Ministers, it must & ought to be done in such a way, as to fall ultimately on France whose unfaithful conduct had produced & justified that of our Ministers. In all national intercourse he said a reciprocity was to be understood; and as France had not communicated her views & proceedings to the American Plenipotentiaries, the latter were not bound to communicate theirs. All instructions he conceived to be conditional in favor of the public good; and he cited the case mentioned by Sr. Wm. Temple in which the Dutch ministers concluded of themselves an act wch. required the previous sanction of all the members of the Republic.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Hamilton said that whilst he despised the man who wd. enslave himself to the policy even of our Friends, he could not but lament the overweening readiness which appeared in many, to suspect every thing on that side & to throw themselves into the bosom of our enemies. He urged the necessity of vindicating our public honor by renouncing that concealment to which it was the wish of so many to make us parties.

Mr. Wilson in answer to Mr. Lee observed that the ease mentioned by Sr. Wm. T. was utterly inapplicable to the case in question; adding that the conduct of France had not on the principle of reciprocity justified our Ministers in signing the provisional preliminaries without her knowledge, no such step having been taken on her part. But whilst he found it to be his duty thus to note the faults of these gentle-



men, he with much greater pleasure gave them praise for their firmness in refusing to treat with the British Negotiator until he had produced a proper commission, in contending for the fisheries, and in adhering to our western claims.

Congress adjourned without any question.<sup>7</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:382.

<sup>1</sup> For Henry Laurens' letter, which had arrived nearly two weeks earlier, see Madison's Notes, March 12–15, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's March 21 letter together with a copy of a joint letter of March 19 from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Robert Digby were read in Congress this day. See PCC, item 152, 11:179–85; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:249.

<sup>3</sup> At this point in the manuscript Madison inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note: "alluding probably to the intercepted letter from Mr. de Marbois."

<sup>4</sup> For the instructions to the Virginia delegates approved by the House of Delegates in May and December 1782, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 4:271–72, 5:408.

<sup>5</sup> At this point Madison keyed the following observation: "this construction of the instructions was palpably wrong."

<sup>6</sup> For an explanation of this "case," see *ibid.*, 6:386n.17.

<sup>7</sup> For a further summary of proceedings in Congress this day, see Madison's Notes, March 31, 1783.

## James Madison to James Maury

Dear Sir<sup>1</sup>

Philada. March 24, 1783

By a Cutter despatched by the Ct. d'Estaing & the Marquis de la Fayette from Cadiz on Feby 14 & which arrived here last evening we have it confirmed that the preliminary articles for a general peace were signed in Jany. The day of the signature as well as of the cessation of hostilities are omitted in the abstract rcd. by the Secretary of F. A.<sup>2</sup> The changes produced in the possessions of the belligerent parties as nearly as I can recollect them are that as to the Fisheries France cedes to G. B. the Coast from Cape Bonavista &c in N. foundland, & with some small exceptions makes restitution in W. Indies. In the W. Indies she receives back St. Lucia. In the E. Indies her losses are also restored. Spain retains Minorca & W. Florida which is to extend to 32° N. L. from Mississippi to head of St. Mary's. G. B. cedes to her E. Florida & receives back the Bahamas. The Dutch possessions in general are restored. There are a few conditions annexed which I do no[t] call to mind. Nothing is said as to the Navigation of the Mississippi. I beg the favr. of you to [send?] this as soon as you shall have perused it to my father, & am Dr Sir

Yr friend & Servt.

J. Madison Jr.

P.S. The Preliminaries appr. to have signed on the 20th of Jany.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:389.

<sup>1</sup> James Maury (1746–1840), a merchant of Fredericksburg, Va., was Madison's business agent and later served from 1790 to 1830 as U.S. consul at Liverpool. *Ibid.*, 1:114n.8.

<sup>2</sup> Madison undoubtedly wrote this letter in the morning before attending Congress because he had learned of the probable "day of the signature" by the time he appended his postscript and was able to state it with certainty when he wrote to Edmund Randolph, for which see the following entry.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir

Philada. March 24, 1783.

The express by whom I send this conveys to the Governor the welcome event of a general peace.<sup>1</sup> The preliminary articles were signed on the 20th of Jany. The day to which hostilities are limited is omitted in the abstract of the preliminaries transmitted to Congs. This intelligence altho' not from our Ministers is authenticated beyond all possibility of doubt. For the outlines of the Articles I refer to the letter to the Govr. & for the articles themselves as rcd. by Congs. to my letter by tomorrows post.<sup>2</sup>

I am &c.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:390.

<sup>1</sup> See the Virginia delegates' letter to Benjamin Harrison, this date.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Randolph, March 25, 1783.

## John Francis Mercer to William Fitzhugh and George Weedon

Dear Gentlemen

Phila. March 24th. 1783

At length mine eyes have seen my salvation. The negotiations in Europe, have at length happily terminated in a general pacification.

The Triumph a french frigate dispatched by the Marquiss of Fayette, & the Comte de'Estaign, with a proclamation of the cessation of Hostilities, arriv'd here last night. The Ch' du'Quine who commands her brings with him the heads of the Preliminary Articles of the general Peace, which were signed at Paris the 20th of January.

To add to the most happy event the late confusion of the Army has terminated in a manner which reflects additional honor on that band of Patriots.

By these Articles an alteration in our Southern boundary as affixed in the partial preliminaries between G.B. & A. has taken place & we are restricted to the 32 Degree.

France gains a small Island or two, Spain the Floridas & Minorca, & the Dutch loose Negapatam.

Adieu. Thank God,

John F. Mercer

RC (PPAmP: Weedon Papers). Addressed: "The Honble Brigadier General Weedon or William Fitzhugh Esqr., Fredericksburg."

## John Montgomery to Robert Magaw

My Dear Sir

Philada 24th March 1783

By a Cutter arrived here Last night in 35 day from Cadiz we have the important accts that on the 20th Janry last the articles of peace was Signed by all the Contending Powers. Our artcils stand nearly as before agreed on. France Keeps Tobago and Senegall. France returns Granada, St Vincent, Dominque, St Kitts, St Eustahia. Demarau, Essequibl, Barbirie are to be restored to Hollan. England restores to France Gorrie, St Lucie, St Peerie, Miguelon. The fishers on the Banks of newfoundland to Continue as in the treaty of 1763 Except from the Coast of the Cape St Johns which is to be ceded to Great Britian. Franc is to be restablished in India as well at Bengall on the Eastren and westren Coasts of Presque Isle as regulated by the treaty of 1763.

The articles of proceeding treaties concerning the Demolition of Dunkirk to be suppressed.

Spain to retain Minorca and West Floradia and England to cede East Floradia to Spain the arrangment to be made between Spain and great Britian about the Cutting of Wood at Compeachey in the Bay of Honderas. Great Britain to retain the Duch Settlement of Negagatem in the East india. Great Britian to restore Trangumal to the Duch if not retaken. St Eustahia, Dimeira and Issquliba to be restored by the franch to the Duch.

Great Britian acknowldages the Independency of the united States of Amirca, the limits of the united States as agreed on in the Provisional articles Except that they Shall not Extend farthur down the River Mississapia then 32 Degrees of north Latitude from thence a line to be Drawn to the head of the river of St Marys and Down the midle of that River to the m[outh].

Now my Dear frind the Sun riases bright in this our Western world. Happey Shall we be if by a wise and prudent Conduct we improve this happy Event.

I am, Dear Sir your assurd Frind and Humbl Servant,

John Montgomery

RC (PHi: James Hamilton Papers). Addressed: "Col. Robert Magaw at Carlisle."

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir,

Philadelphia, March 24, 1783

We have the happiness to inform your Excellency that yesterday arrived the Triumph a Cutter from Cadiz, with letters from the Marquis La Fayette announc[ing] the certainty of the preliminaries of a general peace signed between all the belligerent powers the 20th. of January. There are letters from the Count D'Estaing to the French Minister to the same effect, and an instruction from him to the Captain of the Cutter to advertise all British and French vessels of the event, with an order to the latter to cease hostilities.

The preliminaries for America we have already had the honor of transmitting. We mean the provisional articles.

The French are reinstated in the East Indies as in 63—mutual cessions of all conquests during the war are made, except of Tobago & Senegal which remain to France. France has in substance the same share in the Fisheries as before the war.

Spain has acquired Minorca and the two Floridas.

The Dutch lose *Negapatam*<sup>1</sup> to the English.

[...] on this happy occasion [...] hopes. It only remains to provide for internal tranquillity—and by drawing the links [of] the Union closer to prevent those states from becoming [the] foot ball of European politics.

We have the honor to be With perfect respect Your Excellency's Most Obedient servants,

Wm Floyd

A Hamilton

RC (N: Legislative Papers). Written by Hamilton and signed by Hamilton and William Floyd.

<sup>1</sup> A town in Madras, India.

## North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin

Sir,

Philadelphia 24th March 1783

Your Excellency will doubtless lay before the general Assembly a Letter from their Delegates of 22d October 1782 with some papers to which it refers, also a Communication that was made us on the 10th of January by the minister of France, by order of the King his master, a Copy of which we forwarded some time ago.<sup>1</sup>

We expected that before this time we should have been able to have furnished you with the particulars of a plan of funding the Public debts or at least a Considerable part of them, but this business meets with such delays from incidental occurrences and the great diversity

of Opinions that prevails among the States, we fear it will not arrive during the first Session of the General Assembly; in the mean while we count it our duty to furnish the State with some account of the chief objects that have lately drawn the attention of Congress, for if we are not mistaken concerning their importance they must on some occasion demand its most serious Deliberations.

On the 6th of January a Committee from the army presented a Memorial to Congress, explaining many substantial grievances.<sup>2</sup> A Copy is enclosed. We have promised but have not yet been able to pay them one months pay. After much time employed in discussing the subject of commutation for half pay, two days ago the question was fully agreed to by nine States. Promises even those which are spacious, are found by experience to be very light food. Our Army and all other public creditors wish for something more substantial, for whatever has been fabled concerning the Camelion, it is generally believed that no animal can live on the air. Money or good Securities are desire'd. We have neither. But securities may be given, that is to say, the debts may be funded. By good & permanent funds the credit of the United States would be restored. Perhaps there are no possible funds that would be pleasing to all.

We have been attempting with much pains to fix on some mode by which the quota of the several States might be determined according to the 8th Article of the Confederation, i.e. according to the value of located Lands & their improvements. The Rule is good and plain but the question is extremely difficult; How shall the value be fixed? Let the appropriated Lands and their improvements be valued by the Inhabitants of the respective States and we have great reason to believe, from proofs before us, that the valuation would be unequal and unjust; for instance, The average value of lands as they are now rated for the purpose of taxation in the State of Virginia is one third higher than the value of Lands as they are rated in Pennsylvania though it is certain that Lands in Pennsylvania are at an average worth one third more than the Lands in Virginia. If such valuation should be made in fixing the continental Quota, Pennsylvania when compared with Virginia would not pay quite half the sum she ought to pay. We have many other Arguments which either prove the different frauds or the diversity of opinions respecting the value of Lands which prevail in different States. It is presumed that the valuation would be more uniform and just if it was made by a Set of Commissioners who should view all the lands and buildings in the United States. But there is reason to believe that such process, like estates entailed, would be perpetual and, it would be an even chance which would come first The fixing the quotas or the day of Judgment. The eastern States, who consider the valuation Scheme as impracticable, talk much of fixing the quota's according to the number of Inhabitants, making



considerable allowance for slaves. Some of them propose to exclude all Slaves under 16 Years, which would be rating two slaves for one free men. We presume that the Southern States would meet them upon this ground or even upon ground somewhat lower for the sake of preventing Jealousies, a Contention and delay but we fear that if an attempt should be made to alter or amend the mode of fixing the quota, those very men would again talk of a Slave being equal to a white man. The Plan which is now recommended to the States, the only one on which we could agree having regard to the Spirit of the confederation may probably lead us to value the Lands according to the number of Inhabitants, that is, to suppose that a thousand acres of Land which maintains ten families is worth Ten Times as much as a thousand acres which maintains only one family. As the valuation is to be made by a grand Committee consisting of a member from each State we presume that the several States will take care to be represented at that time. Congress has been attempting to modify the impost of 5 per Cent so as to make it acceptable to the States who have complained. In the mean while attempts have been made to lay a general Tax on Lands, houses &c as you will see by the Journal No . . . . We presume that no such Tax will be recommended to the States because we think that the States should be left to tax Lands & other permanent property in such manner and at such rates as they think best.

On the 24th of January Mr. Morris who is financier, from a view of the bad State of our finances informed Congress that he proposed to resign. Congress however did not take any public notice of that communication, because they expected in a few weeks to be able to adopt a system of Finance which might revive public credit. Some weeks passed and nothing material could be done when a second Letter was received from the Financier, both of which he published without the previous knowledge of Congress.<sup>3</sup> A Copy is inclosed. The Letters certainly refer to a want of disposition in the States to provide funds, evidenced in the recent case of Rhode Island & Virginia, but they are Incautiously worded & might involve a suspicion that Congress or the States at large did not mean honestly. If public credit had been alive the publishing those Letters would have proved a sickening dose, but there are times when nothing can hurt. It has been hinted from different quarters that there is danger of our borrowing too much money.

The whole sum that has been borrowed from the beginning of the war in France, Spain, or Holland does not amount to eight millions of Dollars, and by accounts received by the last packet we have great reason to believe that we shall not be able to borrow a single farthing more. Whether we shall submit to beg is another question.

The Public Creditors, that is to say, the loan officers Certificates in the State of Pennsylvania have been extremely importunate for Payment. Their clamor originated last summer in the Stoppage of Inter-

est, which for some years had been paid in France on Certificates of a certain emission. When the fund was expended the interest ceased to be paid. On this occasion those creditors who had hitherto fared best became most troublesome; they attempted to acquire weight by associating with other creditors and by effecting Combinations in the different States. Some memorials in consequence have been received from different quarters, but they are not numerous. The complaints however of these people continue, they affect to be considered as a Species of creditors who have distinguished and exclusive claims. Their plea is that the Citizens of Pennsylvania have lent more money to the union than any other State and nearly as much as all the other States together. It was the fortune of these People to have the mint of the United States near them. As soon as a Dollar was cast they received it warm out of the press in payment for provisions or whatever they furnished for the army. This money was immediately converted into certificates of which they have received a considerable sum. But they do not willingly admit that our Citizens are quite as heavily loaded with receipts Notes or Certificates of a different kind, all of which they have received for services done or for property empressed or freely sold for the use of the army, and that the claim of one man for a thousand Dollars is exactly equal to the claim of another Man for the same amount without regard to the particular form or words on the Paper by which that claim is certified. With this belief however, Congress sometime ago recommended to the States to raise particular sums for paying the Interest of Liquidated Debts. Having mentioned the subject of liquidated Debts we cannot help recommending a steady attention on the part of our State to the Settlement of all Public accounts in order that we may be able to State on acct. against the United States. While the auditors are settling Public accounts in the Different States, we observe that frequent applications are made to Congress in behalf of Individuals for power or permission to settle their accounts in a particular manner. The States offer to charge themselves with some of those accounts getting Credit for the amount in their accts. with the United States. In all these cases we observe that the States shew a disposition to make a full allowance to their respective Citizens. We do not insinuate that any want of Justice has appeared in any of those applications, we only observe that some of the States seem very solicitous that their Citizens should have full credit for the value of their services and expenditures not only that they may be on a footing with other States, who may be expected to do the same thing, but because every State must in one place or another pay its quota of the Public Debt and such Quota or any other large Debt may be more easily and more profitably paid to the People within the State than to foreigners or people without the State. Suppose that in settling our public accounts we should cut off[f] three fourths of the

claims of our own Citizens and that instead of allowing them four millions for services and expenditures we should give them credit for one million, it would follow that instead of retaining the remaining three millions in the State we should be obliged to pay it or at least 13 fourteenths of it to people out of the State. And that in order to lessen the national debt three millions we should wrong our fellow Citizens out of that sum; one fourteenth part of which or very little more would fall to our debet as part of the national Debt. That is to say with the desire of saving one Shilling we Should throw away thirteen. We are confident that we shall not, either on this subject of accounts nor on any other occasion be understood to recommend dishonesty; that baneful Vice which Tarnishes every virtue that should adorn the mind or promote Society we only wish to recommend a diligent attention to the Settlement of Public accounts and the Interest of our own Citizens so far as it may consist with strict Justice and good faith.

On the 23d of January Congress ratified a Treaty of Amity and Commerce that had been agreed to by our Minister at the Hague with their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> A Copy is inclosed. When our last accounts came away the States had in Contemplation the sending a minister to this Court.

On the 30th of November our Ministers for negotiating Peace with England concluded and signed Preliminary articles, a Copy of which is enclosed. They are more favorable than we had reason to expect, but we have some reason to fear that they are not so favorable as some of the States had expected, but we are convinced from the Journal of our Ministers who have given us a detail of different events, during the negotiation, that it was not practicable to have obtained better Terms. The payment of British debts was long and obstinately refused, but the Merchants in general in England seemed to Interest themselves on this subject; they wish that all mercantile Contracts should be considered sacred; and the British Merchants are such a body as their Ministry are not willing to oppose. It appeared that without this article the Treaty could not go on. Our ministers could easily calculate that the amount was much less than the expence of another Campaign, to say nothing of the additional loss we might Suffer. During the last Summer Congress had reiterated their Instructions to the Ministers for negotiating Peace, to contend to the last extremity for the Western Territory, for the newfoundland Fishery and its appendages for the retention of Tory property and British Debts; however the Power or right of making Peace implies the means and when a Concession became absolutely necessary, it was made in course. The British Minister contended Long for the return of all Tories or refugees, a full act of Oblivion and restitution of their Property; he alledged that the Kings honor made this article necessary. Our Ministers had a natural reply. The Kings passions, cherished by the false-

hoods & frauds of Tories had continued the war & might prevent a Peace, but we should not accept Peace on the humiliating Terms of cherishing the Plunderers of our Property and murderers of our friends. It was fortunate that those Renegadoes had not so many substantial Friends in England as the Merchants had, else it is questioned what the consequence might have been. At present nothing is given them but the promise of a recommendation. Light food: however the reward is quite equal to the Service.

Yesterday morning the Triumph a French Corvet arrived here in a short passage from Cadiz. By this vessel we have assurances that the preliminaries for a General Peace were signed by all the belligerent powers on the 20th January. On this fortunate & happy event we sincerely congratulate our fellow Citizens of North Carolina, that secures a perfect Peace on the most liberal Terms with the full enjoyment of Liberty. May they continue to enjoy and deserve the blessing; It is the greatest that Heaven in its Bounty has ever bestowed on so large a Nation.

We presume that Sir Guy Carlton has not yet received the Preliminaries of the General Peace, for he sent us Yesterday, and not sooner, the Copy he had received from England of the Preliminaries signed on the 30th of November.<sup>5</sup> Inclosed are the outlines of the General Terms of Pacification by which you will observe that we got a degree less on the Bank of the Mississippi than had been first marked off. The Marquis de la Fayette had prevailed on the Count d'Estaing to send the vessel mentioned, from the mere hope that she might chance to bring the first news of Peace. But you will observe by her passport, a Copy of which is enclosed, that hostilities are to cease at whatever places she may touch immediately on her giving the notice. As we presume that we shall gain as much as the Enemy by this measure, we did not loose a minute in giving Sir Guy Carlton and Admiral Digby the proper Information; by this we hope that some Vessels and, what we value more, some lives may be saved.

Attempts have lately been made to excite Sedition in our main army; anonymous, enflamatory papers were circulated by Persons unknown. The Commander in chief hearing of this measure called a meeting of the officers some days ago. The whole proceedings on this occasion will be laid before you in time, from which you will certainly infer that our Army consists of the best Citizens as well as the bravest soldiers that ever drew a Sword.

Before we disband our army and make some other necessary arrangements for Peace some very interesting matters must be submitted to the States; for this reason we presume that another meeting of the General Assembly of North Carolina will be necessary at an early Day.

We have the honor to be &ca,

Hu Williamson

Benjamin Hawkins<sup>6</sup>



Tr (Nc–Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to Martin, October 22, 1782, and Hugh Williamson to Martin, January 25, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, January 6, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:361–71, 462–74.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, January 23, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, this date, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> William Blount's name was transcribed instead of Hawkins' in *N. C. State Records*, 16:759, a mistake repeated in Burnett, *Letters*, 7:97n. Blount is last mentioned in the journals on January 6, but he apparently left Philadelphia in late January or early February, for which see *JCC*, 24:37; and Abner Nash to James Iredell, January 8, 1783, note 2.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Philadelphia March 24th. 1783.

We have the pleasure of congratulating your Excellency on the result of the Negotiations in Europe, which have at length happily terminated in a general Pacification.

The Triumph a french Sloop of War, commanded by the Chevalier du Quêne, arriv'd here the last Evening, dispatchd from Cadiz the 14th of Feby by the Marquiss of Fayette & the Comte D'Estaign, on a supposition, which the event has justified, that she might reach America, before any Packett which shoud sail either from Brest or L'Orient.

The orders of the Comte D'Estaign to the Ch. du Quêne contain a proclamation of the cessation of Hostilities, & the communications from the Marquiss of Fayette, convey the heads of the Preliminary Articles of the General Peace, which were signed the 20th January at Paris. These leave the decisive terms respecting the United States as affixed by the partial Agreement between America & G. Britain (our southern boundary being restricted to the 32 degree). The other belligerent Powers are in general reinstated in those Possessions which they held previous to the War (with Exception) that G. Britain cedes to France, Tobago, St. Vincents & Senegal, who on her part recedes from her right to fish on great Part of the Coast, which she held by the treaty of 63. She cedes to Spain, The Floridas & Minorca, & retains Negapatam in the East Indies. If any thing can add to this happy event, it is that the late confusion in the Army, thro' the prudence of the Commander in chief, has terminated in a manner which reflects additional honor on that band of Patriots.

With the highest Respect, We have the honor to be, Yr Excellencys.  
Most Obt. & very humble Servants

Jos. Jones

A. Lee

Theok. Bland Jr.

John F. Mercer

J. Madison Jr.



[P.S.] Congress have just now directed the Agent of Marine to recall all armed naval Commissions & the Minister of Foreign Affairs to make the necessary communications to Sr. Guy Carleton & Admiral Digby, which will produce an immediate cessation of Hostilities.<sup>1</sup> We shall draw on you for £24 the price agreed on for the Express.

John F. Mercer

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Mercer and signed by Mercer, Bland, Jones, Lee, and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:387.

<sup>1</sup> See Gunning Bedford to George Read, this date, note.

## Theodorick Bland to George Weedon

Dear Genl.

Philada. March 25th 1783

The General Preliminaries for Peace are Certainly Signed—they bear Date the 20th of Jany. 1783. The terms for America exceed the most sanguine Expectations of the most sanguine. I hope on this occasion America will hold in Eternal remembrance the Good offices and benefits she has receivd from our great and good Ally—by conferring on her a beneficial preference to all nations. She surely merits every thing we can do, which is consistent with the Dignity & interests of our own Country. You will see a copy of the Preliminary Articles in the papers a number of which will no doubt find there way to you as soon as this letter.

I wrote to you <sup>1</sup> & transmitted the notes as you desired for Mrs. Mercer & have not ever heard whether you received them at which I am somewhat uneasy. I must beg the favor of you to inform me whether they have come to hand or not.<sup>2</sup> If any persons shd. be appointed by our line to Survey & locate the Land of the officers—I hereby empower you to Authorise them to take up, locate & Survey mine on the Same terms which are allowd for the same Services by you and the rest of the officers. E. Randolph the Attorney Genl has my Warrant which he will deliver for that Purpose to whom you may appoint in my behalf. You see I have not even apologized for giving you this trouble. Adieu God Bless you, may we live in Peace & Plenty all the rest of our lives—is the Sincere & hearty wish of yr. affecte. Friend & Svt.

Theok. Bland

P.S. The Commutation of five years whole pay in Lieu of half Pay is allowd by Congress to the officers of the Army, which bids fair to give Universal Satisfaction.

T.B.

RC (PPAmP: Weedon Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For Weedon's April 1 reply, see Bland, *Papers* (Campbell), 2:97–98.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia March 25 1783

E'er this I hope the Joyful Tidings of a general Peace has reached you. I wrote by Major Pierce as soon as possible after the arrival of this glorious Event. I am so weary of writing, that I am almost sick of a Pen & Ink, shall therefore only say that we are all well & very happy. I am much surprized at Pangburn sending the Cows to you, as he took them for the Year, and was bound to keep them at his own risque—hope you will set down the day they came, as I will charge him with them. If Pangburn chooses to retake them I would choose it—but if not, let them go to others, on the Terms Mr Southard has His viz—25 lb Butter per Year & to return them safe. Mr Southard must have the large Cow, but the brindle one is certainly the best. Let no Hay go to any body, that you think will be wanted for our own Creatures. As to John Breene if you give him an Inch, he will take an Ell, therefore you had best leave that matter to be settled by me. It would ease my mind greatly if you could sell all the Horses at any reasonable rate, as I know not what to do with them. I would wait for the money.

My Head is perfectly wild. Love to Mrs P. & Johnny. Am Yours Affecly,

E B

[P.S.] I send you 10 Lima Beans pray send me a few stringless Beans.

RC (PHi: Boudinot Papers).

## Committee of Congress to George Washington

Sr.

[March 25, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

Many Events have lately occurrd which have occasiond me to trouble your Excellency with my Correspondence of a Private nature. I now take the Liberty of Writing to you by desire of a Committe of which I have the Honor to be one, to whom your Very Interesting dispatches to Congress of the 15th of this month were committed.<sup>2</sup> You will without doubt have been informd Sr. & have received with Pleasure the Intelligence of the Vote for the Commutation having passd Congress the Same day on which Yr. Excellency's dispatches containing the truly sensible and Patriotic Resolutions of the Officers of the Army convened by Yr. Excellency's Authority were received.<sup>3</sup> On that happy event I most Cordially Congratulate you Sr. and my Quondam Brother officers. I think it must give the most sensible Pleasure to every Friend of this Country—that an event so interesting shd. take place at the very moment that a Certainty of Peace was announced—

And that the Civil and Military at that Critical Juncture shd. so harmonize on the Capital object of their Wishes. This event will I trust Eradicate from the minds of every Generous & thinking Man in the United States in whatever station he may be every Vestige of Suspicion which those of an opposite Complexion might have endeavord to Implant. If my Conceptions of the Sense of Congress are right—I think I can assure Your Excellency—that all those Suspicions which may have been entertaind—of want of Gratitude to the Army or a desire to do them complete and ample Justice, are totally groundless. Your Excellency I hope knows too well my Candor to Imagine I wd attempt to deceive. If I have built my opinions (on this head) on an erroneous Idea of Congress, the Moment Such error is discovered by me I shall think myself unpardonable not to disclose it. You Will perceive Sr. by the Enclosed Rough Copies No. 1 & 2<sup>d</sup> which the Committe have had Under their Consideration what is their Sense and what they have reason to think is the sense of Congress. We have thought it necessary to make to you Sr. a Confidential communication of our Sentiments in hopes that you will favor us with your opinion thereon at large.

Our doubt arises solely from this Consideration—viz that the Enormous Expence of keeping the whole Army in the field untill their “Accounts are Liquidated—the Ballances accurately ascertaind, and *Funds Established for the Payment*,” would be productive of the most Ruinous Consequences to the United States—might occasion Clamors among the Citizens—Embarrass the measures which Congress mean to take and so effect their Finances as to render it impossible to comply with what the Army most desire viz a punctual discharge of the debt due to them, on settlement. Your Excellency will I think require no Argument to shew the force of these observations. I will say nothing of the effects which ever have and ever will arise from keeping a large Army in the Field in a state of Inactivity, without any other object to employ their minds on, than their past sufferings and present distresses a relief of which must be inevitably removed to a further distance by the very means they appear to point out to procure it. Altho the resolutions of the Army on the Address to them by Yr. Excellency are perfectly explicit and breathe the most entire confidence in the Justice of Congress and the Sincere Intentions of that Body towards them. Yet lest some latent Spark of Suspicion undiscoverd by the Convention shd. unexpectedly discover itself, and laying hold of an ambiguous Expression, or even the Silence of Congress on some material point—does not Yr. Excellency conceive an Explicit and full declaration of Congress not only of their Intentions to do Ample Justice but of the mode by which it is to be done as far as depends on them, will be proper? Shd. you Sr. think proper to offer any amendment to either

of the Enclosed resolutions or to start any new Idea—that may be thought more effectual than those they contain—you may be assured of their being laid before the Committee in the most Confidential manner and of receiving all possible attention.<sup>5</sup> Altho I write now at the request of the committee you will be pleased to consider this communication, as not of a Public or official nature and communicable *only* to those in whom the most entire confidence is reposed. I need not inform your Excellency of the earnest desire which the Committee have to make their report on this Subject as speedily as possible as you are fully apprized of the necessity of it, rendered, in my opinion, the more necessary by the great and Glorious event which has been so lately Announced to us of a General Peace. On which occasion I most Cordially and Sincerely Congratulate Yr. Excellency—with an assurance, that Peace or War will never change in me the Unalterable affection and Esteem with which I am, Yr. Excellency's most obdnt. & most Humb. Svt.

Theok. Bland

P.S. You will excuse Sr., the hasty manner in which this has been written—as a fear of loosing the opportunity by the Post has deprived me of the power of revising it.

#### ENCLOSURES

No. 1

That they be further informed that Congress will Take the most Speedy and effectual measures to Settle the accounts of the whole Army as well for the half Pay, or commutation if accepted as for the arrearages due to them in the most ample and Satisfactory manner—and will devise the best and most efficacious means of Providing funds for the discharge of the Interest and Principal found due to them on such Settlement—and assure the Army that Congress will not direct any Line or corps to be disbanded untill they be respectively Marchd to a Rendevous within their respective States, and their accounts shall be finally settled & adjusted.

No. 2

That he be further informed it is the Intention of Congress to effect the Settlement of the accounts of the Respective lines previous to their reduction and that Congress are doing and will continue to do every thing in their Power towards procuring Satisfactory securities for what Shall be found due on such Settlement.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed by Washington: "From The Hon Theodk. Bland, Supposed 25th March 83."

<sup>1</sup> This date is taken from the endorsement. Washington apparently received this letter at the same time he received the two letters of this date from Bland's fellow committeeman, Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> For the appointment of this committee, see James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 22, 1783, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, March 23, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See the enclosures below.

<sup>5</sup> In his April 4 reply, Washington advised Bland and the Committee that it was "an *indispensable* Measure, that previous to the Disbandg the Army, all their Accounts, should be compleatly liquidated and settled; and that every person shall be ascertained of the Ballance due to him. . . with the Army in its collected Body, without any dispersion of the different Lines to their respective States." It was also "universally expected" and "absolutely indispensable," he continued, "that three Months pay at least, must be given them before they are disbanded," but that "if the whole cannot be obtained before they are dispersed, the Receipt of One Month in Hand, with an absolute Assurance of havg the other two Months in a short Time, will be satisfactory; should Mr Morris not be able to assure them the two last Months from the Treasury, it is suggested that it may be obtained in the States, by Drafts from [him] upon their several Continental Receivers." See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:286-87. See also Bland to Washington, and Committee of Congress to Robert Morris, April 16, 1783.

## William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, March 25th 1783.

On the 23d the Vessel arrived with the Intelligence that the Preliminary Articles for a General Peace was Signed at Paris the 20th Jan'y. On the Verbal accounts which we Recd from on board the Vessel before she could get up to the town with her Dispatches, Mr. Cartor was Sending an Express to Wadsworth, which I got knowledge of two Minutes before he went of, in which time I wrote your Excellency a line on the Subject. Yesterday in our Joynt Letter we were Something more particular. In this I have the honour to Inclose to, your Excellency a Copy of the Marquise's Letter to our Secretary of foreign Affairs, and the Articles Sent by him, with the passport or Instructions given by Count D'Estaing to the Captain which brought the Intelligence.

The Marquis being at Cadiz nearly Ready to sail with the Count D'Estaing for the West Indies, on the Signing of the Articles at Paris, Express was sent to Cadiz to stop them, his Attention to and anxiety for this Country induced him to solicit the Count for a Vessel to bring us the Intelligence, which was readily Granted.

In order to Save the lives and Vessels of the people we have thought proper to Direct the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to Send to Genl. Carlton, a Copy of Count d'Estaing's Instructions, with the Other Intelligence which we have Recd. and to propose to him that all Hostilities Should Cease and the Cruisers on both sides Should be Called in. Mr. Lewis Morris is sent to New York on the Business.<sup>1</sup>

Altho it is important to us that we Should be in possession of our Capital, I fear that many weeks will elapse before the Event can take



place. However Inclined the Enemy may be to Remove, I expect the want of transports will prevent them for sometime yet to come—in this Situation if there should be an [open] Communication into New York, great speculation would be Carried on perhaps to the Injury of our State if your Excellency by Agreement with Genl Carlton Could form a Regulation that would prevent it, it might be attended with very Salutary Effects.

Great numbers in this town are forming plans to go into New York on Speculation. I hope such steps will be taken on the part of our State as will Effectually Defeat them.

With the greatest Respect I am your Excellencys most obedt. and humble Servt.  
Wm. Floyd

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:93–94.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis Morris, Jr., was first under secretary to the secretary for foreign affairs Robert R. Livingston. See PCC, item 12, fol. 53.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir

Phila. Mar 25th 1783

The inclosed <sup>1</sup> I write more in a public than in a private capacity. Here I write as a citizen zealous for the true happiness of this country—as a soldier who feels what is due to an army which has suffered everything and done much for the safety of America.

I sincerely wish *ingratitude* was not so natural to the human heart as it is. I sincerely wish there were no seeds of it in those who direct the councils of the United States. But while I urge the army to moderation, and advise Your Excellency to take the direction of their discontents, and endeavour to confine them within the bounds of duty, I cannot as an hon[est] man conceal from you, that I am afraid their distrusts ha[ve] too much foundation. Republican jealousy has in it a principle of hostility to an army whatever be their merits, whatever be their claims to the gratitude of the community. It acknowledges their services with unwillingness and rewards them with reluctance. I see this temper, though smothered with great care, involuntarily breaking out upon too many occasions. I often feel a mortification, which it would be impolitic to express, that sets my passions at variance with my reason. Too many I perceive, if they could do it with safety or colour, would [be] glad to elude the just pretensions of the army. I hope [that] this is not the prevailing disposition.

But supposing the Country ungrate[ful] what can the army do? It must submit to its hard f[ate]. To seek redress by its arms would end in its ruin. The ar[my] would moulder by its own weight and for want of the means of keeping together—the soldiery would abandon their

officers. There would be no chance of success without having recourse to means that would reverse our revolution. I make these observations not that I imagine Your Excellency can want motives to continue your influence in the path of moderation; but merely to show why I cannot myself enter into the views of coercion which some Gentlemen entertain—for I confess could force avail I should almost wish to see it employed. I have an indifferent opinion of the honesty of this country, and ill-forebodings as to its future system.

Your Excellency will perceive I have written with sensations of chagrine and will make allowance for colouring; but the general picture is too true.

God send us all more wisdom. I am with very sincere respect, yr Excellys Obed servt,

A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See the following entry.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia, 25 of March 1783

I wrote to Your Excellency a day or two ago by express. Since that a Committee appointed on the communications from you have had a meeting, and find themselves embarrassed. They have requested me to communicate our embarrassments to you in confidence and to ask your private opinion. The army by their resolutions express an expectation that Congress will not disband them previous to a settlement of accounts and the establishment of funds. Congress may resolve upon the first; but the general opinion is that they cannot constitutionally declare the second. They have no right by the Confederation to *demand* funds, they can only recommend; and to determine that the army shall be continued in service 'till the states grant them, would be to determine that the whole present army, shall be a standing army during peace unless the states comply with the requisitions for funds. This it is supposed would excite the alarms and jealousies of the states and increase rather than lessen the opposition to the funding scheme. It is also observed that the longer the army is kept together, the more the payment of past dues is procrastinated, the abilities of the states being exhausted for their immediate support and a new debt every day incurred. It is further suggested that there is danger in keeping the army together, in a state of inactivity, and that a separation of the several lines would facilitate the settlement of accounts, diminish present expence and avoid the danger of union; it is added that the offi-

cers of each line, being on the spot, might by their own solicitations & those of their friends, forward the adoption of funds in the different states.

A proposition will be transmitted to you by Colonel Bland in the form of a resolution to be adopted by Congress—framed upon the principles of the foregoing reasoning.<sup>1</sup>

Another proposition is contained in the following resolution—

“That the Commander in Chief be informed it is the intention of Congress to effect the settlement of the accounts of the respective lines previous to their reduction; and that Congress are doing, and will continue to do, everything in their power towards procuring satisfactory securities for what shall be found due on such settlement.”<sup>2</sup>

The scope of this Your Excellency will perceive without comment.

I am to request you will favour me with your sentiments on both the propositions, and in general with your ideas of what had best be done with reference to the expectation expressed by the officers; taking into view the situation of Congress.<sup>3</sup>

On one side the army expect they will not be disbanded ‘till accounts are settled & funds established—on the other hand, they have no constitutional power of doing any thing more than to recommend funds, and are persuaded that these will meet with mountains of prejudice in some of the states.

A considerable progress has been made in a plan for funding the public debts and it is to be hoped it will ere long go forth to the states, with every argument that can give it success.

I have the honor to be, With sincere respect, Yr Excellys. Most Obedt servt,  
A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed by Washington: “From The Hon. Alexr. Hami[lton], 25th. Mar. 1783.”

<sup>1</sup> See Committee of Congress to Washington, this date.

<sup>2</sup> This “proposition” was also forwarded to Washington with the preceding committee letter.

<sup>3</sup> Washington’s April 4 reply to Hamilton is in Washington, *Papers* (Fitzpatrick), 26:291–93.

## William Hemsley to William Paca

Dr Sir

Philadelphia March 25th. 1783.

The Enclosed Paper will inform Your Excellcy. of the joyfull News of the preliminaries of a general Peace being signed the 20th January.

Our American Nobleman the Marquis L’Fayette dispatched a Cutter with the happy tidings, and the Official Accounts may be expected every Day.



William Hemsley

The Marquis informed Congress that Count D'Estaing with 49 Ships of the Line & twenty thousand troops were ready to Sail for the Attack of Jamaica, and he was to have entered the river St Lawrence with a french Corps for the reduction of Canada.

My most cordial Congratulations attend you; on the Establishment of our Independence by a most honorable & advantageous Peace, and I am with every Sentiment of personal Esteem, Yr. Excellys. most obedt. Servt,

Wm. Hemsley

P.S. I beg the favor you will inform me when You think the Assembly will be called, & whether our militia Law is expired. I have heard it was.

The Delegates cannot stay here if they have not a remittance by the next post.

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Sir

Philada. March 25, 1783.

Your favor of the 15th inst. was duly recd. yesterday.<sup>1</sup> Mine by yesterday's Express will have notified the consummation of our wishes by a settlement of the preliminaries of a general peace on the 20th. of Jany. The inclosed Gazette will add all the circumstances under which the happy event is brought to us—happy it may be indeed called whether we consider the immediate blessings which it confers, or the cruel distresses and embarrassments from w[hich it] saves us.<sup>2</sup> The pecuniary aid of France for the year 1783, had been unalterably limited to 6 Million of livres. The greatest part of this sum had been anticipated and how our army could have been kept together for three months is utterly beyond my solution. As it is, God only knows how the plans in agitation for satisfying their just expectations will terminate; or what will be the issue in case they should be abortive. The effects of the anonymous addresses mentioned in my last<sup>3</sup> on the irritable state of their minds, have been effectually obviat[ed by the] seasonable & judicious steps taken by the Commander in Ch[ief. Th]e manner however in which he found it necessary, and indeed felt it to be his duty, to espouse their interests enforces in the highest degree the establishment of adequate and certain revenues. The provision reported by a Committee on this subject and of which I sketched you the import, is still before Congress.<sup>4</sup> The past deliberations upon it do not with certainty prognosticate its fate. I fear it calls for more liberality & greater mutual confidence than will be found in the American Councils.



RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:391–92.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 346–47.

<sup>2</sup> That is, news of the general peace obviated the dilemma over the separate or secret article of the preliminary treaty with Great Britain.

<sup>3</sup> Actually, his letter of March 18 rather than the 24th.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 22, note 1.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir

Philadelphia 25th March 1783

It is with very great Pleasure we transmit you the principal Articles of the preliminaries of a general peace signed the 20th of January last.<sup>1</sup>

The Cutter was dispatched by the Marquis L'Fayette, and the official Accounts may be expected every day.

The Enclosed Letter came to the president of Congress,<sup>2</sup> and as it was supposed to be on business of a public Nature, many Gentlemen expressed a desire to know the Contents, which we hope will be a sufficient Apology for the freedom the Delegates took in opening it.

Please to accept our sincerest Congratulations on seeing our Independence established by an honorable Peace. We have the honor to be your Excellys and Honors most obedt. & most humble servts,

Tho. S. Lee

Danl. Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Hemsley and signed by Hemsley, Carroll, and Lee.

<sup>1</sup> See *Calendar of Maryland State Papers: The Red Books*, 3 vols. (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1950–55), 1:1216, 1217; and Red Books, 4:121, 121a, MdAA.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, March 25th 1783

We embrace the first opportunity of congratulating your Excellency & the Honorable Council upon the agreeable intelligence of Peace, the particulars respecting this happy & glorious event, as they are published in the printed hand-bill,<sup>1</sup> which we do ourselves the honor to inclose, came to hand yesterday, the Marquis de la Fiate having forwarded the intelligence from Cadiz, to Congress; the time since the Preliminaries of the Peace were signed, is so great, we expect it will

not be many days before Congress will officially receive the definitive treaty, & we expect that hostilities will soon cease in America.

We have the honor to be, with the highest respect, for your Excellency & the honorable Council, your most obedient servants,

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See Gunning Bedford to George Read, March 24, note 1.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

In Congress. March 25th. 1783.

Having dispatched an Express yesterday, by whom we communicated to your Excellency, the substance of the important & happy advices, receiv'd by the Ch. du Quesne, We now enclose yr. Excellency the days papers, in which you will no doubt, find many interesting particulars, & have to add, that the Ch. du Quesne, informs us that he has a table, ascertaining the different periods, established for the cessation of Hostilities in different Quarters—viz. in Europe & thence to the Azores within 10 Days after the signing the Preliminaries on the 20th of January, within two months in America & within four months in the East Indies.<sup>1</sup>

We have the honor to be, with much respect, Yr Excellency's most obedient & very humble Servts,<sup>2</sup>

John F. Mercer

Theok. Bland Jr.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Mercer and signed by Mercer, Bland, and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:390–91.

<sup>1</sup> This information was in error. According to the terms of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Spanish treaties, the periods established for the cessation of hostilities at sea following their ratification (rather than their signing on January 20) were twelve days in the North Sea and English Channel, one month from the North Sea to the Canary Islands (including the Mediterranean), two months from the Canaries to the equator, and five months in the remaining parts of the world. See *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*, ed. by Frances G. Davenport and Oscar O. Paullin, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917–37), 4:148–49, 151. See also James Madison to Edmund Randolph, June 10, 1783, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Virginia delegates also wrote to the state's auditors on March 27 notifying them that they had "received in consequence of two bills of Exchange remitted by J. Ambler Esq. each of us one hundred pounds Virga. currency; and request the Auditors of the Commonwealth of Virginia to issue warrants to that amount and charge the same to us in part of our Salaries as Delegates to Congress." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:405.

## Hugh Williamson to Alexander Martin

Dear Sir,

Philada 25th March 1783

From the Length of a public Letter which is inclosed <sup>1</sup> with this you will presume it is at least probable that I am pretty well tyred with writing. I had written by last Post to Petersburg <sup>2</sup> & desired a gentleman there to keep an Express in readiness on the Arrival of the Post which set out from this to Day, that he might carry our Dispatches as far as Coll. Long's at Halifax. Our State Being one of the few who gave their Delegates no Instructions to hire Expresses at the public Expence, we thought that sending from Petersburg was sufficient at our private Expence. However a young gentleman from Flanders has just announced to us that he will set out to morrow morning by day light for S. Carolina & having led Horses expects to reach Chas Town in 17 days. He offers to carry our Letters, we thought such a Jehu was preferable to the Post as more Expeditious.

Your Excellency recollects that by the dates of our Commissions our Seats are vacant in Congress on the 13th of May.<sup>3</sup> There are now 12 States represented, but Georgia is not of that number & we fear she may not be represented for some Time, by her absence the southern Interest is weakened.

I need not inform you that the Business in Congress for some Time must be extremely difficult & interesting. Arrangements are to be made for a Peace Establishmt. and such Settlemt made if possible concerning past Transactions and the great debt contracted as may give general Content & secure that Union in Peace which has been so effectual in War. I foresee the difficulty of this Business & heartily wish that if mistakes are to be committed some Person was in my Place who can more easily make them acceptable to the State. I never feared a public Enemy half so much as I fear the Risque of political Blunders. Mr Hawkins and myself will be very anxious to know what the Assembly is engaged in as soon as a House is formed and Business is fully taken up. I presume the Election for public Officers may be between the 20th & 25th of April, in that Case an Account of it may reach us before the 12th of May. The Post which leaves Petersburg on Friday morning reaches this on the next Monday week. An Express from Hilsbro on Monday morning will easily reach Petersburg on Thursday Evening in Time to meet the Post. In this Case your Letters would reach us in 14 days. As soon as Congress receive their Official Accounts of Peace with the Definitive Articles & shall have confirmed the same, they shall be forwarded to you by Express.

I have the Honor to be, Your most obedt hble Servt,

Hu Williamson

P.S. I have taken the Liberty to propose to Mr Ph. Hawkins <sup>4</sup> a Plan for disposing of the Western Lands so as to produce a solid Revenue to the State, or to discharge a very weighty Debt.

RC (Nc-Ar: Governors' Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to Martin, March 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 22:401-2.

<sup>4</sup> No letters from Williamson to Hawkins have been found. Both Philemon Hawkins II and III were members of the Council of State at this time. See *Dict. of N. C. Biog.*, 3:74-75.

## Oliver Wolcott to Heman Swift

Sir <sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia. 25 March 1783

When I wrote you my former Letters <sup>2</sup> in answer to that which I recd. from you I did not know that the Secretary at War had in Octr. informed Congress that a Brigadier ought to be appointed for the Connecticut Line.<sup>3</sup> I mention this Circumstance as the Secretary has shewn me a Letter from you to him wherein you mention that you had received a Treatment which you had no Reason to expect and Mention that you had been informed from a Delegate in Congress that a Plan had been adopted by which you could not at present be promoted or words to this Effect.

I have no cyps of the Letters which I sent you upon this Subject, but so farr as I recollect I gave you a general Abstract of the Act of Congress respecting the Appointment of Brigadiers, and mentioned in general that this System had been adopted upon advice. I wish Sir to recal your Attention to the Tenor of my Letter, for altho you do not Suggest and I am confident that you never meant to Suggest that I had given you the least Intimation that I supposed that the Secretary at War had any unfreindly disposition towards you—yet as you mention to the Secretary that you had recd. Information upon this Subject from a Delegate in Congress and appear to be disappointed in your Expectations from him, an Opinion might in some measure be formed from these Circumstances that the Manner of my Writing to you had induced you to have the unfavourable Opinion which you Appear to entertain. As I know your Candor, I wish that you would State in your Letter to that which the Secretary tells Me he shall Send to you, wheither this Opinion has been founded upon any Suggestions of Mine, not that I doubt what your Answer will be, but to obviate any Misapprehensions. In my letter I believe that I was explicit in saying that I was perswaded that the Candor of the Secretary at War, his Friendship for you, and His Regard for the Merit of your Services,

would dispose him to do every Thing in his Power which he consistently could, to gratify your Wishes.

I am Very sorry Sir that you have not had that publick notice taken of your Services which I beleive that nothing but some particular Circumstances, totally unconnected with your own personal character, has prevented.

In Justice to the Secretary at War I must say that I always considered him as a Gentleman impartial and candid in his Administration and I believe that he has not had any Design to do you an Injury.

The Secretary at War never intimated to me that he imagined that I had wrote to you any Thing that was improper, but as such an Idea may possibly exist in his mind, if it does so, I wish that it was removed as I do not wish to have it thot that I meddle with a Department which does not belong to me.

I congratulate you upon the Establishment of our independence and the Restoration of a general Peace, and hope that We shall soon hear that the Definitive Articles are signed by the belligerent Powers. I think that the Articles so farr as they respect America will give Universal Satisfaction. I am Sir with much esteem and Regard, your most Obedt. Servant

Oliver Wolcott

RC (CtHi: Wolcott Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Heman Swift, who had served as a colonel in the Connecticut Line since 1776, had been recommended for promotion to brigadier general by General Washington on February 5, 1783. He was appointed a brigadier general by brevet in September. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:101; and Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 23:648–51.

## Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Sir.

Philadelpa. 25 March 1783

I congratulate you upon the Restoration of Peace. I think that it is established in a Manner which will be agreeable to America. A small Alteration you will perceive has been made in our Southern Line upon the Mississippi in favour of Spain. They are harmless Neighbours it is therefore a Circumstance of but little Consequence. No Official Information from our Minister, has yet been recd. as to the general Peace but the Event may be depended upon as certain—wheither the Articles as agreed upon by the belligerent Powers are definitive is not know[n] and it is but of little Consequence how this Matter is. Neither is it known when Hostilitys were to cease in the Various Parts of the world—but I take it it was intended to be as soon as possibly it could be effected without limiting the time for doing it.



God has thus carryed us thro the War let us with Gratitude Acknowledge his Goodness. I hope it a short Time to be able to find you the definitive Articles as agreed upon.

Mr Ellsworth is not yet here. I presume he is on his way. If he shall not have set out I wish that you would present my Compliments to him and desire him in my name to come forward. His Service here is much wanted. To me it will be peculiarly agreeable.

Sir yours,

O Wolcott

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

## John Taylor Gilman to Meshech Weare

Sir,

Philada. March 26th. 1783.

I wrote you a Short Letter Yesterday by a private Conveyance,<sup>1</sup> to Congratulate you on the Joyfull News of Peace. The accounts which we have, were sent from Cadiz by the Marquis La Fayettee & Count De Estaing. Have nothing material more than is published in the Papers but are Hourly Expecting the Arrival of dispatches from Our Commis-srs. in Europe. The accounts which are published, (& the manner in which they came) leave no doubt of the matter.

I Informed you in my Letter of Yesterday that I Expected to be in New Hampshire by the 15th or at farthest by the 20th of April. If any Apology for my leaving the State Unrepresented should be necessary, the Indisposition of my Hon'd Father, will I think plead Sufficiently with every Tender mind. I Informed you in my last that we had not received any information respecting the Appointment of Delegates. I Shall wait the Arrival of (Next Monday's) Mail & shall, probably, set out within a Day or Two after.<sup>2</sup> I hope the Definitive Treaty will Arrive before that time.

Permit me to Conclude this Letter with my warmest Congratulations to you, & my Friends with you, on this Joyfull Event, I am Sure it will be as Joyfull to many in New Hampshire as in any part of the Union.

I have the Honor to be, with great Respect, Your most Huml. Servt.  
John Taylor Gilman

P.S. I have to ask pardon for the Haste & Inaccuracy of Expression of this Letter, but it is not Intended for the public Eye.

RC (InU-Li: Lafayette Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Gilman obtained leave of absence from Congress on March 31. *JCC*, 24:220.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday March 26. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

Communication was made thro' the Secy of F. A. by the Minister of France, as to the late negociation, from letters recd. by him from Ct. de Vergennes dated in Decr. last, & brought by the Washington packet.<sup>2</sup> This communication shewed though delicately that France was displeased with our Ministers for signing prely. arts. separately; that she had laboured by recommending mutual concessions to compromise disputes between Spain & the U. S., and that she was apprehensive that G. B. would hereafter, as they already had, endeavor to sow discords between them. It signified that the "intimacy between our Ministers & those of G. B." furnished a handle for this purpose.

Besides the public communication to Congress other parts of Letters from the Ct. de Vergennes were privately communicated to the Presidt. of Congs. & to sundry members, expressing more particularly the dissatisfaction of the Ct. of F. at the conduct of our Ministers; and urging the necessity of establishing permanent revenues for paying our debts & supporting a national character. The substance of these private communications as taken on the 23 instant by the President is as follows:

Finance.<sup>3</sup>

"That the Ct. de Vergennes was alarmed at the extravagant demands of Doctr. F. in behalf of the U. S.; that he was surprized at the same time that the inhabitants paid so little attention to doing something for themselves: If they could not be brought to give adequate funds for their defence during a dangerous war, it was not likely that so desireable an end could be accomplished when their fears were allayed by a general peace, that this reasoning affected the credit of the U. S. and no one could be found who would risque their money under such circumstances; that the King would be glad to know what funds were provided for the security and payment of the 10 Million borrowed by him in Holland; that the Count de Vergennes hardly dared to report in favor of the U. S. to the King & Council, as money was so scarce that it would be with the greatest difficulty that even a small part of the requisition could be complied with. The causes of this scarcity were—a five year's war which had increased the expences of Government to an enormous amount—the exportation of large sums of specie to A. for the support & pay of both French & English armies—the loans to America—the stoppage of Bullion in S. America which prevented its flowing in the usual channels." <sup>4</sup> A letter of later date added

"That he had received the Chevrs. letter of Ocr. and rejoiced to find that Congress had provided funds for their debts, which gave him great encouragemt. and had prevailed on the Comptroller General to join him in a report to his Majesty & Council for 6 Million of livres for

the U. S. to support the war, but assures the Chevalier de la Luzerne, that he must never again consent to a further application."

Negotiations "He complains of being treated with great indelicacy by the American Commissrs. they having signed the Treaty without any confidential communication—that had France treated America with the same indelicacy she might have signed her Treaty first as every thing between France & England was settled, but the King chose to keep faith with his allies, and therefore always refused to do any thing definitively, till all his allies were ready; that this conduct had delayed the definitive Treaty, England having considered herself as greatly strengthened by America; that Doct. Franklin waited on Ct. de Vergennes & acknowledged the indelicacy of their behavior & had prevailed on him to bury it in oblivion: that the English were endeavoring all in their power to sow seeds of discords between our Commissrs. & the Court of Spain, representing our claims to the Westward as extravagant and inadmissible—that it became Congress to be attentive to this business, & to prevent the ill effects that it might be attended with—that the King had informed the Court of Spain, that tho' he heartily wished that the U. S. might enjoy a cordial coalition with his Cat. Majesty, yet he should leave the whole affair entirely to the two States and not interfere otherwise than as by his counsel & advice when asked—that altho' the U. S. had not been so well treated by Spain as might have been expected, yet that his Majesty wished that America might reap the advantage of a beneficial Treaty with Spain—That as the peace was not yet certain, it became all the powers at war, to be ready for a vigorous campaign, and hoped Congs. would exert themselves to aid the common cause by some offensive operations against the Enemy—but if the British should evacuate the U. S. the King earnestly hoped Congs. would take the most decided measures to prevent any intercourse with the British, and particularly in the way of merchandize or supplying them with provisions, wch. would prove of the most dangerous tendency to the campaign in the W. Indies—that the British now had hopes of opening an extensive trade with America, tho' the war should continue, which if they should be disappointed in, might hasten the definitive Treaty, as it would raise a clamor among the people of England.

"The Chevr. added that as he had misinformed his Court with regard to Congs. having funded their debts, on which presumption, the 6 Milon. had been granted, he hoped Congs. would enable him in his next despatches to give some satisfactory account to his Court on this head."

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:393–95.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote: "Teusday No Congress."

<sup>2</sup> This day Robert R. Livingston sent to Congress his March 25 "Minutes" of a conversation held on March 22 with the chevalier de La Luzerne in which the French minister discussed the comte de Vergennes' dispatches to him of November 19 and 22, and De-

ember 19, 20, 21, and 24. See PCC, item 113, fols. 272–78, item 119, fols. 250–51, item 185, 3:59; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:150–52, 152n, 330–32.

<sup>3</sup> Much of the information under this heading had been conveyed to the superintendent of finance by La Luzerne in his letter of March 15 which Morris had transmitted to Congress on March 17. See Madison's Notes, March 19, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> At this point in the manuscript Madison inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note: "another cause mentioned was the large balance of specie in favor of the N. powers during the war."

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir,

Philadelphia 27th March 1783.

Inclosed is a Letter from the Minister of foreign affairs,<sup>1</sup> which was just now put into your hands with a request that I would forward it to your Excellency.

Colo. Bedford shewed me a Letter this day, with which you honored us, relating to the rejoicings for Peace. Congress have not yet had any Official accounts of that happy event; nor will they take any measures to celebrate it 'till such accounts arrive. If I should be in this City at the time, I will not fail to transmit them to you by the first opportunity.

I take the liberty to forward a pamphlet which was put into our hands some days ago. Mr. P. Webster is supposed to be the author.<sup>2</sup>

I am sir, Your Excellency's obt humble servt, E. McComb.

RC (DLC: Van Dyke Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Probably Robert R. Livingston's circular letter of March 24 to the states enclosing extracts from the preliminary general articles of peace. PCC, item 119, fol. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Pelatiah Webster's *A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States, of North America . . .* (Philadelphia: T. Bradford, 1783). Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,299.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday Mar. 27. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

The 5 paragraph in the report on Revenue havg. been judged not sufficiently explicit, and recommitted to be made more so,<sup>2</sup> the following paragraph was recd. in its place viz "That it be further recommended to the several States, to establish for a term limited to 25 years, and to appropriate" &c [to the word 2 Million of dollars annually], "which proportions shall be fixed and equalized from time to time according to such rule as is or may be prescribed by the articles of Confederation: and in case the revenues so established and appropriated by any State shall at any time yield a sum exceeding its proportion, the excess shall be refunded to it, and in case the same shall be

found to be defective the immediate deficiency shall be made good as soon as possible, and a future deficiency guarded against by an enlargement of the Revenues established provided that untill the rule of the confederation can be applied, the proportions of the 2,000,000 of dollars aforesaid, shall be as follows: viz . . ." This amendment was accepted,<sup>3</sup> motion of Mr. Clark to restrain this apportionmt. in the first instance to the term of 2 years, being first negatived. He contended that a valuation of land would prob[ab]ly never take place, and that it was uncertain whether the rule of numbers wd. be substituted and therefore that the first apportionment might be continued throughout the 25 years, altho it must be founded on the present relative wealth of the States which would vary every year, in favor of those which are the least populous.

This reasoning was not denied, but it was thought that such a limitation might leave an interval in which no apportionment wd. exist, when a confusion would proceed, & that an apprehension of it would destroy public Credit.

A motion was made by Mr. Bland 2ded by Mr. Lee to go back to the first part of the report & instead of the words "*levy*" an impost of 5 PerCt. to substitute the word "*collect*" an impost &c.<sup>4</sup> It was urged in favor of this motion that the first word imported a Legislative idea, & the latter an executive only, and consequently the latter might be less obnoxious to the States. On the other side it was said that the States would be governed more by things than by terms; that if the meaning of both was the same, an alteration was unnecessary; that if not, as seemed to be the case, an alteration would be improper. It was particularly apprehended that if the term "*collect*" were to be used, the States might fix themselves the *mode* of collection; whereas it was indispensable that Congs. sd. have that power as well that it might be varied from time to time as circumstances or experience sd. dictate, as that a uniformity might be observed throughout the States. On the motion of Mr. Clarke the negative was voted by a large Majority there being 4 ays only.

On (8) parag. there was no argt. nor opposition.

The (9) paragraph being considered by several as inaccurate in point of phraseology; a motion was made by [Madison] to postpone it to take into consideration the following to wit "That in order to remove all objections against a retrospective application of the constitutional rule to the final apportionment on the several States, of the monies & supplies actually contributed in pursuance of requisitions of Congress, it be recommended to the States to enable the U. S. in Congs. assembd. to make such equitable abatements & alterations as the particular circumstances of the States from time to time during the war may require, and as will divide the burden of such actual contributions among them in proportion to their respective abilities at



the period at which they were made." On a question for striking out, the original paragraph was agreed to without opposition. On the question to insert the amendment of Mr. M, the votes of the States were 5 ays—6 noes viz N.H. no—Cont. no—N.J. no, Delr. no, Maryd. no, S.C. no. The rest ay.

On (10) paragraph relative to expences incurred by the States without the sanction of Congs. Mr. Clarke exclaimed agst. the unreasonableness of burdening the Union with all the extravagant expenditures of particular States: and moved that it might be struck out of the Report. Mr. Helmsly 2ded the motion. Mr. [Madison] said that the effects of rejecting this paragraph wd. be so extensive that a full consideration of it ought at least to preceede such a step, that the expences referred to in the paragraph were in part such as would have been previously sanctioned by Congs. if application cd. have been made; since similar ones had been so with respect to States within the vicinity of Congs. and therefore complaints of injustice would follow a refusal, that another part of the expences had been incurred in support of claims to the territory of which cessions were asked by Congs. and there[fore] these cd. not be expected, if the expences incident to them should be rejected; that it was probable if no previous assurance were given on this point, it would be made a condition by the States *ceding*, as the Cessions of territory would be made a condition by the States most anxious to obtain them; that by these mean[s] the whole plan would be either defeated, or the part thereof in question be ultimately forced on Congs. whilst they might with a good grace yield it in the first instance; not to mention that these unliquidated & unallowed claims would produce hereafter such contests & heats among the States as wd. probably destroy the plan even if it sd. be acceded to by the States without this paragraph.

Mr. Dyer was in favor of the paragraph.

Mr. Rutledge opposed it as letting in a flood of claims which were founded on extravagant projects of the States.

Mr. Higgenson & Mr Ghorum were earnest in favor of it, remarking that the distance of Massachusetts from Congs. had denied a previous sanction to the Militia operations agst. General Burgoyne &c. The Penobscot expedition also had great weight with them.

Mr. Williamson was in favor of it.

Mr. Wilson said he had always considered this Country with respect to the war, as forming one community; and that the States which by their remoteness from Congs. had been obliged to incur expences for their defence without previous sanction, ought to be placed on the same footing with those which had obtained this security; but he could not agree to put them on a better which wd. be the case if their expences sd. be sanctioned in the lump: he proposed therefore that these expences sd. be limited to such as had been in-

curred in a *necessary defence*; and of which the object in each case sd. be approved by Congress.

Mr. [Madison] agreed that the expressions in the paragh. were very loose, & that it wd. be proper to make them as definite as the case wd. admit; he supposed however that all operations agst. the enemy within the limits assigned to the U. S. might be considered as defensive, & in that view the expedition agst. Penobscot might be so called. He observed that the term *necessary* left a discretion in the Judge as well as the term *reasonable*: and that it wd. be best perhaps for Congress to determine & declare that they wd. constitute a tribunal of impartial persons to decide on oath as to the propriety of claims of States not authorized heretofore by Congs. He sd. this wd. be a better security to the States & wd. be more satisfactory than the decisions of Congs., the members of wch. did not act on oath, & brought with them the spirit of advocates for their respective states rather than of impartial judges between them. He moved that the clause with Mr. Wilsons proposition be recommitted; which was agreed to without opposition.

(11 & 12 paraghs.) Mr. Bland opposed it: said that the value of land was the best rule, and that at any rate no change sd. be attempted untill its practicability sd. be tried.

Mr. [Madison] thought the value of land, could never be justly or satisfactorily obtained; that it wd. ever be a source of contentions among the States; and that as a repetition of the valuation would be in the course of the 25 years, it wd. unless exchanged for a more simple rule mar the whole plan.

Mr. Ghorum was in favr. of the paraghs. He represented in strong terms the inequality & clamors produced by valuations of land in the State of Masts., & the probability of the evils being increased among the States themselves which were less tied together & more likely to be jealous of each other.

Mr. Williamson was in favr. of paraghs.

Mr. Wilson was strenuous in favor of it, sd. he was in Congs. when the article of Confederation directing a value of land was agreed to, that it was the effect of the impossibility of compromising the different ideas of the Eastern & Southern States as to the value of Slaves compared with the Whites.

Mr. Clarke was in favor of it. He said that he was also in Congs. at the time this article was decided, that the Southern States wd. have agreed to numbers, in preference to the value of land if  $1\frac{1}{2}$  their slaves only sd. be included; but that the Eastern States would not concur in that proportion.<sup>5</sup>

It was agreed on all sides that instead of fixing the proportion by ages as the report proposed it would be best to fix the proportion in absolute numbers. With this view & that the blank might be filled up—the clause was recommitted.<sup>6</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:399–402.

<sup>1</sup> At a later date Madison added two lines to the beginning of this day's entry: "this day not noted in the Journal as in some other instances. Revenues taken up as reported Mar. 7."

<sup>2</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 21, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> There are some variations between the wording of the amendment here and that of the manuscript copy in PCC, item 26, fol. 412. See also Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:397–98.

<sup>4</sup> Bland's motion affected the first two paragraphs of the original report, for which see Madison's Notes, March 6–7, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Congress had voted along sectional lines on October 14, 1777, in substituting land values for population as a means of determining state financial quotas. See *JCC*, 9:801; and these *Letters*, 8:198.

<sup>6</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 28, note 1.

## South Carolina Delegates to Sir Guy Carleton

Sir, Philadelphia March 27. 1783.

By Direction of the Governor of South Carolina, We transmit to your Excellency, Copies of the Letters which passed between him & Lieut. General Leslie, & of an Agreement entered into by their Commissioners, relative to the Restitution of Property to the Citizens of that State. An Extract from the Governor's Letter to Us is also inclosed.<sup>1</sup>

We think it unnecessary to make any Observations on this Subject, conceiving, that, when your Excellency has perused these Papers, you will not hesitate to take such Measures as shall be effectual, for restoring to the Inhabitants of South-Carolina, all their Negroes & other Property, of considerable Value, which were carried off by the British Troops & Royalists, when they left Charles-Town.<sup>2</sup>

We have the Honour to be sir, yr. most obedt. Servts.

Ra. Izard.

J. Rutledge

John Lewis Gervais

David Ramsay.<sup>3</sup>

RC (PRO: Carleton Papers, P.R.O. 30/55, No. 7235). Written by Rutledge and signed by Rutledge, Gervais, Izard, and Ramsay.

<sup>1</sup> For the thirteen enclosures that accompanied this letter, see *Report on American Manuscripts*, 2:441, 446, 3:76, 139, 147, 161–62, 165–67, 177, 194, 346, 420.

<sup>2</sup> On April 30, 1783, the South Carolina Privy Council appointed two commissioners to go to New York and one to St. Augustine, Fla., to meet with Carleton and Gov. Patrick Tonyn, respectively, "to recover Negroes and other property belonging to the State and its citizens." See South Carolina Privy Council, *Journals of the Privy Council, 1783–1789*, ed. by Adele Stanton Edwards (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> This day the delegates also sent a letter to Washington requesting that he "forward the inclosed Letter (which we leave open for your Perusal) by a Flag, to Sir Guy Carleton, as soon as convenient." Washington Papers, DLC. See also South Carolina Delegates to Washington, May 19, 1783.

## Jonathan Arnold to William Greene

Sir,

Philadelphia March 28th. 1783.

In my last I had only to inform your Excellency that the preliminary Articles for a peace had been agreed to between the Ministers of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty; I have now the pleasure presenting my Congratulations upon the Arrival of undoubted intelligence that preliminaries had been agreed to by all the belligerent powers, and that the Definitive Treaty for a general Peace is momentarily expected.

I had just time per the last post to forward two papers, under cover to Governor Bowen<sup>1</sup> containing a summary of the principal Articles, together with the Orders of the Compté de Estaing, for a Cessation of hostilities by sea—one of which I requested him to forward immediately to you.

The consequent resolves of Congress will be forwarded, by the Secretary for Foreign affairs.

Two days before the Arrival of this intelligence Congress passed a Resolution of which the enclosed is a Copy.<sup>2</sup> The late uneasiness which arose in the Army, upon the return of their Committee from Congress, (artfully excited & as is supposed by some insidious enemy) and which, in its first appearances threatened a general Mutiny—but which by the prudence & wisdom of their illustrious General terminated happily, and much to the honor of the Officers—I have no doubt, tended to precipitate that resolution. Every effort was made to obtain a reference of the Officers to their respective States for compensation; but in vain.

Whilst acting against that measure I was happy in possessing sentiments coinciding with the instructions of my Constituents—and to believe those instructions were founded in the most worthy motives—of guarding against the violation of the Constitutions of the states—and the preservation of the Rights & privileges which those constitutions secured, and which it was feared would be endangered by such an Establishment. The affair of a general impost which has engrossed a great part of the time since the commencement of the present year is yet incomplete. I had flattered myself that the Arrival of intelligence of Peace would put a stop to the proceedings—as thereby, the formidable plea of necessity would be in a measure superseded; And as it could not be doubted but the States when eased of the immediate expences of prosecuting the war—and enjoying unmolested—the advantages to be derived from Agriculture & Commerce, would be able to draw out their resources timely and sufficient, to answer the necessary, and Constitutional requisitions of Congress, for the support of the federal government, and for the satisfaction of the Creditors of the public. But in this I was mistaken. Ideas of the necessity of form-

ing a general System of Finance—(which will throw a share of the power & strength of Government, now held by the States—into the hands of Congress) seems in the minds of some to prevail over every other Consideration—and it appears that nothing will give satisfaction, but to send out the Imposts differently modified—for another trial, amongst the States.

I shall *now* feel little uneasiness for its fate—from a Confidence that the wisdom of the States is fully apprized, as to its Consequences.

No intelligence on which I can rely has been recieved of the doings of the Assembly, at their last session. The Last post, bro't me neither letters—nor Papers. I wish for the earliest information with respect to every matter which may be designed, either for my attention or direction.

With the greatest respect, & have the honor to be, Your Excellency's  
Very humble servant,  
Jona Arnold

RC (R—Ar: Letters to Governors).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For this resolve on commutation of half pay, see *JCC*, 24:207–9.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday March 28. [1783]

The Come. last mentd. reported that two blacks be rated as equal to one freeman.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Wolcot was for rating them as 4 to 3.

Mr. Carrol as 4 to 1.

Mr. William[son] sd. he was principled agst. slavery; but that he thought slaves an incumbrance to Society instead of increasing its ability to pay taxes.

Mr. Higgenson as 4 to 3.

Mr. Rutledge sd. for the sake of the object he wd. agree to rate Slaves, as 2 to 1, but he sincerely thought 3 to 1, would be a juster proportion.

Mr. Holten—as 4 to 3.

Mr. Osgood sd. he cd not go beyond 4 to 3.

On a question for rating them as 3 to 2, the votes were N. H. ay, Mas. no, R.I. divd., Cont. ay, N.J. ay, Pa. ay, Delr. ay, Maryd. no, Virga. no, N.C. no, S. C. no.

The paragraph was then postponed by general consent; some wishing for further time to deliberate on it; but it appearing to be the general opinion that no compromise wd. be agreed to.

After some further discussions on the report in which the necessity of some simple & practi[c]able rule of apportionment came fully into



view. Mr. [Madison] said that in order to give a proof of the sincerity of his professions of liberality he wd. propose that Slaves should be rated as 5 to 3. Mr. Rutledge 2ded motion. Mr. Wilson sd. he wd. sacrifice his opinion to this compromise.

Mr. Lee was agst. changing the rule, but gave it as his opinion that 2 Slaves were not equal to 1 freeman.

On the question, N.H. ay, Mas. divd., R. I. no, Cont. no, N.J. ay, Pa. ay, Maryd. ay, Va. ay, N.C. ay, S.C. ay.

For the question on the whole paragraph see the Journal.<sup>2</sup>

The arguments used by those who were for rating slaves high were; that the expence of feeding & cloathing them was as far below that incident to freemen, as their industry & ingenuity were below those of freemen: and that the warm climate within wch. the States having slaves lay, compared wth. the rigorous climate & inferior fertility of the others, ought to have great weight in the case & that the exports of the former were greater than of latter. On the other side it was said that Slaves were not put to labour as young as the children of laboring families—that having no interest in their labor they did as little as possible, & omitted every exertion of thought requisite to facilitate & expedite it: that if the exports of the States having slaves exceeded those of the others, their imports were in proportion. Slaves being employed wholly in agriculture, not in manufactures: & that in fact the balance of trade formerly was much more agst. the So. States than the others.

On the main question see Journal.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:407–8.

<sup>1</sup> For the recommitment of the 12th paragraph of the report of the committee on restoring public credit, see Madison's Notes, March 27, note 6. The amendment proposed this day by the committee is in *JCC*, 24:214–15. For that portion drafted by Madison which he revised during the course of debate, see *PCC*, item 26, fols. 433–34; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:406.

<sup>2</sup> Madison later deleted this line and added the following paragraph in its place: "A motion was then made by Mr. Bland 2ded by Mr. Lee to strike out the clause so amended, and on the question, 'shall it stand' it passed in the negative. N.H. ay, Mas. no, R.I. no, Con no, N.J. ay, Pa. ay, Del. no, Mar. ay, Virga. ay, S.C. no. So the clause was struck out." Cf. *JCC*, 24:215–16.

## Elias Boudinot to Elisha Boudinot

My dear Brother,

Philadelphia March 29th 1783

Mr. Remsen will attend the Court with my Extract. The principal Business that will require any great attention, is the execution of a Writ of Inquiry. What can be the design of the putting us to the Trouble of this writ, I know not, as it is on a plain promissory Note of

Hand. There was a large Acct. between the Parties in Continental money. The Settlement was left to Dr. Elmore who turned the Balance into Hard money at a large discount, such a one as he thought right, & the Deft. being satisfied with it gave this Note accordingly. I am told he means to controvert the quantum of the discount. This I think he cannot do before the Sheriff, as the Note speaks for itself. I beg you will particularly attend to it on Thursday. I have wrote you a Letter by one John Bodine,<sup>1</sup> which I beg your very particular attention to. Mr. Jasper Smith gave me Notice of Tryal in this Cause, for the Term but not a legal one, as there had been no Proceedings for a Year, it ought to have been a Term Notice which it was not. However he has agreed to leave it to a reference, which you will compleat, agreeable to the Letter Bodine has, who will call upon you.

There is no News since my last, tho' we are in hourly Expectation of an Arrival from Europe. You shall hear it as soon as possible.

I wish you to attend to the Note of Hand in the writ of Inquiry above mentioned, to see if it will be necessary to prove the Defts. Hand. I think you can do this by Mr Hunt or somebody in Trenton. Mr Houston his Atty can do it, I am pretty sure.

Your Sister is well, but poor Susan has been confined to her Room these 4 days.

I am in Haste, Yours Afftly,

Elias Boudinot

[P.S.] Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Bar.

RC (NjP: Thorne Boudinot Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Saturday. March 29. [1783]

The objections urged agst. the motion of Mr. Lee on the Journal<sup>1</sup> were that the information demanded from the office of Finance had during a great part of the period been laid before Congress & was then actually on the Table—that the term "*application*" of money was too indefinite, no two friends of the motion agreeing in the meaning of it, and that if it meant no more than immediate payments under the warrants of the Superintendt to those who were to expend the money, it was unnecessary the Superintendt being already impressed with his duty on that subject; that if it meant the ultimate payment for articles or services for the public, it imposed a task that wd. be impracticable to the Superintdt., and useless to Congress, who could no otherwise examine them than through the department of accounts, & the Committees appd. half yearly for enquiring into the whole proceed-

ings;<sup>2</sup> & that if the motion were free from those objections, it ought to be so varied as to oblige the office of Finance to report the information periodically; since it would otherwise depend on the memory & vigilance of members, and wd. moreover have the aspect of suspicion towards the Officer called upon. N.B. as the motion was made at first, the word "immediately" used; it was changed for the words "as soon as may be" at the instance & Mr. Holten.

The object of the motion of Mr. M[adison]<sup>3</sup> was to define & comprehend every information practicable & necessary for Congs. to know, & to enable them to judge of the fidelity of their Minister: and to make it a permanent part of his duty to afford it. The clause respecting copies of receipts was found on discussion not to accord with the mode of conducting business & to be too voluminous a task; but the question was taken without a convenient opportunity of correcting it.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:410–11.

<sup>1</sup> For Arthur Lee's motion that Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris render an immediate financial accounting to be followed by monthly reports, see *JCC*, 24:216. Morris had submitted his accounts for 1781 on November 18, 1782, and completed those for 1782 on January 31, 1783, although he did not receive corrected proof sheets from printer Eleazer Oswald until April 3. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:62–63, 386, 669.

<sup>2</sup> A committee "to enquire fully into the proceedings of the Department of Finance" had been appointed on January 6, 1783, and was renewed on March 31. Its June 10 report was read and entered on the journals on June 17. See *JCC*, 23:334, 24:37, 222, 387, 396–99; PCC, item 186, fols. 78, 91; and Madison's Notes, June 17, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> For Madison's motion this day, see *JCC*, 24:218; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:409.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday March 31. [1783]

A letter was recd. from the Govr. of R. Island with resolutions of the Legislature of that State justifying the conduct of Mr. Howell.<sup>1</sup>

On the arrival of the French Cutter with the acct. of the signing of the general preliminaries, it was thought fit by Congress to hasten the effect of them by calling in the American Cruisers.<sup>2</sup> It was also thought by all not amiss to notify simply the Intelligence to the British Commanders at N.Y. In addition to this it was proposed by the Secy. of F. A. and urged by the Delegates of Pa., by Mr. Lee, Mr. Rutledge & others, that Congress should signify their desire & expectation that hostilities shd. be suspended at sea on the part of the Enemy.<sup>3</sup> The arguments urged were that the effusion of blood might be immediately stopped & the trade of this Country rescued from depredation. It was observed on the other side that such a proposition derogated from the dignity of Congs.; shewed an undue precipitancy; that the intelli-

gence was not authentic enough to justify the British commanders in complying with such an overture; and therefore that Congs. would be exposed to the mortification of a refusal. The former considerations prevailed & a *verbal* sanction was given to Mr. Livingston's expressing to the sd. Commanders the expectation of Congs. &c.<sup>4</sup> This day their answers were recd. addressed to Robt. R. Livingston Esqr. &c&c&c. declining to accede to the stopping of hostilities at sea, & urging the necessity of authentic orders from G.B. for that purpose.<sup>5</sup> With their letters Mr. Livingston communicated resolutions proposed from his office, "that in consequence of these letters the orders to the American Cruisers sd. be revoked; and that the Executives sd. be requested to embargo all vessels.["] Congs. were generally sensible after the rect. of these papers that they had committed themselves in proposing to the British Commanders at N.Y. a stop to naval hostilities; & were exceedingly at a loss to extricate themselves. On one side they were unwilling to publish to the world the affront they had recd. especially as no written order had been given for the correspondence and on the other it was necessary that the continuance of hostilities at sea should be made known to American Citizens. Some were in favor of the revocation of hostilities. Others proposed as Col. Bland & Genl. Mifflin, that the Secy. of F. A. should be directed verbally to publish the letters from Carlton & Digby. This was negatived. The superinscription was animadverted upon particularly by Mr. Mercer, who said that the letters ought to have been sent back unopened. Finally it was agreed that any member might take copies & send them to the press & that the subject should lie over for further consideration.<sup>6</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:420–21.

<sup>1</sup> For William Greene's March 18 letter, see Elias Boudinot to Greene, January 16, 1783, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In this paragraph, to the sentence ending "expressing to the sd. Commanders the expectations of Congs. &c.," Madison continued to summarize proceedings in Congress that occurred on March 24. See Madison's Notes, March 24, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> For Congress' directive to the agent of marine, see Gunning Bedford to George Read, March 24, 1783, note.

<sup>4</sup> Acting on "*verbal*" rather than written orders, Robert R. Livingston had suggested in letters of March 24 to Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Robert Digby that they emulate Congress' order of that day by recalling all armed vessels thus preventing "the further effusion of blood at sea." PCC, item 79, 3:103–5; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:336–37.

<sup>5</sup> Carleton's and Digby's letters of March 26 and 27, respectively, refusing to withdraw British cruisers without express orders from London were addressed to Livingston who submitted them to Congress this day under a covering letter dated March 30. He further proposed that Congress revoke its March 24 resolution recalling American cruisers and recommend to state executives that they prevent, as far as possible, the sailing of any vessels pending receipt of official accounts of the cessation of hostilities. See PCC, item 79, 3:97–98, 101–2, 107–8, item 119, fols. 261–64, item 185, 3:59; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:346.

<sup>6</sup> The letters from Carleton and Digby appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Packet* on April 2 and 3, respectively. This issue was resolved without "further consideration" when additional dispatches from New York arrived April 9 announcing receipt of official notification of the cessation of arms, for which see Madison's Notes, April 10, 1783.

## Phillips White to Meshech Weare

Hond. Sir

Phila, March 31st, 1783

This day recd your favours of 3rd & 17th Instant, & thank you for information by them. I am sorry to hear that but one gentleman Accepted of the Appointment, to Come to Congress & you desire me to tarry until one can come on after the Court appoints one at their next Session, or at least until some time after Mr Foster arrives.<sup>1</sup> I am senseable of the Importance of keeping up a representation in Congress at all times, & especially at this time, yet I cannot see my way clear to Ingage to tarry much longer, however I will Consider of the matter more fully & write by next weeks post, although the gentlemen who have been Appointed (except one) decline coming, yet I hope one of them will be prevailed with to come on with Mr Foster.

This goes by my very Worthy Colleague<sup>2</sup> whom I shall part with, with regret, but as Circumstances are I cannot try to persuade him to tarry longer, as he will be able to give all the information you could expect from me, I shall not attempt to give any news at this time.

I received by this days post a Letter from the Honble, Col. Bartlet dated the 10 Inst, shall not have time to write to him by Mr Gilman,<sup>3</sup> please to give my Compliments to him, I am Sir yours & the States,  
Humble Servt,

P White

RC (MiDbE1).

<sup>1</sup> Abiel Foster, who had been elected a New Hampshire delegate on February 19, did not attend Congress until July 29, 1783. *JCC*, 24:456–57.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Taylor Gilman.

<sup>3</sup> But see White's reply to Josiah Bartlett of April 8.

## Elias Boudinot to James Searle

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 1. 1783

You will readily believe me when I assure you, that I do most sincerely reciprocate your kind congratulations on so glorious & beneficial Event, as a general Peace. God almighty grant that hereafter Peace may reign on Earth & good will to Men, and may they by this Means be led to give glory to God in the highest. The Contemplation



of this Epocha, almost overcomes me at times. It opens a new Scene to Mankind, and I believe is big with inconcievable Effects in the political & I hope in the moral world. I rejoice that the Conclusion of the Negotiations will be particularly serviceable to you, and as far as it lays in my Power consistent with my Duty to my Country, nothing shall be wanting to advance your Interests, on every Occasion. Congress are so oppressed by the ill timed parsimony of the States, that they are turning all their Attention to lessen the Comon Expences; and among other means, are reducing their Ministers in Europe. Messr. Franklin, Adams & Laurens & Dana have resigned & are returning home, as soon as the Treaty is perfected.

Several Efforts have been made to appoint Charge des Affairs at some of the Courts & residents & consuls at others, but Congress are determined not to make advances at present to any other European Court, as they think they have already gone too far in this Business already. But if any such Appointments should be proposed for Lisbon, I shall be mindful of my Friend.<sup>1</sup>

I am totally ignorant of what you refer to in the latter part of your Letter, having never heard any thing from that Quarter, that can lead me to the least Clue, to find your Meaning—am therefore perfectly clear of the least improper Impression from any misrepresentation whatever from any thing you may refer to.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan (who is just getting up from a slight illness) join in the kindest & most affectionate remembrance.

Am My dear Sir, Your sincere Friend & very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

[P.S.] It gave me pain that I was from home when Mr Borden called with your Letter—and when I sent to enquire for him he had left Town. My Compliments to him.

RC (DLC: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Searle's thoughts were actually on a consular appointment to Madeira, where he had lived 16 years as a young man in the employ of his brother's firm, John Searle & Co. For Searle's financial difficulties at this time, after his return from a mission to Europe on behalf of Pennsylvania, see Mildred E. Lombard, "James Searle: Radical Business Man of the Revolution," *PMHB* 59 (July 1935): 292–93.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear sir.

Tuesday morn, Philada., April 1st, 1783.

I understand that Mr. Jones sits out for Boston this morning, therefore, I embrace this first opportunity to acquaint your Excellency, that a resolution passed in Congress yesterday, in your favor, for 3248 dollars,<sup>1</sup>

which I hope will be agreeable, the Financier is directed to take order respecting the same, & no doubt you soon will be officially notified.

Congress have not yet received the definitive treaty respecting Peace, but are expecting it every hour.

I have the honor to be, with the highest sentiments of respect, your Excellency's most obedient servant;

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Congress had directed the superintendent of finance to pay Hancock \$3,248 "for household and other expences for two years and five months, being the time he acted as President of Congress." *JCC*, 21:219–20. See also Samuel Osgood to John Lowell, November 20, 1782, note 1; and Holten to Hancock, February 12, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Tuesday April 1. 1783.

Mr. Ghorum called for the order of the day to wit the Report on Revenue &c.<sup>1</sup> and observed as a cogent reason for hastening that business that the Eastern States at the invitation of the Legislature of Massts. were with N.Y. about to form a convention for regulating matters of common concern,<sup>2</sup> & that if any plan sd. be sent out by Congs. during their session, they would probably cooperate with Congs. in giving effect to it.

Mr. Mercer expressed great disquietude at this information, considered it as a dangerous precedent, & that it behoved the Gentleman to explain fully the objects of the Convention, as it would be necessary for the S. States to be otherwise very circumspect in agreeing to any plans on a supposition that the general confederacy was to continue.

Mr. Osgood said that the sole object was to guard agst. an interference of taxes among States, whose local situation required such precautions: and that if nothing was defi[ni]tively concluded without the previous communication to & sanction of Congs. the confederation could not be said to be in any manner departed from; but that in fact nothing was intended that could be drawn within the purview of the fœderal articles.

Mr. Bland said he had always considered those Conventions as improper & contravening the spirit of the fœderal Governmt.<sup>3</sup> He said they had the appearance of young Congresses.

Mr. Ghorum explains as Mr. Osgood.

Mr. [Madison] & Mr. Hamilton disapproved of these partial conventions, not as absolute violations of the Confederacy, but as ultimately leading to them & in the mean time exciting pernicious jealousies; the latter observing that he wished instead of them to see a general Convention take place & that he sd. soon in pursuance of instructions

from his Constituents, propose to Congs. a plan for that purpose. The object wd. be to strengthen the fœderal Constitution.

Mr. White informed Congs. that N. Hamshire had declined to accede to the plan of the Convention on foot.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Higginson said that no Gentleman need be alarmed at any rate for it was pretty certain that the Convention would not take place. He wished with Mr. Hamilton to see a General Convention for the purpose of revising and amending the fœderal Government.

These observations having put an end to the subject, Congs. resumed the Report on Revenue &c. Mr. Hamilton who had been absent when the last question was taken for substituting numbers in place of the value of land, moved to reconsider that vote. He was 2ded by Mr. Osgood. See the Journal.<sup>5</sup> Those who voted differently from their former votes were influenced by the conviction of the necessity of the change & despair on both sides of a more favorable rate of the Slaves. The rate of  $\frac{3}{5}$  was agreed to without opposition. On a preliminary question The apportionmt. of the sum & revision of the same reld. to Grand Come.<sup>6</sup> The Report as to the Resignation of Foreign Ministers was taken up<sup>7</sup> & on the case of Mr. Jefferson.<sup>8</sup> See Journal. The Eastern delegates were averse to doing any thing as to Mr. Adams, untill further advices sd. be recd. Mr. Laurens was indulged not without some opposition. The acceptance of his resignation was particularly enforced by Mr. Izard.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:424–25.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison's Notes, March 21, and March 28, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> A call had been issued by Massachusetts to the New England states and New York to send commissioners to a convention at Hartford on April 30 to consider "such General & uniform system of Taxation by import & excise as may be thought advantageous to the Said States," for which see Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:65.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps in the sense that it would violate the section of Article VI of the confederation specifying that "No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the united states in congress assembled," although such regional conventions had actually been held in 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780 before the confederation had been ratified.

<sup>4</sup> See *N. H. State Papers*, 8:971–72.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 24:222–24; and Madison's Notes, March 28, 1783. For the failure of this vote by the margin of 6 to 5 because of Hamilton's absence on March 28, see *JCC*, 24:215–16.

<sup>6</sup> For the "proportions" reported by this committee, see Madison's Notes, April 2–5? 1783; and *JCC*, 24:230–31.

<sup>7</sup> For the report of this committee, which was appointed on March 15 to consider letters of John Adams of December 4 and Henry Laurens of December 15, 1782, begging "leave to resign," see *JCC*, 24:225–26; *PCC*, item 25, 2:187–88, item 84, 4:301–2, item 89, fols. 241–44; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:106, 138–40. It is endorsed: "Report . . . On the letters from Ministers in Europe, Mr Adams, Mr H Laurens, Mr Jefferson & Mr Dana respecting their retiring from Office. Delivered April 1, 1783." "Passed except the first Paragraph [on Adams]—April 1st 1783."

<sup>8</sup> For Congress' decision to "dispense" with Jefferson's services in response to his March 13 request for a decision "on the expediency of continuing or of countermanding my mission to Europe," see *JCC*, 24:226; and Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 6:257-60.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Friend

Philada. April 1. 1783.

Your favor of the 22 Ultio. verifies my fears that some disappointment would defeat your plan of going into the Legislature.<sup>1</sup> I regret it the more as every day teaches me more & more the necessity of such measures as I know you would have patronized; and as we are losing ground so fast in the temper of the States as to require every possible support. Unless some speedy & adequate provision be made beyond that of the Confederation, the most dismal alternative stares me in the face. And yesterday's post brought us information that the bill repealing the impost had passed the lower house of Masss. and one of like import had made equal progress in the Legislature of S. Carolina. These defections are alarming, but if a few enlightened & disinterested members would step forward in each Legislature as advocates for the necessary plans, I see with so much force the considerations that might be urged, that my hopes would still prevail. If advantage should be taken of popular prepossessions on one side without such counter-efforts, there is, to be sure, room for nothing but despair.

The extract from \_\_\_\_\_'s letter recited in yours astonishes me more than it could do you, because I must be more sensible of its contrast to truth.<sup>2</sup> High as my opinion of the object of it was, the judgment, acuteness & patriotism displayed in the last despatches from him,<sup>3</sup> have really enhanced it. So far are they in particular from studiously leaving us in the dark, that some of them are of as late date as any, if not later than those from several & perhaps as voluminous as all the rest put together.

The zeal of Congress. to hasten the effect of the general preliminaries, led them (precipitately as I conceive) to authorize the Secy. of F. A. to notify to Sr. G. Carlton & Adml Digby, the intelligence recd. by the French Cutter on that subject, with their recall of American Cruisers, in order that correspondent measures might be taken at N. Y. The answers from these Commanders were addressed to Robt. R. Livingston Esqr &c &c &c. and imported that they could not suspend hostilities at sea without proper authority from their Sovereign;<sup>4</sup> but as Congress placed full reliance on the authenticity of the intelligence they supposed no objection cd. lie on their part agst. releasing all prisoners &c. A letter from Digby to the French Minister is I am told remarkably surly & indecent even for a British Admiral. We have recd. no official report of the signing of the General Preliminaries, nor any

further particulars relative to them. Your surmise as to the dangerous phraseology which may be used in designating our limits, may be realized, if our Ministers are not cautious or sd. yield to improper considerations. But I trust that no such defaults will happen on that side; & that even if they should, the language used by Congress in all their own acts on that head will overpower any arguments that may be drawn from acts of their Ministers.

Mrs. Randolph's & your good wishes were recd. by Mrs. House & Mrs. Trist with marks of unfieigned affection. The latter will however speak for herself.

Docr. Lee sets off to day or tomorrow for Virga. but talks of returning hither before the meeting of the Legislature, which however he means to attend. His immediate object I suppose is to attend the County election.<sup>5</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:429-30.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 380-81.

<sup>2</sup> For Arthur Lee's March 11 letter to Randolph, see Lee to James Warren, March 12, 1783, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Benjamin Franklin.

<sup>4</sup> For this exchange, see Madison's Notes of Debates, March 31, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Lee apparently left Philadelphia this day to participate in Virginia assembly elections, returning on April 23. He departed again on May 12 to serve as an assembly delegate, resuming his seat in Congress on July 16. See *JCC*, 24:276, 435; Bland, *Papers* (Campbell), 2:108-9; Lee to Abigail Adams, April 23; and Madison to Randolph, May 13, 1783, note 1. The Lee faction in the Virginia House of Delegates was weakened during the May session, however, when opponents revived a law in effect from 1777 to 1779 making congressional delegates ineligible to sit in either house of the assembly, thus denying Arthur Lee's re-election. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:47n.8, 78n.4.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir, Philadelphia April 1st. 1783.

Since We had the honor to write your Excellency last Week, no further intelligence has been received on the subject of peace. Last Monday Congress directed the Agent of Marine to recall the American cruizers & the Secretary of foreign affairs sent a Copy of the resolution to Genl. Carelton & Adml. Digby together with the Communications from the Count D'Estaing & the Marquis la Fayette at the same time requesting the measure of calling in their Cruisers to be adopted. The General & Admiral both Answer'd that they had no Official or other information of the signature of the Preliminary treaty, than what Mr. Livingston gave & that until orders were received they should not think themselves justifiable in Acceeding to the proposition. Admiral Digby recommended the detention of all Vessels in the



American Ports until a confirmation is receiv'd. We Submit to yr. Excellency & the Honble Council the propriety of giving immediate Notice to the Trade of Maryland of the danger the Vessels may be exposed to which may be sent out under an idea of the Cruizers & Armed Vessels on both sides being recalled.<sup>1</sup>

We have no immediate prospect of receiving supplies of money from the State through the usual Channel & our circumstances will not admit of further delay, We therefore hope your Excy. & your Honorable board will approve of our procuring a sum sufficient for present exigencies on the most reasonable terms money can be procured here the Sum will not exceed £350 & the bill will be drawn payable the first of May.

We have the honor to be, with respectful Consideration, Your Excellency's Mo. Hble Servt.

Tho. S. Lee

Danl. Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Lee and signed by Lee, Carroll, and Hemsley.

<sup>1</sup> As the British commanders at New York reversed themselves on this point the following week (upon receiving official notice of the peace agreement from London) and Congress declared a "Cessation of Arms" on April 11, this danger quickly passed and Paca instead issued a state proclamation on the 22d publicizing the congressional declaration and enjoining Maryland's citizens to observe the preliminary articles agreed upon. See *Md. Archives*, 48:398-400.

## John F. Mercer to George Weedon

Dear General:

April 1, 1783.

The letter, which I wrote you by express,<sup>1</sup> conveying to you the import of the advices received by the Ch. du Queene has no doubt relieved you from your anxiety respecting Peace and from your perplexed political lucubrations.

I hinted to you, I recollect, some time since, that it might not be impossible, that the machinations of the British Court to separate us from the French connexion would be counteracted on the part of France, by permitting or rather recommending to America the closing with a separate peace.<sup>2</sup> For upon reflection, you would determine within yourself that America would not be of essential advantage in a marine war; and, as the event has proved, much to the honor of France, her whole object has been the effectuating the independence of these States; for by the peace which has taken place you find she relinquishes every advantage for herself.

On the receipt of the dispatches by the Trump't, Mr. Livingston, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, transmitted to Sir Guy Carleton and Ad-

miral Digby the intelligence. This in the event has proved the insincerity of those protestations which they have heretofore been so liberal of, their disposition to prevent the further effusion of human blood. Their protestations appear then to have been a part of their system of political insincerity and delusion, which has disgraced the British Councils throughout this war.

They write Mr. Livingston in return, that they do not think themselves authorized to take any steps which might facilitate the suspension of hostilities. So that, as yet we remain in statu quo, waiting impatiently the arrival of official information from our ministers.

In New York they cannot yet relinquish that insolence which they have on all occasions manifested, and the security which the articles give the Tories, I understand, will induce them all to remain, without inspiring them with those dispositions which can alone induce their countrymen to forget their transgressions.

This is a partnership affair.

I am yours with real affection,

John F. Mercer.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>1</sup> See Mercer to Weedon, March 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Mercer to William Fitzhugh and Weedon, March 18, 1783.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr. Philadelphia April 1st 1783

Your Excellcy. will have received by our Express the important Intelligence brought by the Triomphe.<sup>1</sup>

That Intelligence (together with Authenticated Copies of Count D'Estaings dispatches relating to Peace which were received by the Minister of France) was sent into New York immediately by An officer in the department of foreign Affairs—and proposals, founded on the presumption of their Authenticity—were made to Sr. Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby by Congress—that a Suspension of Hostilities should immediately take place both by Sea and Land—that a Stop might be put to the further effusion of Human Blood. However Humane the motives might be which dictated these proposals—we find—the Application has not Succeeded. The British Commanders have Informed Congress that no Authority has reached them from their Court—they could not therefore think themselves Justified in taking such a step—thus Untill that shall arrive, every thing remains with the British in Statu quo—altho the Hands of the French Naval Force in America are tied. Your Excellcy will no doubt Judge it proper that this Intelligence may be conveyed as speedily as possible to our Sea Ports, to prevent the Risque which Vessels Sailing in this Critical Juncture might run.<sup>2</sup>

We sincerely wish that your Excellency wd. be pleased to urge to the Assembly at their next meeting—the making a provision for Establishing a Credit for the Delegates in this Place or where Congress may sit—so that they may be Enabled to draw their Salaries as they become due—that they may no longer be Subject to that uncertainty which they have hitherto Experienced—which lays them under every disadvantage in their expenditure—Exposes them to be obliged to borrow frequently on the most Humiliating terms to supply their real necessities, and consigns them to the Hands of Extortionate Usury.<sup>3</sup>

We received no Public letter by the last Post.<sup>4</sup>

We are with the most perfect respect, Yr. Excellency's most obedt. svts

Theok. Bland Jr. J. Madison Jr

A. Lee

Jos. Jones.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland, Jones, Lee, and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:428–29.

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Harrison, March 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that Harrison carried out this suggestion, although the *Virginia Gazette* of April 12 carried a notice that Carleton and Digby would not follow Congress' lead without authorization from London—information that came “from good authority.”

<sup>3</sup> For Harrison's April 12 response to this appeal, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:455.

<sup>4</sup> For speculation that Harrison's March 20 letter was lost in transmission, see *ibid.*, p. 372n.4.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Thomas Shaw

Sir

Philadelphia April 2nd 1783

I recieved your two last favors together by last post. Am oblidged to you for your ready Compliance with my order in favr of Mr Brown. I feel my self very Unhappy at the Misfortunes which attend your Cause.<sup>1</sup> I could not have thought the Assembly at Rhodisland could have hesitated a moment to suspend the Execution in the present situation of the Cause. Genll Varnum who appeard here last Novr the time the Cause was Assigned for Trial, when we were dissappointed by the failure of Mr Paca one of the Judges Attending, I then Urged for an Adjournment to be made to sometime, in the Winter or beginning of March by which time I supposed a New Judge would be appointed in the room of Mr Paca who was about to resign, & he might Attend but Genll Varnum who appeard as attorney for Stanton &c opposed it objecting that they could not Travail at that time in the extremity of Winter urging it to be delayd to the beginning of April & finally to Gratefye him & the appellants it was pnt off to April and it seems they now take the advantage to press on the Execution. But sir I have met with New troubles here. Mr Lowel of Boston who was appointed last

Novr writes that he cannot attend till some time in May, but then as Mr G Read Another of the Judges who live but about 40 miles from this place appointed att the same time (and I suppose both expect to Recieve their sallary from that time or of their Acceptance) Informs that he has business as a Lawyer before Courts in the State to which he belongs & that he cannot attend at the time Appointed, on which it was moved in Congress & strenuously urged that they would direct the Court to be postponed till some time in May so as to suit the Conveniency of those 2 Judges, which I opposed with all my might insisting that if those Judges would not attend at the time appointed others ought to be put in, in their room. I at length Prevaild so far as to prevent Congress' interfering in the matter. Judge Griffin who has allway been ready to attend & has been so much perplexd with the continued dissappointments from the other Judges & wearied out by delays moved Congress for Liberty to resign his office, here I was again oblinded to Interpose, & by shewing him the ruin which would attend your cause if he resigned I finally persuaded him to Continue with which he Complied and then wrote to Mr Read to Attend at the time as his business & affair in Virginia required him to goe there soon and Mr Read returned him an answer he could not attend in April. Judge Griffin then determined to set out for Virginia as he could be of no service by tarrying if the other Gentn would not attend, but however I have persuaded him to tarry till after the time of the Court, & that I would my self send to Mr Read and let him know fully the State of the Cause the total loss you must sustain in Consequence of his failure. This I have done tho very lately and have not as yet recieved an Answer, my letter was So pressing and that it would take him but a day to come but one to tarry & trye the Cause the 3d he might return back again to his own business, with the circumstances contained in your letter that I am in hopes & have great expectation he will come at the time but if my answer is that he cannot come, as my last resort & which I shall not fail to Attempt will be to indeavor to get a New Judge Appointed Near by who can & will Attend, I can do no more, hope I [can] still succeed, it is nothing but my incessant applic[ation], pushing, that has joind & continued even the pr[esent] prospects. Mr Ingersol, have no doubt will do every thing in the Cause he is Able when the cause comes on to Tryall but all the Lawyers in the State would not have given themselves one tenth part of the trouble & in the way I have been Oblinded to do to save all the causes in the State. Mr Lewis, Capt Lyons attorney who brot forward the attachment on <sup>2</sup> money has not yet informd me whether he will withdraw the suit, without which the money you expected from Mr Wharton cannot be had as it is held by the attachment. Mr Lewis has encouraged me, I hope I shall succeed.

Am yr Hle Servt,

E Dyer

RC (CtY: Shaw Papers). Addressed: "Mr Thomas Shaw, Mercht, New London, Connecticut."

<sup>1</sup> For this "cause," an appeal from a Rhode Island admiralty court decision involving the *Two Brothers*, see these *Letters*, 13:427–28, 15:302–3, 16:26–28, 18:653.

<sup>2</sup> Approximately one-half line left blank.

## James Madison's Notes

[April 2–5? 1783] <sup>1</sup>

Wednesday Apl. 3. Thursday Apl. 4. Friday Apl. 5. Saturday Apl. 6. See Journals. The Grand Come. appointed to consider the proportions for the blank in the Rept. on Revenue &c.<sup>2</sup> reported the following grounded on the number of Inhabitants in each State; observing that N.H., R.I., Cont. & Mard. had produced authentic documents of their numbers; & that in fixing the numbers of other States, they had been governed by such information as they could obtain. They also reduced the interest of aggregate debt. 2,500,000 Drs.<sup>3</sup>

	No. of Inhabts.	proportions of 1000	proportions of 1½ Miln
N.H.	82,200	35	52,500
Mas.	350,000	148	222,000
R.I.	50,400	21	31,500
Cont.	206,000	87	130,500
N.Y.	200,000	85	127,500
N.J.	130,000	55	82,500
Pena.	320,000	136	204,000
Del.	35,000	15	22,500
Mard.	220,700	94	141,000
Virga.	400,000	169	253,000
N.C.	170,000	72	108,000
S.C.	170,000 <sup>4</sup>	72	108,000
Georga.	25,000	11	16,500
	<u>2,359,300</u> <sup>5</sup>	<u>1000</u>	<u>1,500,000</u>

Annual Intst.  
of debt after  
deducting  
1000. . . . Drs.  
expected  
from Impost  
on Trade.



A Come. consisting of Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison & \_\_\_\_\_ was appointed to report the proper arrangements to be taken in consequence of peace. The object was to provide a system for foreign affairs, for Indian affairs, for military & naval peace establishments; and also to carry into execution the regulation of weights & measures & other articles of the Confederation not attended to during the war. To the same Come. was referred a resolution of the Executive Council of Pa. requesting the Delegates of that State to urge Congs. to establish a general peace with the Indians.<sup>6</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:431–34.

<sup>1</sup> Madison penned these notes on “the Rep[or]t on Revenue” between his notes of debates for Tuesday April 1 and Monday April 7. However, he confused the dates and days of the week at the opening of the entry—Wednesday actually fell on April 2, not April 3.

<sup>2</sup> For Madison’s role in drafting this report, see *ibid.*, pp. 311–16.

<sup>3</sup> For this report, which was written by Samuel Osgood, see *JCC*, 24:230–31; and *PCC*, item 26, fols. 399–401. It is endorsed: “Report of Grand Comee. appointed on the 1st of April 1783—to consider & report the proportions which the several states shall for the present bear to each other in the requisitions of Congress. Passed April 7th 1783.”

<sup>4</sup> In the manuscript report, this figure was revised to read “150,000,” undoubtedly during debate on April 7 when South Carolina’s appeal for this reduction was approved. See Madison’s Notes, April 7, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Revised to read “2,339,300” in the report adopted.

<sup>6</sup> The Pennsylvania Council’s April 3 letter soliciting congressional adoption of “effectual measures for making a peace with all the Indian Nations,” is in *PCC*, item 69, 2:435–38. It was referred on April 4 to a committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, James Madison, Samuel Osgood, and James Wilson, for which see Committee of Congress to Washington, April 9, 1783; and *JCC*, 24:264–65.

## David Ramsay to John Eliot

Dear Sir,

April 2d 1783, Philada.

I received your favor of the 20th of March. I have not time to reply to it particularly as I am busy in preparing to return to Charlestown. This is the last letter you will receive from me here. Peace is now certain, there will be a communication by water between your city & ours. It will afford me particular pleasure that our correspondence should continue in that channell. You have been punctual hitherto & I have endeavored to follow the good example. I have my fears also about disbanding the army. I wish we were able to pay them. No season would be more favorable for obtaining a loan than the moment of peace. It is whispered among some that the army will not disperse till they are paid or secured of payment.

I receive your congratulations on the evacuation of Charlestown with heart felt satisfaction. I am sure they flow from genuine principles of benevolence.

On the 18th of March I was made happy by an union for life with Miss Witherspoon of Princeton the daughter of Dr. Witherspoon the President of the College in that place.<sup>1</sup> We set of for Charlestown about the middle of April. You see I have set you the example which I hope you will follow. By your own confession this event was to follow peace immediately. Though no official accounts of this event have yet arrived to Congress yet no person doubts the truth of it here. I shall therefore soon expect to hear that you are in my row. Give me leave to assure you from experience that it is the happiest life.

The writer of Valerius is as much unknown here as with you.<sup>2</sup> The freedoms of that paper which you saw respecting the two Pennsylvania delegates are nothing compared with his attacks on President Dickinson.

I am glad to hear that you propose celebrating the anniversary of independence with an oration. Any thing curious in this way I shall expect from you & you may depend on a return in kind if my country produces any thing worthy of your notice. Farewell till I am settled in Charlestown which I hope to be in May. May our freindship & correspondence continue is the sincere wish of your freind & very humble servt,

David Ramsay

RC (MHi: Andrew-Eliot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, a widower since 1776, had just married John Witherspoon's daughter Frances, who died the following year. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Letters from "Valerius" to Pennsylvania's president John Dickinson had been appearing in the *Freeman's Journal* since February 12. See Arthur Lee to James Warren, March 12, 1783, note 2.

## Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr.

Sir

Philadelpa. 2 April 1783

I have before me your Letter of the 24 last.

The Attention which you give to Business is much more than can be consistent with your Health or than the Publick ought to expect of you; and I advise you therefore to allow yourself more Relaxation. I believe that you will succeed in Business and am glad that you find no Discouragment on that Account.

The Account transmitted from Cadiz by Count de Estaing and the Marquis de La Fyattee Ascertain that a general Peace has taken Place in Europe, and We may dayly expect to receive a formal and Authentick Account of this important Event.

Congress have agreed to recommend to the States to Alter the Article of Confederation respecting the precuniary Quota, being Apportioned to the States—so that all free Inhabitants including those bound in Servitude for a limited Period, and three fifths of others

under different Descriptions Shall serve as a Principle upon which the Assessment shall be made and except Indians nor liable to pay Taxes by Law & Returns to be made triannually.<sup>1</sup>

As it will be a Gratification to you to have some Information respecting our National Debt, I will observe (not for Publication)—That our foreign Debt in Case the Applications for the Service of the present year will succed will amount to

Dollars 11,925,925

Loan office Debt

11,300,000

Due to the Army from 1st Aug. 1780 to  
the last of Decr 1782

11,463,802

Liquidated Debt

638,042

Dollars 35,327,769

But as the pay of the Army is computed upon a supposition that the Regiments were full a Very considerable Deduction is to be made on that Account.

The Amount of the Unliquidated Debt is Very Uncertain. But if Peace Shall be established this Spring, I think it probable that the Debt exclusive of the Commutation of half Pay to the Army will not exceed forty Millions of Dollars.

By Letters from my Family I am urgently called upon to Return to take Care of my domestic Affairs. As I expected to Return in the spring I shall leave Congress in the Course of this month.

I hope that I shall be able to get some Money of the Treasurer, I have given too much of my Time to the Publick without Pay. The last year I tarried here till I was oblided to borrow Money to Return—I will not do it again.

My Compliments, to my Friends, yours affectionately,

Oliver Wolcott

[P.S.] Mr Ellsworth returned here the day before yesterday.<sup>2</sup>

Loaned in the office of Connecticut reduced to Specie Dollars 1,269,677.

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For this recommended revision of "the eighth of the Articles of Confederation," see *JCC*, 24:222–24.

<sup>2</sup> He resumed his seat in Congress on April 1. *JCC*, 24:222.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia April 3d 1783

All the Accounts we as yet recieved from Europe with respect to the Peace Establishment have been Transmitted to your Excellcy to which

I cannot add. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs transmitted the Account we receivd from Count de Estange of a General Peace being Established to Genll Carlton & Admiral Digby but tho they gave full Credit to it yet having recieved no official Accounts from the Court of G Britain they could not call in the Commissions of their Privateers or restrain their ships of War so that the French Ships on this Coast are prohibited Acting offensively & cannot even protect our Merchant-Men from their Attacks. We think it Strange that no accounts are yet recieved in New York, as five Ships were dispatched from Count Estanges Fleet to every point of Compass to give Notice of a Peace when that was sent off to America which brot us the Intelligence, And further that no proper official Accounts from our Commissioners have not as yet come to hand, we expect them every hour. We suspect if any thing has delay'd the final Closure of the affair it lies between Spain & the American States, as Spain appears to be very fond if possible to Crowd us off from the Mississippi but we have full Confidence in our Commissioners that they will not yield our Claim to that river to any Power whatever. I am preparing to write you more at large on the present Situation of our affairs in a few days,<sup>1</sup> at present I have sent you the Freemens Journal which will give you a Specimen of the Temper disposition & demands of the officers of our Army,<sup>2</sup> and Notwithstanding the Generalls prudent and discreet address, Still the Tone they hold out is of not disbanding till their full expectations are answered. I shall not at present make any Comments upon it as it is open to every ones Inspection and Observation. Congress have at length agreed to a Commutation of 5 Years whole pay to officers of our Army in Lieu of the half pay for life, which they (however unguarded) had long agoe promised them, & upon the whole as they were 8 states out of 12 present agreeing in the proposed Commutation, and Massachusetts one of the principall New England States going over on that side, Connecticut for reasons which we shall soon explain & hoping in the whole it would not be so disagreeable as the life establishment Consented to it, upon the 5 years to the deranged officers commencing at the time of their derangement. How it will be recieved I know not, but hope for the best. Congress are still persuing some mode of securing our Debts & of recommending some adequate fund for a limited time at least for the payment of Interest to the several States. Drye, forced & direct taxes for monies on the body of the people we fear will not answer, if by Dutys & Impost on Trade, it must be paid in the first Instance by those through whose hands our monies most frequently Circulate Viz the Merchants, and afterword by those only who Choose it, & without the disagreeable force of a Collector. I am thankfull for the money recieved by Brown, I was in now hopes<sup>3</sup> of soon returning to my Native Country, Mr. Elsworth is just arrived but Genll Wolcott says he must in a few days set off for home,

& percieve I am again to be left in the Lurch or leave the State unrepresented. Am sure this is not the time for it, I did not propose to set off till the beginning of May but if no Gentn comes to supply my place then whatt shall I do, to tarry longer will be with reluctance, but to goe off & leave the State unrepresented I shall fear, hope some Gentn in the Delegation will soon come forward to relieve me & who can do them more service in this Critical Important Season. Am with the greatest Esteem & respect yr Excellcys most obedit Hle servt,

Elipht Dyer

RC (CtHi: Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Dyer to Trumbull, April 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the April 2 issue of Francis Bailey's *Freeman's Journal*, which printed six documents dated March 7 to 15 on the "Proceedings of the Federal Army near New Windsor, to obtain Redress."

<sup>3</sup> Dyer originally wrote "now" after "hopes," and then inserted it with a caret above the line and before the word, but apparently became confused in making the revision.

## Stephen Higginson to Theophilus Parsons

Dear Sir: <sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia, April [7-10], 1783.2

I have given, in some of my letters to Lowell and Jackson,<sup>3</sup> a partial view of the state of politics; those letters I suppose you have seen, as I desired them to be communicated to you and a few others. They will show you how far the opinions of our politicians in Massachusetts have been right, as to the views and conduct of the powers in alliance with us. There has been for a long time a party in Congress so thoroughly in the interest of France as to have preferred her interest to ours, whenever they came into competition. They carried through the memorable instructions to our ministers, which threw them entirely into the hands of Mons. Vergennes. Their views, however, by the inadvertence of Vergennes and the firmness of Jay and Adams, have been completely defeated. Their surprise and chagrin when the despatches were read, they could not conceal; and, finding that these instructions would no longer bind those ministers, and that if they remained in Europe commercial negotiations would next engage their attention, though not sufficiently commissioned to complete them, they have endeavored to remove such *dangerous persons*, by passing an unjust censure on their conduct during the negotiations for peace;—but in this also have they failed.

I expect, when the definitive treaty arrives, and we have a full view of the whole negotiations, that Congress will, in the strongest terms, approve of their conduct, though I am sure every possible means will be used to prevent it. Should this happen, their chagrin will be complete I think, for it will necessarily open the way for a commission to negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain. France has been, and still



is, exceedingly afraid of such a connection. She wishes, if possible, to prevent it, especially since she finds that Britain has wisely determined to give us every advantage in trade.<sup>4</sup> But shall we neglect to avail ourselves of such an opening? It is our business to cultivate a friendly intercourse with every trading nation, and to secure to ourselves as great and extensive advantages, in the way of commerce, as possible. The extravagant ideas which Europeans have formed of the advantages that they will derive from a trade with us, we certainly ought by no means to root out, but rather to make the most we can of them all. To lose so lucky a moment, and to neglect the improving such impressions to our own benefit, would surely argue a great want of discernment, and show a great deficiency in our political character. The advices from Mr. Dana discover a knowledge of mankind and the interests of the powers in Europe, which does him honor; but the same leaven has leavened the whole lump. He is so restrained by the French Minister at Petersburg, that I am afraid he will derive no advantage to us from his mission. Being bound to consult him, he dares not make any direct and explicit overtures, though persuaded that everything in that court was ripe for negotiation. I wish he may follow the example of Jay and Adams, and show the world that no dishonorable bands can fetter Americans.

We are still hammering on a strange, though artful, plan of finance,<sup>5</sup> in which are combined a heterogeneous mixture of imperceptible and visible, constitutional and unconstitutional taxes. It contains the impost, quotas, and cessions of Western lands, and no part of it is to be binding unless the whole is adopted by all the States. This connection and dependence of one part on another is designed to produce the adoption of the whole. The cessions are to serve as sweeteners to those who oppose the impost; the impost is intended to make the quotas more palatable to some States; and the receiving it in whole is made necessary to secure the adoption of the whole, by working on the fears of those States who wish to reject a part of it only. It may happen that a State, strongly impressed with the necessity of public taxes, may be thereby induced to receive it in whole, though opposed to some part of it, lest, through the failure of public funds, great evils may result; but I cannot imagine that such a plan will succeed—the artifice is not complete. The States will see, I trust, that Virginia and New York mean only to give them what is of no value, and not their property to dispose of, in order to secure to themselves a valuable territory which they now have no good claim to, and oblige the continent hereafter to guarantee and defend it for them. Madison has clearly, I think, shown that such is their intention in this scheme; this he did in an unguarded moment.

Rhode Island has approved in the fullest and strongest terms of Mr. Howell's conduct. South Carolina and Massachusetts have repealed

their impost acts, and yet these people will not only insist upon another trial, but make all provisions for supplies depend on the success of the impost. Is not this hazarding the public peace and safety, and urging a measure against all hope of success? If the public creditors see no provision made to secure their debts, and not even a prospect of receiving the interest, they will grow very uneasy and clamorous. What then will they think of the present scheme, which will most certainly fail of success, and occasion the loss of two years' time in making the attempt? The truth is, they are so very desirous of carrying the impost, that they are willing to hazard much rather than give over the pursuit. Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, expect great relief from it, and will swallow it at all hazards. North Carolina and Virginia hope that it will be duly collected, if adopted, in many of the States, but have not the most distant expectation or intention of collecting it themselves. New York and Pennsylvania have other views in pushing for it. Pennsylvania has passed an act for paying the interest to their own subjects on Continental certificates, and to charge it to the requisition for the year.<sup>6</sup> Massachusetts has the same right to take care of her subjects, and they will expect it; but will not this encourage the delinquents to make no proper provision for that part of the public debt, and has it not a direct tendency, if the principle be extended, to produce confusion and dissension? We may as well apply the whole, as a part, of the requisition; we may redeem the old money which our subjects have by them upon the same principle, but how then is the public treasury to be supplied? It may, perhaps, result in each State's sitting down with its present respective burden, and be an additional bar against a general settlement.

Congress have not yet tried the strength of the Confederation, nor have they had a good opportunity to do it. If quotas are assigned to the several States, equal to the interest of the public debt and the current expenses, and a majority of the States should make provision competent to the discharge of their quotas, will they not find means to coerce those that are delinquent? Will not two or three frigates in time of peace be sufficient for that purpose? Every State except Jersey depends much on its trade, and could not long bear the suppression of it; but should a majority of these prove delinquent, a vote for coercion could not obtain, though Congress were possessed of the means. There must be a thorough disposition in the States, or a large majority of them, to act honestly, to take their respective shares of the common burden, and to adhere strictly to the principles of the Confederation, or the Union will necessarily be dissolved.

I am sorry that Massachusetts has proposed a general impost through New England;<sup>7</sup> it cannot succeed, and may excite jealousies. New Hampshire and Connecticut will imagine it to be against their interest. The same reasons that induce them to push for a general one,

will lead them to reject your proposition. Let each State take its own course, and impose those duties at its own time and in its own way. Their necessities will oblige them to make use of such means, sooner or later; and when they have once adopted such taxes, and find all prospect of a general impost has vanished, then you may make such a proposition with advantage. In the mean time care must be taken that your own impost shall operate only on your consumption, to prevent your trade from being transferred to the other States.

I saw a letter from Mr. Dalton to Mr. Gorham that diverted me; he writes that our late impost operates very kindly—that those evils which he apprehended do not result from it, and that our people have become so fond of that mode of taxing, and are so very desirous of extending it, as to be prepared for a general impost through the Continent. This was written at or about the time of their repealing their late law, and appeared to me extraordinary. But when I considered the person writing, and him to whom it was written, my surprise ceased. It must, I think, be a mistake. How agreeable it is to see a man open to conviction!

I shall send you by Mr. Osgood, in three weeks, your dividend of the bank interest. The power will not answer the purpose of letting me into the management of the bank stock. My respects to all friends in Newbury, &c.

I am, with due esteem, your most humble servant,

S. Higginson.

P.S. I can't spend time to copy—you must read as well as you can. Pray let me have a long letter, showing the state of politics with you.

MS not found; reprinted from Theophilus Parsons, *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts* (Boston: Tichnor and Fields, 1859), pp. 456–60.

<sup>1</sup> Theophilus Parsons (1750–1813), a Newburyport, Mass. lawyer, had played a prominent role in framing the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Higginson obviously wrote this letter before April 18 when Congress adopted the general plan of finance that is a principal subject of it, and probably before news arrived in Philadelphia of the signing of the general peace treaty between France and Britain, which was disseminated April 9–10. His references at the conclusion of the letter to the payment of a bank dividend and to Samuel Osgood's planned departure from Philadelphia "in three weeks" are to events that would occur at the end of April.

<sup>3</sup> Higginson's letters to his nephew John Lowell and his business partner Jonathan Jackson have not been found.

<sup>4</sup> The delegates continued to be deluded on this point for several months, for not until mid-August did intelligence begin to arrive with a more realistic appraisal of the restrictive trade policy Britain intended to pursue with her former colonies. See, for example, Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin, August 16, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> This "artful" plan was adopted April 18. The quotas to be assigned the states under this plan, based on a system of "numbers and proportions" reported by a committee appointed April 1, were adopted on April 7. See *JCC*, 24:230–31; and James Madison's *Notes of Debates*, April 2–5, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Pennsylvania's threat to Continental management of the public debt, and the move towards "state-oriented public finance" as New Hampshire and New

Jersey subsequently joined Pennsylvania in its determination to service the Continental loan office certificate interest payments due its own citizens, see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 221–23. See also David Howell to Paul Allen, December 18, 1783, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> A reference to Massachusetts' invitation to the New England states and New York to meet at Hartford April 30 to consider adoption of a "uniform system of Taxation by import [*impost*] and excise as may be thought advantageous to the said States," for which see Madison's Notes of Debates, April 1, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday April 7. [1783]

The sense of Congs. having been taken on the truth of the numbers reported by the Grand Committee, the no. allotted to S.C. was reduced to 150,000 on the representation of the Delegates of that State.<sup>1</sup> The delegates of N.J. contended also for a reduction, but were unsuccessful. Those of Virga also, on the principle that Congs. ought not to depart from the relative numbers given in 1775,<sup>2</sup> without being required by actual returns which had not been obtained either from that State, or others whose relation wd. be varied. To this reasoning were opposed the verbal & credible information recd. from different persons & particularly Mr. Mercer, which made the no. of Inhabitants in Va. after deducting  $\frac{2}{5}$  of the Slaves, exceed the number allotted to that State. Congs. were almost unanimous agst. the reduction. A motion was made by Mr. Gervais 2d by Mr. Madison to reduce the no. of Georgia to 15,000 on the probability that their real no. did not exceed it, & the cruelty of overloading a State which had been so much torn & exhausted by the war. The motion met with little support & was almost unanimously negatived.

A letter was recd. from Genl. Washington expressing the joy of the army at the signing of the general preliminaries notified to him & their satisfaction at the commutation of half pay agreed to by Congs.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:435.

<sup>1</sup> For this report and the reduction of South Carolina's quota, see Madison's Notes, April 2–5, and note 4.

<sup>2</sup> For the acknowledgement of Washington's March 30 letter, see Elias Boudinot to Washington, April 12, note 2.

## Elias Boudinot to John Hancock

Sir, Philadelphia, 8th April 1783.

In obedience to the commands of Congress I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency copies of sundry letters relative to the very



extraordinary conduct of a Capt. Hayden and Mr. Church, in capturing the vessel *San Antonio*, belonging to a Mr. Argote, within the Spanish Dominions on the Mississippi. This unprovoked violation of the Laws of Nations, if clearly proved, calls loudly for the interference of Government. and is therefore submitted to the consideration of a Committee of Congress, as far as respects the injury done to the Flag of His Most Catholic Majesty. As to the private redress demanded by Mr. Argote, a Subject of the Crown of Spain, Congress have thought proper to refer him to the justice of your State, where he will undoubtedly obtain ample compensation for every injury he has sustained contrary to the principles of good faith and the laws of Nations.<sup>1</sup> Congress wish to recommend Mr. Argote to your countenance, protection and assistance, so far as to put him in a way of accomplishing this end, in the most legal and expeditious manner possible, as his Journey from New-Orleans is altogether on this business. From the knowlege I have of your Excellency's disposition to aid and assist the injured and the Stranger, as well as from your known attachment to the honor and dignity of your Country, I am perfectly satisfied that all arguments to urge your attention to this Gentleman's particular case will be needless.

Mr. Argote informs me that he carries with him authentic documents to support the facts referred to in the several letters inclosed.

We are in the most anxious expectation of receiving the official advices of the definitive Treaty of peace being concluded and ratified. An arrival at New-York from Lisbon confirms the News received by the *Triumph*, but not officially.

I have the honor to be &c.

E.B.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received advices from New-York, that the Ship *Vigilant* has arrived there from Lisbon with a confirmation of peace. The Packet went up also on Saturday evening last, which it is said has brought the official accounts. The Preliminary Treaty was ratified and exchanged in Paris on the 3d of February, so that all hostilities between France & Spain & England ceased on the 3d instant. Permit me to congratulate your Excellency, with the most sensible pleasure, on this glorious event.

E.B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> This case had come to the attention of Congress via of letters from the governors of Cuba and Louisiana—complaining of the seizure in the Gulf of Mexico of the *San Antonio*, owned by New Orleans merchant Antonio de Argote and captained by Andrew Dumont, by the Massachusetts privateer *Patty*, owned by Edward Church and captained by William Haydon—which were referred to Robert Morris as agent of marine on March 28. Morris' March 31 report, recommending that the case be referred "to the supreme Executive of the State of Massachusetts" to assist Argote in obtaining redress against Church and Haydon "as becomes the United States to give to the Subjects of Powers in Amity who shall complain of a Violation of their Rights," was adopted on April 4. And "so much of the foregoing letters as relates to the violation of the laws of nations and



rights of neutrality" was referred to a committee of three, which reported on June 10. In the meantime, the award of the *San Antonio* as a legal prize to Church and Haydon by the maritime court of Massachusetts was overturned by the court of appeals on May 28, but the case came before Congress again both when Church and Haydon petitioned for a new trial and when Captain Dumont, supported by Francisco Rendón and the chevalier de La Luzerne, petitioned the court of appeals concerning the refusal of his captors to obey its decree. The committee to whom the case was again referred submitted a report on September 10, affirming the finality of decisions of the court of appeals and recommending that the governor of Massachusetts assist in the execution of the appeals decree, but no action seems to have been taken on the report. Congress had no powers of enforcement under the Articles of Confederation and the case seems to have been widely seen as an ominous instance of foreign influence and Continental authority. For the documentation relating to this case, see *JCC*, 24:227–28, 386–87, 25:546–48; and *PCC*, item 25, 2:219–20, item 78, 19:443–53, item 79, 3:119–47. Rendón's lengthy account of his activities in behalf of Argote is located in his dispatch of May 28, 1783, to José de Gálvez, minister of the Indies. Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1354, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Aileen Moore Topping translation, DLC). The story of the *San Antonio*'s seizure and Argote's appeal has been told in Henry J. Bourguignon, *The First Federal Court: The Federal Appellate Prize Court of the American Revolution, 1775–1787*, *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1977): 231–35; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:648–50. See also Boudinot to Hancock, June 11; James Duane to John Potts, August 24; and Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, October 13, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 8th. 1783

I had the pleasure of your Favour per Post, on Monday as usual, but am sorry to find a Man of your sweet Temper & Knowledge of the uncertainty of all human Events, so ruffled at one disappointment. The Fact is, that all our Accounts were that Hostilities were to cease in two Months after the signing the Preliminaries; and the Conduct of Compté De Estaing fully confirmed this—our Accts. were translated from the French, but I lately got sight of the original French Acct. signed by the Compté himself—and being a tolerable Frenchman, I discovered that in the French, Hostilities were to cease in two Months from the *Ratification of the Treaty, being known*, but perhaps this when translated into English means two Months from signing the preliminary Articles, as you know Frenchmen are comical fellows. There is however some hope yet, as our provisional Treaty says, that Hostilities are to cease immediately—and as these take Effect on signing the Treaty with France, I think *immediately* means at that moment. However we cannot be in suspense but a few Days longer. I heartily wish that Genl. Carleton would send all the Gentry who are flocking into the City, to the Provost, as they have no business to put themselves in the Power of the Enemy.

I most heartily wish you could sell the Horses, as they will only be an inconvenience to me. I shall be pleased with your taking the little Colt to New Rochelle, as he is from my Mare & a full blooded Horse.

If Burrows takes the Horses. I wish you to make a certain bargain with him in writing. I should choose to give him so much in the Pound, including their keeping and all Expences. As to Pasture while you stay, I should think the Meadows before the Door, the orchard & the wood Pasture if kept separate would be sufficient, by not feeding more than one at a Time, and if you find it necessary you must use the Grass Ground by the Barn.

If Burrows should meet with a Chap for the big Horse at Mr. Noels, I wish him sold too. As to the Cows, if Pangburn does not send for them when ever the foddering is over, I will let them to some body else, tho' I wish him to have them. If you see him do press him to send me some Cash. He owes very considerable Sum. Mr. Stockton is at Dr. Rush's, very ill with the Cholic. Susan has got bravely & we are all thank God in Health. Polly Chandler is also here.

Am with Love to Mrs. P. My D Sir, Yours Afftly,

Elias Boudinot

[P.S.] Since writing the above, have recd. the enclosed Articles of Peace. There is an officer just arrived with the official Acct. of Peace from Sr. Guy Carleton but Letter not yet opened.<sup>1</sup>

RC (NHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> For the receipt of Carleton's letter and the "British proclamation of cessation of arms," see James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 10, note 1.

It was apparently the arrival of this officer which elicited the following remark from Samuel Wharton in an April 9 letter to George Read, from which only this extract has been found. "It is said a Vessel is arrived at New York from Lisbon, which confirms the Account of the Preliminaries of a general Peace being signed the 20th of January. A little Time must bring the definitive Articles of the joyful Event." Burnett, *Letters*, 7:132, "from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

## Daniel Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear sr.

Pha. 8th Apl. 83

The Delegates receivd yours inclosing two orders—that on Fox & Dorsey is accepted, & Mr. Hollingsworth has promisd to pay the other.

The inclosd paper contains the only intelligence respecting peace receivd since my last.

I am sr yr. mo Obt Svnt.

Danl Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir,

[April 8, 1783]<sup>1</sup>

I have received your Excellency's letters of the 31st of March & 4th of April, the last to day.<sup>2</sup> The one to Col Bland as member of the Committee has been read in Committee confidentially and gave great satisfaction.<sup>3</sup> The idea of not attempting to separate the army before the settlement of accounts corresponds with my proposition. That of endeavouring to let them have some pay had also appeared to me indispensable. The expectations of the army as represented by Your Excellency are moderation itself. To morrow we confer with the Superintendent of Finance on the subject of money. There will be difficulty, but not we hope insurmountable.<sup>4</sup>

I thank your Excellency for the hints you are so obliging as to give me in your private letter.<sup>5</sup> I do not wonder at the suspicions that have been infused, nor should I be surprised to hear that I have been pointed out as one of the persons concerned in playing the game described. But facts must speak for themselves. The Gentlemen who were here from the army; General McDougall who is still here will be able to give a true account of those who have supported the just claims of the army, and of those who have endeavoured to elude them.

There are two classes of men Sir in Congress of very Different views—one attached to state, the other to Continental politics. The last have been strenuous advocates for funding the public debt upon solid securities; the former have given every opposition in their power (*to the measure*) and have only been dragged into the measures which are now near being adopted by the clamours of the army and other public creditors. The advocates for Continental funds have blended the interests of the army with other Creditors from a conviction, that no funds for partial purposes will go through those states to whose citizens the United States are largely indebted—or if they should be carried through from impressions of the moment would have the necessary stability; for the influence of those unprovided for would always militate against a provision for others, in exclusion of them. It is in vain to tell men who have parted with a large part of their property on the public faith that the services of the army are intitled to a preference. They would reason from their interest and their feelings. These would tell them that they had as great a title as any other class of the community to public justice, and that while this was denied to them, it would be unreasonable to make them bear their part of a burthen for the benefit of others. This is the way they would reason & as their influence in some of the states was considerable they would have been able to prevent any partial provision.

But the question was not merely how to do justice to the *(army)* creditors, but how to restore public credit. Taxation in this Country, it was found, could not supply a sixth part of the public necessities. The loans in Europe were far short of the ballance, and the prospect every day diminishing. The Court of France telling us in plain terms she could not even do as much as she had done. Individuals in Holland & every where else refusing to part with their money on the precarious tenure of the mere faith of this country, without any pledge for the payment either of principal or interest.

In this situation what was to be done? It was essential to our cause that vigorous efforts should be made to restore public credit—it was necessary to combine all the motives to this end, that could operate upon different descriptions of persons in the different states. The necessity and discontents of the army presented themselves as a powerful engine.

But Sir these Gentlemen would be puzzled to support their insinuations by a single fact. It was indeed proposed to appropriate the intended impost on trade to the army debt and what was extraordinary by Gentlemen who had expressed their dislike to the principle of the fund. I acknowledge I was one that opposed this; for the reasons already assigned & for these additional ones. *That* was the fund on which we most counted—to obtain further loans in Europe—it was necessary we should have a fund sufficient to pay the interest of what had been borrowed & what was to be borrowed. The truth was these people in this instance wanted to play off the army against the funding system.

As to Mr. Morris, I will give Your Excellency a true explanation of his conduct. He had been for some time pressing Congress to endeavour to obtain funds, and had found a great backwardness in the business. He found the taxes unproductive in the different states—he found the loans in Europe making a very slow progress—he found himself pressed on all hands for supplies; he found himself in short reduced to this alternative either of making engagements which he could not fulfill or declaring his resignation in case funds were not established by a given time. Had he followed the first course the bubble must soon have burst—he must have sacrificed his credit & his character, and public credit already in a ruinous condition would have lost its last support. He wisely judged it better to resign; this might increase the embarrassments of the moment, but the necessity of the case it was to be hoped would produce the proper measures; and he might then resume the direction of the machine with advantage and success. He also had some hope that his resignation would prove a stimulus to Congress.

He was however ill-advised in the publication of his letters of resignation. This was an imprudent step and has given a handle to his per-

sonal enemies, who by playing upon the passions of others have drawn some well meaning men into the cry against him. But Mr. Morris certainly deserves a great deal from his country. I believe no man in this country but himself could have kept the money-machine a going during the period he has been in office. From every thing that appears his administration has been upright as well as able.

The truth is the old leaven of Deane & Lee is at this day working against Mr. Morris. He happened in that dispute to have been on the side of Deane & certain men can never forgive him. A man whom I once esteemed,<sup>6</sup> and whom I will rather suppose *duped* than wicked is the second actor in this business.

The matter with respect to the army which has occasioned most altercation in Congress and most dissatisfaction in the army has been the half pay. The opinions on this head have been two—one party was for referring the several lines to their states to make such commutation as they should think proper—the other for making the commutation by Congress and funding it on Continental security. I was of this last opinion and so were all those who will be represented as having made use of the army as puppets. Our principal reasons were 1st by referring the lines to their respective states, those which were opposed to the half pay would have taken advantage of the officers necessities, to make the commutation far short of an equivalent. 2dly. The inequality which would have arisen in the different states when the officers came to compare (as has happened in other cases) would have been a new source of discontent. 3dly. such a reference was a continuance of the old wretched state system, by which the ties between Congress and the army have been nearly dissolved—by which the resources of the states have been diverted from the common treasury & wasted; a system which Your Excellency has often justly reprobated.

I have gone into these details to give You a just idea of the parties in Congress. I assure you upon my honor Sir I have given you a candid state of facts to the best of my judgment. The men against whom the suspicions you mention must be directed are in general the most sensible the most liberal, the most independent and the most respectable characters in our body as well as the most unequivocal friends to the army. In a word they are the men who think continentally.

I have the honor to be, With sincere respect & esteem, Yr. Excellcys  
Most Obed servt.

A Hamilton

[P.S.] I am Chairman of a Committee for peace arrangements.<sup>7</sup> We shall ask Your Excellency's opinion at large on a proper military peace establishment. I will just hint to Yr. Excellency that our prejudices will make us wish to keep up as few troops as possible.

We this moment learn an officer is arrived from Sir Guy Car[l]eton with dispatches, probably official accounts of peace.<sup>8</sup>



RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Although undated, this letter was almost certainly written on April 8. The meeting mentioned by Hamilton in the first paragraph as planned for “tomorrow” did take place on April 9. Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:323–24n. Moreover, the postscript records the arrival of an express with “official accounts of peace,” which arrived on April 9.

<sup>2</sup> Washington’s March 31 and April 4 letters to Hamilton and to Theodorick Bland are in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:276–77, 291–96.

<sup>3</sup> For the congressional reaction to Washington’s April 4 letter, see Theodorick Bland to Washington, April 16, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:682–84, 701–2.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Washington’s April 4 letter to Hamilton.

<sup>6</sup> Not identified, but perhaps Stephen Higginson, who opposed Robert Morris’ financial plans. See Higginson to Theophilus Parsons, April 7–10, and to Samuel Adams, May 20, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> See Committee of Congress to Washington, April 9, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> This express arrived in Philadelphia on April 9.

James Madison’s Notes of Debates

Tuesday April 8th. [1783]<sup>1</sup>

Estimate of the debt of the U.S. reported by the Grand Committee: <sup>2</sup>

Foreign debt		
To the Farmers General of France .....	Livrs. 1,000,000	
To Beaumarchais .....	3,000,000	
To King of France to end of 1782. ....	28,000,000	
To do ..... for 1783. ....	6,000,000	Dollars
	Livrs. 38,000,000 =	7,017,037
Recd. on loan in Holland .....	Florins 1,678,000 =	671,200
Borrowed in Spain by Mr. Jay .....		150,000
Int. on Dutch one year at 4 prCt. ....		26,848
Total for. debt. ....		7,885,085

Domestic debt.		
	Dollars	
Loan office .....	11,463,802	
Int. unpaid for 1781 .....	190,000	
do ..... 1782 .....	687,823	
Credit to sundry persons } on Treasury books }	638,042	
army debt to 31 Dr. 1782 .....	5,635,618	
unliquidated do. ....	8,000,000	
deficiencies in 1783 .....	2,000,000	
	Total dom. debt ...	28,615,290
	Aggregate debt ...	36,500,375

Interest		Dollrs.
On for. debt, 7,885,085 at 4 PerCt .....		315,403
On dom. do. 28,615,290 at 6 do .....		1,716,917
On Com. ½ pay, estimd. 5,000,000 at 6 do .....		300,000
Bounty to be pd estimd. 500,000 at do .....		30,000
		2,362,320
	Aggreg. of Int.	

A motion was made by Mr. Hamilton who had been absent on the question on the 9th parag. of report on Revenue to reconsider the same.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Floyd who being the only delegate from N.Y. then present on that question, cd. not vote, 2ded the motion. For the argts. repeated see the former remarks on the 7 Apl.<sup>4</sup>

On the question the votes were Mas. no, R.I. no, Cont. no, N.Y. ay, N.J. no, Pa. ay, Maryd. no, Virga. ay, S.C. no.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:436–37.

<sup>1</sup> There is no entry for this date in the journals of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> Madison apparently copied these estimates from a document filed with the grand committee report submitted April 4 and adopted the 7th, which is in PCC, item 26, fol. 403, and for which see Madison's Notes, April 2–5, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar attempt by Hamilton, see Madison's Notes, April 1, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's notes for the 7th.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Apl. 8. 1783.

Your favor of the 29th ult. was duly recd. yesterday.<sup>1</sup> Your apprehensions from the article in favor of British Creditors, correspond with those entertained by all whose remarks I have heard upon it. My hope is that in the definitive treaty the danger may be removed by a suspension of their demands for a reasonable term after peace.

The publication of Mr. M's letters was neither previously assented to nor known by Congress. Whether it was the act of Mr. M. himself is even unknown to them. After the injunction of secresy was taken off, the curiosity of any individual, or the interest of the printer might obtain copies for the press.<sup>2</sup>

The imperfect information brought by the French Cutter is all that we have yet recd. relative to peace. It is reported from N. York that similar intelligence has been brought thither by a vessel from Lisbon. Hostilities however continue to devour our commerce.

The report on revenue of which I gave you the outlines<sup>3</sup> is still in an unfinished State; but in a way I flatter myself of being ultimately & substantially adopted. The admission into the common mass, of all expences of the war not authorized by Congress is the remaining article of difficulty.<sup>4</sup> Even this however under some qualifications is so respectably patronized & so intimately linked with the art[i]cle concerning the back lands that I do not despair altogether of seeing that also finally comprehended. A change of the valuation of Lands for the number of Inhabitants deducting  $\frac{2}{5}$  of the Slaves, has recd. a tacit sanction & unless hereafter expunged will go forth in the general recommendation, as material to future harmony & justice among the members of the Confederacy. The *<proportion>* deduction of  $\frac{2}{5}$  was a

compromise between the wide opinions & demands of the Southern & other States.

A letter was recd. yesterday from Genl Washington in answer to a notification from the Presidt. of the signing the Genl. preliminaries on the 20th Jany. expressing the joy of the army at the glorious event, and the satisfaction they have recd. from the act of Congs. commuting the half pay &c.<sup>5</sup>

The Mission of Mr. Jefferson has been entirely superceded by the last advices. He will set out in a few days for Virga. and means to pass through Richmond.<sup>6</sup> To his information I refer for details which my late correspondence may have omitted. As his services are not required, at least for the present, in Europe, it is to be most devoutly wished that they could be engaged at the present crisis at home.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:439–40.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 415–16.

<sup>2</sup> For the congressional response to the publication of Robert Morris' letters of resignation, see Madison's Notes of Debates, March 4–5, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, March 11, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> For Virginia's special interest in obtaining admission of expenses "not authorized by Congress" into the common charges of the war, and of the fears of the New England and middle states that the acceptance of such charges would "admit a flood of extravagant claims" which would subvert efforts to agree upon reasonable principles for the settlement of Continental accounts, see E. James Ferguson, *The Power of the Purse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 210–12.

<sup>5</sup> See Madison's Notes, April 7, 1783, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, April 1, note 8. Thomas Jefferson left Philadelphia on April 12, for which see Madison to Randolph, April 15, 1783, note 3.

## Phillips White to Josiah Bartlett

Sir

Philadelphia April 8th, 1783

Recd your favour of the 10th ult.—as to the affair of Vermont I lately wrote you on that subject,<sup>1</sup> therefore shall not trouble you now, as nothing has lately turned up new in that Quarter (which I know of), nor in Congress respecting that Territory. You mention Governor Hancock's Letter &c &c &c. I am much pleased that the Genl. Court did not hearken to the proposal so far as to Comply, even, to Appoint Commissioners as proposed by the Massachusetts,<sup>2</sup> let the great Trading States worry, they Cannot do as they Would be glad to do, to monopolise the Impost to their own perticular profit, for if they attempt to do that, it is plain that they will loose their trade.

Before this reaches you doubtless Mr. Gilman, will be at home as he sat out Tuesday of last week—by desire of the Honble Commutte., Communicated by the Honble. President. I have Consented to Tarry

until the latter part of May, if Occation requires it, although greatly against my inclination, (otherwise than to serve the State)—if anything should happen that Mr Foster should not be likely to come on immediately I should be glad to know it, & to have leave to return sooner than I proposed. I have nothing to Communicate at present of Importance. I shall take it as a favour if you will send me a Depreciation Table for the State of N.H. Please to give my Regards to the Honble. Committee. I remain Sir your sincere Friend & Humble, Servt,

P White

P.S. I had like to [...] that unless I ha[...] I shall not be a[...] nor return home.

April 9th. The news from New York sence I wrote the above I shall inclose to the Honble. President, which Doubtless you will see. P W

RC (NhD: Bartlett Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See White to Bartlett, February 5, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The New Hampshire General Assembly had declined the invitation of Massachusetts governor John Hancock to send delegates to an economic convention of the northern states in Hartford, Conn. *N. H. State Papers*, 8:971–72.

## Committee of Congress to George Washington

Sir Philadelphia, April 9th. 1783

Congress having appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs. Madison, Osgood, Wilson, Elseworth and myself to consider what arrangements it will be proper to adopt in the different departments with reference to a peace; <sup>1</sup> I am directed by the Committee to address your Excellency on the subject of the military department.

The Committee wish your Excellency's sentiments at large on such institutions of every kind, for the interior defence of these states as may be best adapted to their circumstances and conciliate security with œconomy and with the principles of our governments. In this they will be glad you will take as great latitude as you may think necessary; and will therefore omit entering into any details.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee apprehend it to be the intention of Congress to lay down a general plan to be carried into execution as circumstances will permit; and that in attending to such dispositions as the immediate situation of the Country may require, they are chiefly desirous of establishing good principles, that will have a permanently salutary operation.

I have the honor to be, yr. Excellency's Most obedient servant

Alx Hamilton  
Chairman.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written and signed by Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> See PCC, item 186, fol. 92. For the context of the committee's appointment on April 4, see James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 2–5, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For Washington's response to this request, the formulation of his "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" which he communicated to Hamilton on May 2, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:374–98. See also Richard Peters to Baron Steuben, April 23, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to James Lovell

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, April 9th. 1783.

Two days since, I receiv'd the letter you did me the honor to write, the 26th ultimo.

I inclose a draught in your favor for two hundred dollars: you will please to present it to Mr. Avery, who will procure you a warrant from the Governor & Council to receive the money, & upon the receipt of the same, you will inclose me bank bills to the same amount: if there should be any difficulty in transacting this business which I am not apprized of, or damage to you, please to let me know it, as I wish not to give you trouble without satisfaction: your keeping an account of the No. of the bills, &c, which you inclose may be of service in case of any accident.

It gives me pleasure to hear Mr. Adams's spirits are so high after the difficulties he has had to encounter, some that were unexpected I believe, even by him; I know not the man that, I think, wou'd have done better in his place, or that this Country are under greater obligations to: I have seen sundry letters from him of late, by which I am well acquainted with the situation he has been in, in negotiating both in Holland & France.

Mr. Laurens & Mr. Dana, at their request, have leave to return: Mr. Adams's like request has not yet been determined upon, Mr. Jefferson is not to proceed to Europe, the business for which he was appointed is supposed to be finished.<sup>1</sup>

I shou'd have made you my congratulations on account of Peace before I have wrote so far, but waited to git the last intelligence from N.Y. which I inclose, & must beg leave to refer you, as I have not time to add. I am, with particular respect, your most obedient,

S Holten

RC (McHi: Fogg Collection). Endorsed by Lovell: "April 9 1783, Doctr. Holten, 200 Dollars, recd & answed. 24."

<sup>1</sup> The decisions on Henry Laurens, Francis Dana, and Thomas Jefferson had been reached on April 1, but despite a committee recommendation to accept John Adams' resignation, Congress refused to act on Adams' request. According to James Madison: "The Eastern delegates were averse to doing any thing as to Mr. Adams, untill further advices s[houl]d be recd." See JCC, 24:225–27; and Madison's Notes of Debates, April 1, 1783.



## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday April 9. [1783]

A memorial was recd. from Genl. Hazen in behalf of the Canadians who had engaged in the cause of the U.S. praying that a tract of vacant land on L. Erie might be allotted to them.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Wilson thereupon moved that a Come. be appointed to consider and report to Congress the measures proper to be taken with respect to the Western Country. In support of his motion he observed on the importance of that Country, the danger from immediate emigrations of its being lost to the public; & the necessity on the part of Congress of taking care of the fœderal interests in the formation of New States, which could not take place by the authority of any particular States.

Mr. [Madison] observed that the appointment of such a Come. could not be necessary at this juncture & might be injurious, that Congs. were about to take in the report on Revenue &c. the only step that could now be properly taken, viz to call again on the States claiming the W. Territory to cede the same; that until the result sd. be known every thing wd. be premature & wd. excite in the States irritations & jealousies that might frustrate the Cessions; that it was indispensable to obtain these cessions in order to compromise the disputes, & to derive advantage from the territory to the U. S.; that if the motion meant merely to prevent irregular settlements, a recommendation to that effect ought to be made to the States—that if ascertaining & disposing of the garrisons proper to be kept up in that Country was the object it was already in the hands of the Come. on peace arrangements; but might be referred to them.

Mr. Mercer supported the same ideas.

Mr. Clarke considered the motion as no wise connected with peace arrangements; his object was to define the western limits of the States which Congs. alone cd. do, and which it was necessary they sd. do in order to know what territory properly belonged to the U. S. and what steps ought to be taken relative to it. He disapproved of repeatedly courting the States to make *cessions* wch. Congs. stood in no need of.

Mr. Wilson seemed to consider as the property of the U. S. all territory over which particular States had not exercised jurisdiction particularly N. W. of Ohio, & said that within the Country confirmed to the U. S. by the Provisional articles, there must be a large Country over which no particular claims extended.

He was answered that the exercise of jurisdiction was not the criterion of the territorial rights of the States; that Pa. had maintained always a contrary doctrine; that if it were a criterion Va. had exercised jurisdiction over the Illinois & other places conquered N. W. of the Ohio; that it was uncertain whether limits of the U. S. as fixed by the

Provl. Arts. did comprehend any territory out of the claims of the individual States; that sd. it be the case a decision or examination of the point had best be put off till it sd. be seen whether Cessions of the States wd. not render it unnecessary; that it cd. not be immediately necessary for the purpose of preventing settlements. on such extra lands, since they must lie too remote to be in danger of it.

Congress refused to refer the motion to the Come. on peace arrangements, and by a large majority referred it to a special Come. viz. Messrs. Osgood, Wilson, Madison, Carrol & Williamson; to whom was also referred the Meml. of Genl. Hazen.<sup>2</sup>

On the preceding question Cont.<sup>3</sup> was strenuous in favr. of Mr. Wilsons motion.

A motion was made by Mr. Dyer to strike out the drawback on salt fish &c.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Ghorum protested in the most solemn manner that Massts. wd. never accede to the plan without the drawback. The motion was very little supported.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:442–43.

<sup>1</sup> Moses Hazen's memorial is in PCC, item 42, 3:451–54. For the April 22 report of the committee to which it was referred this day, see *JCC*, 24:268–69; and PCC, item 19, 3:99–101.

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of this debate or action in the journals of Congress, but for the appointment and report of this committee, see the preceding note, and PCC, item 186, fol. 93.

<sup>3</sup> The Connecticut delegates attending at this time were Eliphalet Dyer, Oliver Ellsworth, and Oliver Wolcott.

<sup>4</sup> That is, from the revenue plan submitted to Congress on March 6, for which see *JCC*, 24:170. There is no mention of a debate on this subject in Secretary Thomson's journal of this date.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia, April 9<sup>th</sup>. 1783

We inclose Your Excellency a letter to the corporation of Kingston open for your perusal that you may be, informed what is likely to be the fate of their late offer.<sup>1</sup>

Your letter with the Concurrent Resolves of the Senate and Assembly<sup>2</sup> on the subject of the state troops has been committed.<sup>3</sup> We think it improbable Congress will accede to the idea. We congratulate your Excellency on the further accounts of peace. We are just informed of the arrival of an officer from Sir Guy Carelton with dispatches to Congress—Tis probable they contain official information.

With perfect respect, We have the honor to be, yr Excellency's Most Obedt.

FC (NHi: Duane Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton, with an interlineation by William Floyd.

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed letter has not been found, but it was a reply to a March 19 letter from the clerk of the trustees of the Corporation of Kingston, N.Y., for which see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:294. For the congressional response to the invitation of Kingston to relocate the Continental capital in that city, which had been received April 1 and referred to committee on the 4th, see Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783, note.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding nine words were inserted by Floyd.

<sup>3</sup> Floyd and Hamilton were referring to the New York Legislature's March 27 offer to settle pay and bounty claims of the New York Line of the Continental Army, New York Senate Journal, March 27, 1783, p. 164. DLC(ESR).

## Phillips White to Meshech Weare

Hon. Sir

Philadelphia April 9 1783

I wish you Joy on the Confirmation of the news of peace, which it is likely you may have before this reaches you. I can give no other account thereof than what is contained in the Inclosed prints.

I wrote last week by Mr Gilman,<sup>1</sup> who doubtless will be at home before you receive this.

Congress have been for some time past trying to agree on a plan to lay an Impost in order to pay the Interest of the public Debts. It is not yet ready to send to the states for their approbation. By calculation it is thought that the Impost propos'd will fall short of the amount of the Interest of said Debts—about one million five Hundred thousand dollars, it is therefore proper to call on the states to make up said deficiency at present propo[r]tioned as followeth <sup>2</sup>

	Dollars		Dols.
viz New Hampshire	52,708	Maryland	141,517
Massachusetts	224,427	Virginia	256,487
Rhode Isleland	32,318	North Cara.	109,006
Connecticut	132,191	South Cara.	96,183
New York	128,243	Georgia	16,030
N. Jersey	83,358		
Pennsyla.	205,189		
Deliware	22,443		

I expect some such measure will be recommended to the states as Pennsylvania have gone into, to pay the Interest due which will be much better than to try to collect the money.

I hope this will find you Honour in good health, I am Sir with great esteem your Humble Servt,

P White

RC (MHi: Weare Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> The following quotas, which differ from those approved on April 7, were adopted by Congress on April 18. See *JCC*, 24:230-31, 259. Although this fact is difficult to reconcile with the letter's April 9 date, White's first two paragraphs appear to have been written in a different ink, suggesting that he may have begun the letter on April 9 but completed it no earlier than April 18.

## Elias Boudinot to Elizabeth Ferguson

My dear Madam,

Philadelphia April 10th. 1783.

Having this moment recd your very kind & affectionate Letter, I cannot omit scribbling a few Lines in answer, altho' it is very late at Night, and I have attended Congress twice to day on Business of Importance. I am too much flattered by your good Opinion, not to wish that you might think that every recommendation of yours, recieved my utmost attention; but really what I did for poor Roberts was so small, that it did not deserve to be mentioned.

Mr Mede has mentioned the Terms on which you have rented the Farm, which I think not very bad, as the Taxes will not be near half of what they were last Year.<sup>1</sup>

You will pardon me madam for detaining you so long before I most heartily congratulate you on the glorious News of an honorable & I hope a lasting Peace. This Morning we recd the official Confirmation of the Cessation of all Hostilities and the signing the Preliminary Articles between all the belligerent Powers. I suppose the cessation of Hostilities on our Part will be proclaimed to morrow or next day.

This great Event is big with the most affecting and important Consequences. A new Empire rising into Existence with such extensive Views, must attract the attention of the whole World. This Subject is too prolific for the hour of the night and my spent Spirits. May God bless you. I wish I had a prospect of snuffing the refreshing Breezes of Graeme Park. It would be a relaxation, that might give me new Life.

Mrs. B. & Susan present the most affectionate Compliments not forgetting Miss Stedman, to whom I beg my respectfull wishes.

I am my Dr Madam with the greatest Esteem, Yours most Afftly,  
Elias Boudinot

P.S. Our good General Washington is almost in raptures on acct of the good News.

RC (CtY: Franklin Papers). Addressed: "Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, Graeme Park."

<sup>1</sup> For Mrs. Ferguson's financial difficulties, see these *Letters*, 18:373-74.

## Elias Boudinot to John Hanson

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 10th 1783

Your Favour of the 2d inst. was the most agreeable surprize that I have recd. for some time past, not Sir altogether on acct. of your kind congratulations on the glorious Event of a Peace so honorable to our common Country, in which I most heartily reciprocate every affectionate wish, but to find after mourning & regretting your Loss to your Friends & your Country & Sympathising with Mrs. Hanson who I supposed in a most distressed State, that you was still in the Land of the living & once more restored to Health & to usefulness in Life. In short Sir, we having had your Death anounced in the public news Papers,<sup>1</sup> concluded with the Children, that what was printed must be true & really considered the Fact as beyond a doubt. Permit me Sir to rejoyce with your other friends on the agreeable mistake, and to wish you long to enjoy the Blessings of that Peace you have so long struggled for. To this misInformation has been owing my Silence since your leaving this City.

Yesterday Sr. Guy Carleton sent by Express the King of Englands Proclamation for the Cessation of all Hostilities, and this morning we recd from France by an Arrival here the official Information of the same Circumstance on our part by a separate Instrument of accession, under the same Terms as those of France & Spain, and shall proclaim a Cessation of all Hostilities on the part of America tomorrow.

I know you will rejoice greatly with me on this important News, and join in rendering Thanks to the great Governor of the universe who has thus continued his interposing Providence & at last crowned all our Labours with a Success far beyond our sanguine Expectation. We want now nothing but wisdom & union to perfect the glorious work.

Mrs. Boudinot (tho unknown) joins me in the most respectful Complint to Mrs. Hanson.

Believe me to be, with the most unfeigned Esteem & respect, My D  
Sir, Your most Afft. & very Hble Servt, E B

RC (IHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Hanson's death—"Last week . . . at his seat in Frederick county, Maryland"—had been announced in the March 29 issue of David C. Claypoole's *Pennsylvania Packet*.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday Apl. 10. [1783]

Letters rcd. from Genl. Carlton & Admiral Digby inclosing British proclamation of cessation of arms &c, also Letters from Doctr. Franklin



& Mr. Adams, notifying the conclusion of Preliminaries between G. B. & F. & Spain, with a declaration entered into with Mr. Fitzherbert applying the epochs of cessation to the case of G. B. & U. S.<sup>1</sup> These papers were referred to Secy. of F. A. to report a proclamation for Congs. at 6 OClock—at which time Congs. met & recd. report nearly as it stands on the Journal of Friday, Apl. 11.<sup>2</sup> After some consideration of the Report as to the accuracy & propriety of which a diversity of sentiments prevailed, they postponed it till next day. The Secy also reported a Resolution directing Secy. at War and Agent of Marine to discharge all prisoners of war.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:445–46.

<sup>1</sup> These letters—from Sir Guy Carleton and from Adm. Robert Digby of April 6, John Adams of January 22 and 23, Benjamin Franklin of January 21, and Henry Laurens of January 9—are in PCC, item 52, fols. 225–28, item 119, fol. 272, item 84, 4:321–38, item 82, 2:341–44, item 89, fols. 249–52; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:200, 225–28, 362–63.

<sup>2</sup> Madison originally wrote and later lined out “Saturday 12 Apl.” for the proclamation Livingston reported on the 10th and Congress adopted the 11th, see *JCC*, 24:238–41.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison’s Notes, April 12, note 3.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir,

Philada. Apl. 10, 1783

The important contents of the inclosed paper<sup>1</sup> were brought hither yesterday by a British officer sent for that purpose by Sr. G. Carlton. To day Congs. recd. letters from Dr. F. & Mr. Adams<sup>2</sup> inclosing a declaration entered into by them & the British Plenipoy. by which the epochs at which hostilities are to cease between France & G. B. are adopted between the latter & America. A great diversity of opinion prevails as to the time at which they were to cease on this Coast.<sup>3</sup> The Merchants & the lawyers are most affected by the question. Yrs affy.

J. Madison Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:449–50.

<sup>1</sup> Madison probably enclosed either the April 9 supplement to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, for which see the following entry, note 1, or this day’s regular issue which contained copies of the preliminary treaty of November 30, 1782, between the United States and Great Britain, the Anglo-French and Anglo-Spanish treaties signed January 20, and George III’s February 14 proclamation declaring an end to hostilities.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison’s Notes of Debates, April 11, 1783.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Philadelphia April 10th 1783

We take the opportunity by a Gentn. who sets off to North Carolina tomorrow; and whose route lays through Richmond to Communicate to Yr. Excellency copies of Papers sent by Sr. Guy Carleton & Admiral Digby and brought by an Aid of the Former Yesterday to the Office of Foreign Affairs.<sup>1</sup> We believe them to be Perfectly Authentic and as they are a full Confirmation of what we have before informd your Excellency they need no further Comment.

We Sincerely congratulate Your Excellency and our fellow Citizens on the Happy Event.

We take the liberty to inform Your Excellency that the State of New York has made an offer to Congress of a tract of land included in the boundaries of the Township of Kingston or Esopus on the North River—accompanied by a provisional act of Incorporation, granting certain Priviledges of Jurisdiction in civil matters—except in cases concerning the Property of the Soil &c. the Policy of which is to Induce Congress to fix their residence in that State.<sup>2</sup>

The Delegates of Virginia and Maryland, conceiving that a more Central Situation for Congress, accompanied with other equal or Superior advantages might possibly be more agreeable, and that an Offer of a Small tract of Territory by Virginia & Maryland in the Neighbourhood of George Town on Potowmack might meet with the Acceptance of Congress in Preference to that offerd by New York, especially if a more ample and Enlarged Jurisdiction shd be Annexd thereto—have Conceived it their Duty to inform their states respectively of the step taken by New York—that if they think proper they may Conjointly adopt such plans as they may deem most Eligible to Induce Congress to fix their Residence in a Place which we Humbly Conceive wd. be not only more Generally agreeable to the States, but wd. be so manifestly advantageous to the states Immediately in the Vicinage of the Seat of General Government.<sup>3</sup>

We shall endeavor to procure before the Assembly sits a copy of the Grant of New York with the Boundaries therein assigned for the Jurisdiction of Congress, which will be transmitted to your Excellency to be laid before them.

Since writing the above, Official dispatches from Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin & Mr. Jay have arrived announcing the Signature & ratification of the Preliminary Articles by the Belligerent Powers, as mentioned in the Enclosed Proclamation, and an agreement between the Said Powers, to an Armistice, which we Expect will this day be Proclaimed by order of Congress and transmitted to the Respective States.<sup>4</sup> The Same dispatches inform us, that the Definitive treaty is

not yet signed, the terms not yet having been adjusted between the Court of Great Britain & the Seven U. Provinces.

The British Prints inform us that in a Division on a debate in their House of Commons, on a Paragraph in their address to their King for approving the Peace a Majority of Sixteen were against the approbation—North & Fox violently opposing the Ministry. The vote for approving was carried in the Lords—how this temper of the Commons may effect the Politics of Europe, or the Ministry of Great Britain time must determine.

With the most perfect respect we are, Yr. Excellcy's most obedt. Serts.

(Signed in behalf and at the request of the Delegates)

Theok. Bland Jr.

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written and signed by Theodorick Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:446–48.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to copies of Carleton's and Digby's letters, for which see James Madison's Notes of Debates, this date, note I, the delegates enclosed an April 9 supplement to the *Pennsylvania Packet* which included copies of the Anglo-French and Anglo-Spanish treaties of January 20. Continental Congress Papers, Vi.

<sup>2</sup> See New York Delegates to George Clinton, April 9, 1783, note I.

<sup>3</sup> In opposing the offer of Kingston, N.Y., Bland and the other Virginia delegates were joined temporarily by Maryland delegates Daniel Carroll and Thomas Sim Lee in advocating a site to be chosen as the seat of the Continental government. But Maryland had long been divided between Potomac River and upper Chesapeake Bay supporters and the latter proved to be better organized. As early as November 17, 1782, George Lux, a Baltimore merchant, had written the following letter to Bland, enclosing three copies of a broadside submitted to the Maryland legislature under the pseudonym "Aratus" which promoted Annapolis as the future seat of Congress.

"I beg leave to refer the enclosed to your attention, and will take it as a very great favor if you will give me your opinion candidly on it by the next post. The author has, at the request of several members of our Assembly, written and published it, in order, if possible, to induce them to take speedy and effectual steps to accomplish the purposes therein specified. A few copies are distributed among them; and the remainder I shall send to my acquaintances in the different parts of the continent, Pennsylvania, Jersey, New York and Delaware excepted, which states, it is natural to suppose, will be averse to the measure. The author did not insert the piece in the paper, because the mere commonalty cannot understand the subject; and he is averse to run the hazard of being involved in disputation, being in his noviciate as a writer. You are to consider the piece is addressed to a *Legislature*, in which undoubtedly there must be many weak men, and therefore must be adapted to their genius and capacity; consequently many things are in it which would not have been, had none but men of understanding been expected to peruse it.

"The matter will come before the Assembly during their present session, and I have not the least doubt of success, if they think Congress are disposed to accept their offers. It is certainly the duty of our Assembly to make the first advances; but the pride of many of the members is piqued, lest Congress would not close in with them. I could wish your body to be sounded upon the subject, and a judgment may with some certainty be formed whether the powers granted them, and an elegant Stadthouse, will prompt them to render Annapolis the permanent metropolis of America. Perhaps the powers therein specified will not be approved of; and I could wish to know in what points. I think the city of Annapolis ought to be laid off as a distinct independent territory, to-

tally under the government of Congress; but so narrow in that respect are the prejudices of most of the states, that I think such a measure cannot be effected in any one of them. I suppose it could be so managed that Congress can have every real and substantial power, only reserving to Maryland *a mere nominal superintending control in Annapolis*. Congress were cruelly treated by the state of Pennsylvania in 1779, in regard to the sloop Active; and, for want of efficient local powers in Philadelphia, were liable to be insulted by the mob in regard to the payment of the interest of loan-office certificates. Mr. Sergeant in 1776 was beaten by Mr. Gunning Bedford for something that he did in Congress; which honorable body, by remaining in the capital of any state, must be ever exposed to the danger of jangling with the executive branch of it, and I always wish to obviate any possible jealousies between the continental and state governments.

"Four years ago I was pretty generally acquainted with all the members of Congress, but now with very few of them. I have a slight acquaintance with Mr. Daniel Carroll, but know not any other delegate from Maryland, even by sight. Were I well acquainted with any of our delegates, I should have written to him on the subject; but I request you will show them all this letter and the enclosed. I transmit three copies to be by you given to any of your acquaintances among the eastern and southern delegates of Congress; and shall take it as a very great favor if you will candidly inform me whether you think Congress will accept, in case Maryland offers Annapolis, with substantial local powers. I am confident, from what I have heard from our assembly, that they would in such case be enacted, and granted with very little opposition.

"From what I can learn, Annapolis is one of the most central places in the union in point of distance; and, though it is not in the relative situation of the different states, yet it would be but just that the inconveniences in attending Congress should be shared among the different states as equally as may be. The southern states have suffered more than any others by the ravages of the enemy, and are entitled to more consideration from those to the eastward than to be put to greater inconveniences than they, merely because they are unfortunately the minority. I have a better opinion of their patriotism and liberality of soul, than to suspect that they would be actuated by local selfish views, when it is their duty to promote the general good of the continent.

"The constitution of Maryland being stable, agreeable to all ranks of its inhabitants, and opposite to every principle of anarchy and *levelism*, Congress would be more agreeably fixed in it than in Pennsylvania, where an unlimited democracy (the most horrid of all governments) prevails, and of course no one can be secure of personal safety under it. Annapolis being but a small place, Maryland could safely grant the Congress local and substantial powers in it, without missing them; whereas in Philadelphia they are ciphers, and cannot have the powers requisite to render them respectable, without injuring the commerce of the place. And, to every thinking man on the continent, the prospect must be very disagreeable, when it is considered that congress may possibly be in danger of being mobbed, if they do not flatter the prejudices of the majority of the *lower class* of citizens, and the measures they may wish to be adopted, may not constantly be right and proper.

"Our delegates can describe the situation of Annapolis, its advantages and disadvantages. I will just observe, that under our old government, it was chiefly inhabited by men of fortune, who held lucrative posts, and the most eminent practising lawyers in the state; most of whom since the present revolution, not having the same inducements to continue there, have removed elsewhere; and a number of elegant houses are thereby in some measure rendered useless; which might be purchased by the ministers of finance, foreign affairs, war, and marine, and the other leading officers on the general civil establishment, much cheaper than they could be built in any part of the continent. The market would be well supplied when there was a constant demand for provisions; and fish and oysters would be brought thither in great abundance, as well as all kinds of wild fowl.

"I have scribbled a long letter to you, chiefly upon the motive of promoting the general good, and therefore I am confident you will excuse a liberty I have taken, and an-

swer candidly and fully as soon as leisure from your public duties will permit. . . .” Bland, *Papers* (Campbell), 2:95–97.

For the Maryland assembly’s adoption of this position in late May, see Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783, note.

<sup>4</sup> For letters received from John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Laurens, rather than John Jay, see James Madison’s Notes of Debates, this date, note 1.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker

Philada. April 11th 1783

A confirmation (official) yesterday arrived here of the ratification of the Preliminary Articles of Peace between France, Spain & England—which gives effect to those between England & the U. States of America—in consequence of which proclamation will this day be made by order of Congress for a Suspension of Hostilities. This has already been done in N. York *without one Symptom of Approbation*. The Public Prints will soon announce to you the Particulars—we have sent these to the Govr.

God Bless you,

Theok. Bland, Jr.<sup>1</sup>

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Bland also wrote the following letter to George Weedon this date:

“I have just time to tell you, that an official confirmation of the ratification of the preliminaries between the French, Spanish, and English Courts, arrived here yesterday, and I believe a cessation of hostilities will be this day proclaimed, by order of Congress. The public prints will soon give you the rest.” Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, p. 207.

## Joseph Jones to James Hunter

Dr. Sr.

Philada. 11th Apr. 1783

I recd. your late favor inclosing some bills drawn upon Mr. W. Smith of Baltimore and protested by him. This Business is not within the jurisdiction of the Agent of Marine here or immediate measures woud. be taken for their payment. Monsr. Marbois who is the Consul general and agent of Marine informs me that if Poquet comes out from New York to this place which he expects he will do that upon his giving some instrument of indemnification the money shall be paid withot. returning the bills. As the packet has arrived at N. York from England with the preliminary Articles signed and a proclamation of the Kings suspending Hostilities (which were to cease on this coast the 3d of this month,) I imagine Poquet will soon be at liberty. Shod. he arrive here I will endeavour to get satisfaction for the Bills. Billy Miner has I sup-



pose informed you of the State of the other business, the discount of 3 per Ct. was I thought too high and unless he had reason to think you could make some immediate advantage of the money adequat or sufficient to authorise such divid. it woud. be wrong to give it and more prudent to wait the payment of the Bills at 20 days sight the others being for trifling sums. As he knew of no immediate use for the Cert[ificate] unless to lay out in Tobacco and all prospect of turning it to account in that way so as to reimburse the loss by discount being greatly lessened by the certainty and knowledge of the general peace waiting till they became due was determined upon as the best Course. Adml. Digby has sent out vessells to call in all the cruisers on the coast and forbid further Hostilities. So that I presume in about a week or ten days any Vessell may sail in safety withot hazarding going to N. York before discharged.

I am, Yr. affe Serv,

Jos. Jones.

RC (ViU: Hunter-Garnett Collection).

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday. Apl. 11. [1783]

This day was spent in discussing the Proclamation which passed.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wilson proposed an abbreviation of it which was disagreed to. The difficultys attending it were that 1st. the Agreeemt of our Ministers with Fitzherbert that the Epochs with Spain as well as France sd. be applied to U.S. to be computed from the ratifications which happened at different times, the former on the 3d the latter the 9th of Feby. 2d. the circumstance of the Epochs having passed at wch the Cessation of hostilities was to be enjoined.<sup>3</sup> The impatience of Congs. did not admit of proper attention to these & some other points of the Proclamation; particularly the authorative stile of enjoining an observance on the U.S. the Govrs. &c. It was agst. these absurdities & improprieties that the<sup>2</sup> *no* of Mr. Mercer was pointed.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:450.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:238–41; and Madison's Notes, April 10.

<sup>2</sup> Madison later inserted "solitary" at this point above the line, and then underlined both *solitary* and *no*.

## John Francis Mercer to George Weedon

Dear General.

Philadelphia, April 11, 1783.

The papers which I enclose, announce to you the arrival of an officer from N. York, with the Proclamation of the King of Great Britain, and other particulars, not necessary to enumerate.

Yesterday the vessels arrived here from France. They left l'Orient the 4th March, and by them we have official dispatches of our ministers. Altho' not of a late date, yet they authorize a Proclamation, which will come forth to day, from "the United States, in Congress assembled," declaring and enjoining a cessation of hostilities against the subjects of his Brittanic Majesty.

We have debates in Parliament, on the subject of the preliminaries, and although parties are very violent, and although in the House of Commons there are 224 to 208 against approving the peace, yet there seems to be no dispute as to its validity, respecting the separation of America. This subject is started in the House of Lords, by Lord Loughboro',<sup>1</sup> but the ministry obtained on a vote an approbation of the peace. In consequence, the address is presented, and in answer, his majesty thanks very particularly the House of Lords. He concludes with expressing his warmest approbation of the spirit of Parliament towards the Loyalists, and makes no doubt, that the power which has stipulated in their favor, will carry to the utmost latitude a fulfilment of their engagements.

Adieu. I hope we shall approve ourselves worthy of the favor Heaven has obviously bestowed on us, in the accomplishment of so great and glorious opportunity, in so short a period.

In haste, I am, yr's,

John F. Mercer.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Alexander Wedderburn, first baron Loughborough, who had been attorney general in the North Ministry and since June 1780 chief justice of the court of common pleas. *DNB*.

## Jonathan Arnold to Daniel Cahoon

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 12th. 1783.

The establishment of the Independence of the United States—and an Amicable settlement between the belligerent Powers—by which the blessings of Peace are once more restored to this Country—must give a new turn to every species of Business. My unacquaintance even with that in which I am essentially interested renders me very unfit to advise—respecting measures necessary to be pursued in order to render it Advantageous—for this I shall rely on your extensive experience—and only take the Liberty to propose a few queries for Consideration.

Will it not be best to make the necessary preparation for another & a long blast of the Furnace as soon as possible?<sup>1</sup> The rapid progress which will be made in new settlements—above you—opens a door for a Market—on one hand—And the very destitute Circumstances of the Inhabitants of the Western States will afford a large vent—on the other hand (and by the bye—would not a circuitous Voyage by the West Indies from those States with produce which might be had for ware—be a matter worthy Attention?)

If any thing of this kind should prove eligible I have it in my power to establish Correspondents in those States of Virginia, No. & So. Carolina (& Georgia, if necessary) which might prove advantageous.

Will it be proper to engage for Goods to supply a Store in Company? The stability of Prices—& value of Money—by which business may be now done & contracts entered into without risque leads to this Quere—an early start (in business as in travelling) is the distance half gained.

If the Circuitous trade hinted at above was eligible engagements—might be accordingly made—and various turns made to render business more easy.

Will it not be proper to set on foot the making of Pot & pearl Ash—immediately, or as soon as possible—to prevent its being diverted to other hands? This we may do with as much ease & perhaps advantage as any Persons—having the most expensive Apparatus in our own Power.

I expect, Sir, before you give an Answer a most important Quere will present itself—Vizt.

How is the Expences to be supplied?—this will puzzle me more than an hundred such as the preceeding would you. Nevertheless—I should not despair of its being done—some money, some goods or, which is the same in substance—some Credit might with a proper attention & Application effect it.

I should be very happy to be present with you—to consult on every necessary point but that is impossible at present. I can therefore only assure you of my earnest wish to do every thing to promote our Mutual interest—and will endeavor to supply—what shall be incumbent on me whether in Money, or Credit for the purpose, assuring you that I shall place the utmost confidence in every Arrangement You shall be disposed to make—and circumstances will admit. Does the C——n continue in the same disagreeable ——? Will he quit on reasonable terms? Will it not be best, to accept such terms?

Are you likely to effect a Division? Answer as soon as possible—Under Cover to Dr. Randall. This is Confidential—from, Dear Sir,  
Your very hume Servt. J Arnold

P.S. As I have some hope to see you before I shall have opportunity to write again—after recieving your Answer—I shall defer some things—to a personal interview.

RC (NjMoHP: Lloyd W. Smith Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Cahoon was a Providence iron founder. See Arnold to Cahoon, November 4, 1782.

## Elias Boudinot to the Marquis de Lafayette

My dear Marquiss.

Phil. Aprill 12th. 1783.

The many Obligations this Country has been laid under by your repeated kindnesses, have been not only revived, but greatly increased

by your prudent & Zealous attention to afford her the earliest Information of the glad Tidings of an Event the most glorious to her Fame as well as essential to her Interests.<sup>1</sup> Capt. Duquesne, whose conduct & despatch does him great honor, announced to us in the first Instance the happy Issue of our negotiations. The Joy afforded to America on this Occasion was too great for utterance and you had the universal Thanks of the Friends of this Country. The early Intelligence saved our Mercantile Interest greatly, as the long cessation of News from our Ministers had shaken the Faith of many as to the Issue.

The glorious struggle, blessed be God, is now over, and I am happy that you have so great a Share in her Laurels. Our worthy General is not the least sharer in the general Joy. We have now leisure I hope to turn our attention to consolidating the general Union & perfecting our Government.

Congress are perfectly satisfied with your remaining in Europe, and I have the honor & Satisfaction of enclosing you a Copy of their Vote on this Occasion.<sup>2</sup>

Congress are very sensible of the very obliging Conduct of his Excellency the Comte de Estaing in so readily & generously devoting the Triumph to the benevolent Purpose of being the bearer of the important Intelligence.

As soon as Capt DuQuesne arrived, certified Copies of the Intelligence was transmitted to Genl Carleton & admiral Digby—the last of whom most ungenerously affected to consider it as a design in Compt de Estaing to mislead him, while he was accomplishing some stroke in the west Indies. However he was in a few days convinced of his Error by the arrival of an English Packett.

We are anticipating the Pleasure of your Arrival here with Anxiety.

I take the liberty of inclosing copies of the Vote of Congress in Favour of Compt De' Rochambeau, & of my Letter addressed to him on that occasion. My reason for this is, to beg the Favour of your endeavouring to know the reason for the Compt's leaving America without taking the least Notice of it, or even answering my Letter. I do this merely in my private Character, for altho' it has been noticed by the Members of Congress, yet Congress has made no Observations on it, and I mentioned it to you as a private Friend, who I know will be prudent on the Occasion, at the same time will satisfy my individual Curiosity.

I add to the enclosed for your satisfaction some proceedings in the Army, occasioned by the last Efforts of the Enemies of this Country, to raise a Commotion. Their resolutions as well as the Generals Address, gave a finishing Stroke to the Character of our officers. They do them the utmost honor, and the General appears like himself.

The Terms of Peace give universal Satisfaction except that no Time is mentioned for the american Merchts. paying their English Debts. Having the greatest part of their Estates in the public Funds, and having suffered greatly by the depreciation of the money, inevitable ruin must be their Portion if they have not three or four Years to accom-

plish the Business. This is a Matter of very considerable Consequences to which I hope our Ministers will pay attention in the definitive Treaty. This should also be an Object with France, as if not remedied, will throw our Merchts too absolutely into the Hands of the English Creditor.

Shall I ask your Attention to this Subject if not too late as it will be adding greatly to the obligations, already laid on the Citizens of these States.

I have the honor to be with every Sentiint of respect & Esteem, My d[ear] Marquiss &c

FC (DLC: Boudinot Papers). In the hand of Elias Boudinot. Endorsed: "Private."

<sup>1</sup> For Lafayette's February 5 letters to Boudinot to which this is a response, see Lafayette, *Papers* (1dzerda), 5:84-85; and JCC, 24:210-11.

<sup>2</sup> For this April 10 resolve, see JCC, 24:234.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia 12th April 1783

You can only judge from your own feelings on this occasion, with what peculiar joy I congratulate your Excellency and the Army on a constitutional cessation of hostilities by the public Act of Congress, I have the honor to enclose.<sup>1</sup> Thus far we may truly say, that we have passed thro' the wilderness by a series of Miracles, which nothing short of the over ruling Providence of God could ever have wrought.

I most heartily reciprocate your Excellency's good wishes on this occasion, and am much obliged by your very polite letter of the 30th Ultimo.<sup>2</sup>

By a vessel that arrived yesterday from France we received the official copies of our accession to the cessation of hostilities; but altho' this vessel sailed on the 4th of March our latest advices were of the 23d of January. We are just informed that there is a Packet in the River with public dispatches in 36 days from France. If any thing should turn up worthy of notice I will add it to this letter.

Mrs. Boudinot and Miss Susan unite with me in the most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Washington and your Excellency, and are contemplating with great pleasure the prospect of a joyous interview on your return to your long wished for retreat.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect & Esteem, Your Excellencys Most Obedt & most Hble Servt

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot undoubtedly enclosed a copy of the proclamation adopted by Congress on April 11, for which see JCC, 24:238-40, 25:984-85.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's March 30 letter to Boudinot is in PCC, item 152, 11:191-92; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:273.



## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Philadelphia April the 12th 1783

I most sincerely Congratulate your Excellcy and the State—On the Great & Important Event of Peace now fully Confirmed and Proclaimed.

God Almighty in His Unmerrited goodness by His Great power and outstretched Arm has wrought Salvation and Deliverance for this his oppressed People Erected and Established a new and extended Empire in this Western World. Through Eight Years severe Conflict, And many Dark & gloomy seasons, His Wise And Unerring Providence has manifestly pointed out the Means, the Times, And Seasons, for those Various Exertions, Efforts, and operations which were Necessary in the doubtfull Contest, And with that Vicissitude of adverse dissapointments, and prosperous Success, as might Guard us against Vain Presumion on the one hand, and secure us against hopeless despair and dispondency on the Other, till at length, When the burthen of our Expences seemed almost too heavy any longer to be borne, our Loads of Debt Accumulating, our publick Credit failing, The People Complaining, God has graciously Calmed the Storm, inclined and Composed the Contending Nations to Peace, Disposed Great Britain (after long & Vain attempts) to Relinquish Her Unjust Claims, Submit to the Manifestations of Divine Providence, And to acknowledge the 13 United States of America Free, Sovereign And Independent. I heartily rejoice *Sir* that in the Laborious part you have taken in your advanced Years, in The Important Station in which Providence has assigned you, that through Unremitted Diligence & fidelity in which with Unwearied application you have exerted your Utmost Abilities, with Patience, hope and Perseverance in the Cause & Service of your Country, and in the greatest Trials & darkest hours of our Conflict with a firm & Unshaken reliance on Divine Providence, That God has Supported and continued your Valuable life at length to see the Joyfull day of her Deliverance.

Rewards you will not too much expect here except in consciois rectitude, but wait with Patience for those Superior with which God will abundantly remunerate his faithfull Servants: I know your Country owe you their Esteem, their respect, and their Gratitude—whether they make you that Remittance, or forbear the just Tribute which is your due.

I now expect by the leave of Providence soon to return to my family. My Utmost & faithfull Indcavors to serve the State, and my Country have not been Wanting, I have only to Lament they have been of no more effect, and so little productive of real benefit.

Ever since I have been here, the pressing demands of our Army and loud Complaints of our other Numerous Creditors, have continually attended us, without payment, without Stable funds for Principle or

Interest, for want of which the Value of their securities were daily lessening, our finances Nearly exhausted, our publick Credit sinking, the People discouraged by heavy taxation and Complaining, But God who as in times past in some of the darkest hours has afforded us unexpected relief; so now when our ways were hedged up on every side, and the Darkness seemed Impenetrable and our prospects of further prosecution of the War daily diminishing God has dispersed the Dark Clouds, he has Commanded the Nations into Peace, And The devouring Sword to be sheathed. The Increasing Expence of Millions in a year is now at an End, and the Remaining Debt tho great & heavy, is far below the purchase & much Short of that of our enemies, who have entirely failed of their Attempts to Enslave us, or even of our Allies whom Providence has raised up to Assist us. No doubt Considerable of our own has arisen by profusion, by mismanagement, by Waste, & by Numerous harpies preying upon us, but was there ever a War without, is it not incident to human Affairs, did ever human foresight effectually guard against or prevent them? Much will happen before seen, & often when seen difficult to apply the remedie; they have been greatly reduced in a year or two past, but still when we take a survey of the list, we are surprised, both in the Civil Military & Staff, the increase has principally Arose from two things especially in our Army, the First was owing to the gradual depreciation of our paper Currency, which tho not publickly declared, yet soon felt by our Army, as it would not then do to talk of Depreciation, & making that good, it inforced a constant & gradual rise of pay, Wages, increase of rations, Subsistance &c, & when once obtained then Claimed of right, if taken away or Diminished, Mutiny and dessertion to follow.

The second was want of solid money, & delay of payment & the Consequent sufferings of the Army for want of Cloathing, the Comforts, & sometimes even Necessaries of life, and Nothing to satisfye but New and large promises, which tho easily made, & the Necessity of the times drew on, yet not so easily performd; & tho securities were given to make good, yet grievous Complaints that for want of Credit in Continental or State securities, they were obliged to part with them at great loss & discount; on these Considerations And on Account of their long services mostly in the prime of their Years they Claimed the engagement of Congress for half pay for life; however Imprudent Congress might have been to enter into those engagements at that time, yet it was Insisted they could not now recede from them, when their Claims at the present for all the foregoing reasons have an Additional force & weight on the principles of Justice & Equity; Therefore looking upon it no doubt that the War was nearly at a Close & when they were soon to be disbanded, and scattered in distant parts throughout the Country, & knowing that the half pay for life was very disagreeable to several of the States they proposed and ap-

plied for a Commutation for full pay for a certain Number of years after the War in Lieu of half pay for life, the Matter was taken up by Congress and five years was agreed upon for the time, if the Commutation was to take place; those States who had allways opposed half pay for life proposed to have the affair refered to each State to take up the matter for their own line, that was Negatived. Then the Question was, whether they should Continue on half pay for life, which Congress could not Violate, or agree to 5 Years full pay in lieu thereof, to which 8 States & an half agreed out of 12 present, but as it requir-ed Nine, & I had given my Negative it rested only on my single Vote to Negative, or affirm.<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts one of the Principle of the New England States were in the affirmative. It truly threw me into a good deal of perplexity to put a Negative on so many States. The matter soon spread in the City, and Among the officers here, & immediately Communicated to the Army, whereby I found the whole Weight of all their resentments As well as others who were fond of the measure fell wholly on me and the great Majority of Congress pressing me on the Subject as what alone would quiet & pacifye the Army, And taking into Consideration the Alternative, as the half pay for life must remain unless this proposal took place, and considering the great aversion in several States to the half pay establishments; & which I had great reason to fear, would affect every proposed tax or fund for our publick Debt, and embarrass that, as well as other publick measure, & greatly tend to, if not finally Effect a disunion & dissolution of the body, after proposing some emendation which I thought necessary, & which would be more equal, & to fix the Commencement of the 5 Years for the deranged officers, to Commence from the time of their Derangement and imagining those States would on the whole esteem this much preferable to the half pay for life, I finally (to give satisfaction) moved for a reconsideration and brot the Question up again and gave my Vote in the affirmative which Closed the affair. As I am sensible it will be Considered as a matter of Importance, and as I was in a particular and singular situation & knowing myself to be the Object in publick pointed at, & whose conduct had been and imagine will still be much Canvassed in this affair, I thought it my duty to give your Excellency & my Constituents a more particular detail of the Subject than otherwise I should have done & Submit the whole to their Candor.

Congress have been for a long time considering and Debating on the most proper, sure & effectual mode of restoring their Credit on their Securities, allready given and still to be given as fast as the Debts can be Liquidated and settled; as we are sensible the principal cannot at present be paid, and but very gradually lessned, & which at present both foreign & Domestic taking in the Army are Computed at between thirty & fourty millions of dollars, tho I am persuaded when the advancements made by the several States are taken in, they must ex-

ceed 40 millions; the great object at present is to secure the interest on a Stable footing, which is the only thing can satisfye the Creditors when as their principall cannot be paid as it will enable those who are under a Necessity for their principal to part with and transfer their Securities for at least near the full Value: the Intrest is at present Computed at 2 millions & a half which must some how or another be Annually raised by the 13 States. They are convinced this cannot be done by the Usual mode of Taxation, the People cannot yeild to it, therefore we are necessitated again to Attempt an Impost appropriating of it absolutely to the interest, unless when it may exceed, the surplus then to be applied to the Principal & for a Limited Time, which is apprehended will remove the principal objections formerly made, but as the Impost is but small Viz not more than 3d upon a gallon of Rum, & about in that proportion (which for my own part I wished to have been much higher & which I apprehend would be the most easy & effectual way to provide for the Intrest) it will not amount to more than a Million dolls per Annum. Therefore Congress propose recommending to the several States to provide for the raising each one their proportion of a million and a half more per Annum in such way and mode as they think proper, and in order to proportion that sum, they are at length brought to believe that the mode proposed by Confederation which is by an Estimation of the true Value of the real property Viz Lands & buildings in each State to be Impracticable & if attempted would be Attended with such Numerous frauds & partiality as would Create the greatest dissatisfaction, and frustrate every attempt that could be made in that way. And therefore have agreed to recommend to the several States to adopt the rule of the Number of Inhabitants in each State on which to Ground & Estimate their several proportions. This no doubt will be more readily come at and truly ascertained than the other tho it should not be adjudged so equal & just. It is the rule which all the New England States preferred at the time the Articles of Confederation were Under Consideration, & believe will now be esteemd preferable to the Other. These matters are not yet fully concluded & finished, As the Welcome News of Peace has called off our Attention for a few days to lessen & retrench our present enormous expenditures for the Army, Navy, Prisoners of War &c &c. When we shall Imediately return to Close the Affair & send it out for the Consideration of the Several States.

I am very sorry my intelligence of the resolution of Congress with respect to the States settling the Accounts with their several and respective lines of the Army & giving security to them did not arrive before the same was Compleated with our Line, & before our Assembly had risen, I sent it as soon as possible except I had sent an express on purpose but I see no otherway for Justice to be done which can be obtained, but for the State to have that account & the amount of it sent forward to Congress, & to get it, recieved, secured & funded on Intrest



to the State in the same manner as it must have been done to the Connecticut line, the same as with the rest of the Army if Connecticut had not done it for them. If so the Intrest will be stopd in the State yearly with which they can pay the Interest on the securities they have given, the difficulty is we cannot prevail on the other States to pay of & secure their lines in the manner & up to the time we have done ours—tho New Hampshire have proceeded as far as Connecticut, Massachusetts are taken in for about six months, and believe Pensylvania the same. We had prepared a proclamation for a Fast When the News arrived of Peace which brot us to doubt of the propriety of sending of it out to the several States, as the course of Providence rather pointed out to us a day of Thanksgiving & praise to Amighty God on this great and Important Event, & which I conclude will soon be agreed upon & Transmitted. The Proclamation for Peace with the official account thereof have been sent you by express by our Secretary of Foreign affairs which trust you will recieve before this comes to hand.

Your Excellcy. will be Sensible that the late great Change of our Affairs now calls off the attention of Congress from War to reduce back to regularity & order on a Peace Establishment. This I perceive is no small task. You have allready been informed of the Temper or disposition of our Army by what I last wrote & sent you. The War is happily at an end, the Army will have a months pay sent them, but it has been Impossible to settle up their Accounts to this time or give them Security yet they say they expect Congress will not disband them till all is done which cannot be in some months, are they to be kept up on pay and rations till that time or plunder for their support? I hope not; We have sent Genll Lincoln our Secretary at War a Prudent and discreet Gentleman who we hope with the Wisdome And Prudence of our Commander in Cheif will reduce matters to order there, and soon relieve us from the heavy expence. May God who has Caused the Warrs to Cease from abroad, restore & Confirm internal Peace, order, & harmony, & dispose us all to a Gratefull Acknowledgement of His Abundant goodness to a sinfull & undeserving People, & to that repentance, obedience, and Righteousness which will Exalt & Establish a Nation. Am with Sincere Esteem & respect Your Excellcy. Hle Servt. Elipht Dyer

RC (CtHi: Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Dyer to Trumbull, March 18, 1783, note 3.

## Thomas FitzSimons to John Dickinson

Sir

Apl 12. 1783

The Proclamation for a Suspension of Hostilits being now published,<sup>1</sup> The Commercial people of this City are Anxious to Know



whether Vessels or goods Comeing into this state from Great Britain, or any of her ports or Colonys can be admitted to entry at the Custom house.

I have been Requested, to ask the Opinion of your Excellency & the Hble Councill upon this point and as it may be of Considerable Consequence to the Commerce of the state I hope Your Excellency will be pleased to take it into Consideration & favor me with your Answer or Publish it, if that shall be thought most Expedient.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be, yr Excellys. Most Obedt hble servt,  
Thos. FitzSimons

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 10 and 11, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> In response to receiving the proclamation "for a Suspension of Hostilities" adopted by Congress on April 11, the Pennsylvania Council adopted a proclamation of its own directing Pennsylvanians "to forbear" all further acts of hostility against the enemy. But it responded to FitzSimons' query concerning the entry of British goods at the custom house with a question of their own, after the point was also raised by the state's Naval Officer, Frederick Phile. "By a Law of this State, the introduction of British goods is forbid during the War," Dickinson explained in an April 18 letter to the Pennsylvania delegates. "We therefore earnestly wish to know the sense of Congress on this point—'Whether The United States are now at Peace with Great Britain.' The Decision of this Question belongs to the National Council, and will when made clearly produce Uniformity of proceedings throughout the States: But, without it, there may be contradictory sentiments & Measures among them." See *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:38; and PCC, item 69, 2:445–46.

The matter was referred April 18 to a committee consisting of Oliver Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, and James Wilson, who delivered a report on April 22 "That in their opinion it is inexpedient for Congress to come to any formal decision on the subject of that letter," which was simply "Read" and ordered "to be filed." See *JCC*, 24:267; and PCC, item 20, 2:151–52.

## Ralph Izard to Thomas Bee

Dr. Sr.

Philada. 12th April 1783.

We heard several Weeks ago that Mr. Guerard was chosen Governor, Mr. Beresford Lieutt. Govr. & that Messrs. Laurens, Rutledge, Read, & Sumpter were joined with me in the Delegation to Congress. No official accounts have however, been transmitted to us by the Executive of the State, nor have we received a Line from them since the new Election. Yesterday some Letters were received from Charles Town by Captn. McClenachan of so late a date as the 19th March.<sup>1</sup>

I was not favoured by him with a single Letter from any of my friends. By Beresford's being appointed to come to Congress, some alterations must have taken place. I wish you had given me an account of them. Miss Newman writes Mrs. Gillon that her Husband is in the highest estimation—that he is in the Assembly, & Privy Council, & that

if he had pleased he might have been elected a Delegate to Congress. The Assembly I understand have approved of all his contracts, & engagements. I wish they would not only approve, but likewise take some measures to pay the debt to Streckeizen, that I might be totally rid of that business. I send your Newspapers, & with Compliments to Mrs. Bee am Dr. Sr. with great regard, Your most obt. Servt,

Ra. Izard

[P.S.] You will find by the Newspapers that the Preliminaries of Peace have been ratified between France, & Great Britain.

Pray let Mr. Owen know that I have not received a Line from him since the 20th of December.

April 17th. This was intended to go by Mr. Parker's Flag, but I was too late. I have since received a Letter from Mr. Owen, so that you need not say anything to him. The Executive have not taken very good care of their Delegates here: this I mention to you, not so much on my own account, as that of others. Mr. Gervais in particular has been much distressed, & will find it difficult to set out on his journey.<sup>2</sup>

RC (MdHi: (Gilmor Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Read, Thomas Sumter, and Izard had been elected delegates to Congress on February 12, and Henry Laurens and John Rutledge were elected the following day. Sumter declined his appointment on March 15, however, and Richard Beresford was elected in his place the same day. *Journals of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina* (January 6–September 9, 1783), pp. 148, 152, 331, 343. DLC(ESR).

<sup>2</sup> John Lewis Gervais apparently remained in Philadelphia until Beresford took his seat in Congress on May 30. The last roll call vote on which he is recorded was taken on May 23. See *JCC*, 24:359–61, 369.

A letter from Gervais to Bataille Muse written June 17 from Fredericksburg, Va., en-route home is in the Muse Papers, NcD.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Saturday Apl. 12. [1783]

A letter of the 16th of Decr. O. S. was rc'd. from Mr. Dana, in which he intimates that in consequence of news of peace taking place & independance being acknowledged by G. B. he expected soon to take his proper station at the Ct. of St. Petersburg, & to be engaged in forming a Commercial Treaty with her Imperial Majesty.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. [Madison] observed that as no powers or instructions had been given to Mr. D. relative to a Treaty of Commerce, he apprehended there must be some mistake on the part of Mr. D., that it wd. be proper to enquire into the matter & let him know the intentions of Congs. on this subject. The letter was committed to Mr. Madison Mr. Gorham & Mr Fitzimmons.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Rutledge observed that as the instructions to Foreign Ministers now stood it was conceived they had no powers for commercial stipulations other than such as might be comprehended in a definitive Treaty of Peace with G. B. He said he did not pretend to commercial knowledge but thought it wd. be well for the U. S. to enter into commercial Treaties with all nations & particularly with G. B. He moved therefore that the Come. sd. be instructed to prepare a general report for that purpose.

Mr. [Madison] & Mr. Fitzsimmons thought it wd. be proper to be very circumspect in fettering our trade with stipulations to foreigners, that as our stipulations wd. extend to all the possessions of the U.S. necessarily—and those of foreign Nations havg. colonies to part of their possessions only; and as the most favd. nations enjoyd greater privileges in U. S. than elsewhere, the U. S. gave an advantage in Treaties on this subject, & finally that negociations ought to be carried on here, or our Ministers directed to conclude nothing without previously reporting every thing for the sanction of Congs. It was at length agreed that the Come. sd. report the general State of instructions existing on the subject of commercial Treaties.

Congress took into consideration the report of Secy. for F. A. for immediately setting at liberty all prisoners of war,<sup>3</sup> & ratifying the provisional articles. Several members were extremely urgent on this point from motives of Economy, others doubted whether Congs. were bound thereto, & if not bound whether it would be proper. The first question depended on the import of the provisional articles, which were very differently interpreted by different members. After much discussion from which a general opinion arose of extreme inaccuracy & ambiguity as to the force of those articles, the business was committed to Mr. Madison, Mr. Peters & Mr. Hamilton who were also to report on the expediency of ratifying the said articles immediately.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:452–53.

<sup>1</sup> Francis Dana's letter of "Decr. 16th 1782 O[ld] S[tyle]," which is indexed and printed under the date December 27, is in PCC, item 89, fols. 673–78; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:170–71.

<sup>2</sup> Secretary Thomson noted in his "committee book" that the charge of this committee was "To revise the instructions heretofore given respecting the forming commercial treaties & to report," and that it reported and was discharged on May 6, the day a new committee—consisting of Thomas FitzSimons, William Hemsley, Stephen Higginson, John Rutledge, and Madison—was appointed to report on a "Plan of a treaty with GB & instructions to the Ministers for negotiating it." The latter was also directed "to consider & report what other treaties of commerce it may be proper for the US to propose and enter into." See PCC, item 186, fols. 94, 99.

The issue of Dana's authority to negotiate a commercial treaty was clarified by Secretary Robert R. Livingston in a May 1, 1783, letter to Dana with reference to his December 1780 instructions: "With respect to a commercial treaty, none can be signed by you. Your powers only extend to 'communicate with her Imperial Majesty's ministers on the

subject of a treaty,' &c, but not to sign it." See *JCC*, 18:1172, and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:403.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary Livingston had made this recommendation to Congress in a letter of April 11, and had immediately notified Sir Guy Carleton that Congress had taken the recommendation under consideration. See *PCC*, item 52, fols. 229–32, item 79, 3:149–50, 169–71; and *ibid.*, pp. 364–65.

<sup>4</sup> For this committee's report, see Madison's Notes, April 14, 1783.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir, Philadelphia April 12th. 1783.

The Express dispatched by the Secretary of foreign affairs with the Proclamation of Congress declaring a Cessation of Hostilities, gives us an opportunity of Congratulating your Excellency & the Honorable Council on the ratification of the Preliminary Treaties, of which Congress was Officially informed the 10th. The enclosure was handed to us yesterday by the Secretary of foreign affairs.<sup>1</sup> It is reported from New York that the Earl of Surrey<sup>2</sup> is already appointed Ambassador from the Court of London to *that* of the United States.

With respectful Consideration, We have the honor to be, Your Excellys Mo. Hble servt,

Tho. S. Lee

Daniel Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Lee and signed by Carroll and Lee.

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed letter of this date from Robert R. Livingston to Governor Paca is in the Red Books, 9:97–98, MdAA; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:368–72.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Charles Howard (1746–1815), who became 11th duke of Norfolk upon the death of his father in 1786. He had been elected MP for Cumberland in 1780, joined Charles James Fox in opposing the prosecution of the American war, and was appointed a lord of the treasury in the Duke of Portland's coalition government formed April 5, 1783. *DNB*.

The unfounded rumor of Surrey's appointment to a post in the United States was regarded in some quarters as a ploy by England to woo Americans into resuming their pre-war trade connections with Britain and a threat to establishment of Franco-American and Spanish-American trade relations. According to Francisco Rendón, the Spanish agent in Philadelphia, in a dispatch of this date to Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga, the recently appointed governor of Cuba: "It is said that England, in necessary consequence of her present policy, has named Lord Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, to come to this continent as Minister Plenipotentiary. If the Court of France should at the same time send the Marquis de la Fayette here in the same capacity, as it is believed it will do, the mischievous ideas of the English will give us nothing to fear for a long time." *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba*, legajo 1354, Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Aileen Moore Topping translation, DLC).

Two days later Rendón also explained to Unzaga that in order to cultivate American friendship he would continue to grant permission to Americans to ship flour to Havana until he received orders to the contrary, and he concluded his dispatch with the following interesting explanation of another aspect of his campaign to maintain influence with congressional leaders. "Ever since I have had the honour of living in this city I have from time to time given to the leaders of Congress and the army gifts of sweets and to-

bacco, which your predecessors sent to me for that purpose. Because I have not done so for some months, I should like for you to order the shipment of 200 or 300 pesos worth of those articles. Although it is a small thing, many times it produces important effects." Rendón to Unzaga, April 14, 1783, *ibid.*

## Jonathan Arnold to Daniel Cahoon

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 14th, 1783.

... Congress had transacted little or no business, since I wrote you, until the News of Peace reached them, and little could be done since their time had chiefly been spent in Oeconomizing the several departments, and in devising ways and means for the support of Public Credit, with the expectation that it must have been tried another campaign. Their time however I hope will not be found to have been spent in vain.

We have nearly ascertained our public debt both foreign and domestic. . . .

No further movements have taken place respecting Vermont. Our Assembly *ie.* R I'ds have instructed their delegates to support their Claim to independence.<sup>1</sup> . . .

MS not found; reprinted from an extract copied "from the original, then in the possession of Mr. W. R. Benjamin, New York," Burnett, *Letters*, 7:138. Addressed: "Daniel Cahoon, Esquire, Winchester."

<sup>1</sup> The Rhode Island assembly's February 1783 instructions to the state's delegates directing them to support Vermont independence are in Bartlett, *Records of R. I.*, 9:663.

## Committee of Congress to Robert Morris

[April 14, 1783.]<sup>1</sup>

Yr. letter of the 11 inst. which was laid before Congress [is] in the hands of the committee of which I have the Honor to be one to whom it was referred.<sup>2</sup> This being the first official Notification Congress has received of the ship *Duc de Lauzun* being the property of the United States Congress are desirous before they pass on the alternative you propose [for the disposal of]<sup>3</sup> the said vessel to be [informed] fully of the [authority and] principle on which the ship *Duc de Lauzun* became vested in the United States and particularly whether she comes under the description of a vessel of war, as the committee can see that Congress are not authorized by the Confederation without a constitutional vote for that purpose by nine States in Congress assembled to purchase vessels of war, but by the 6th paragraph of the 9th article of the Confederation are explicitly prohibited from so doing.<sup>4</sup> . . .



I have the honor to be by order of the committee respectfully yr.  
most obdlt. hbl. servt. Theodorick Bland Chairman.

MS not found; reprinted from an extract copied "From the collection of the late Adrian H. Joline of New York," Burnett, *Letters*, 7:142.

<sup>1</sup> In his April 16 reply Morris acknowledged this letter as "your order of the fourteenth." See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:708.

<sup>2</sup> Morris' April 11 letter proposing the sale of the ship *Duc de Lauzun* was read this day and referred to a committee consisting of Bland, Thomas FitzSimons, and Stephen Higginson. See *ibid.*, p. 697; *JCC*, 24:241; and *PCC*, item 186, fol. 93.

<sup>3</sup> At this point Edmund C. Burnett noted that "Lacunae in the copy obtained have been supplied conjecturally." Burnett, *Letters*, 7:142.

<sup>4</sup> In his April 16 reply listing his reasons for acquiring the *Duc de Lauzun*, Morris included a copy of Congress' resolution of July 3, 1781, which authorized him "to pursue such measures as he may think proper for exporting and importing goods, money and other articles, at the risque and for the account of the United States." The committee reported April 18 that the resolution "fully warranted the purchase and employment of the . . . ship." On the 21st, however, Morris forwarded the chevalier de La Luzerne's request that the *Lauzun* be temporarily detailed as a French troop transport, a step Congress quickly endorsed directing the superintendent to "take order for the sale of the ship *Duc de Lauzun*, after the service for which she is lent to the Minister of France is performed." It was eventually sold in France by American consul Thomas Barclay. See *JCC*, 20:721, 24:262-63; *PCC*, item 26, fols. 441-44; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:708-9, 726-27, 733, 788.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Joseph Perry

Revd. & dear Sir.

Philadelphia April 14th. 1783.

I delivered to Mrs. Mears, on my arrival here,<sup>1</sup> the letters I brot for her; & had the pleasure to find her & Mr. Mears & Mr. Gibbs & his family with the welcome addition of a fine daughter about two weeks old, in perfect health, which blessing they yet enjoy. Messrs. Gibbs & Mears have just had a safe arrival of Goods from France, & appear to be prosperous in their business, & will, I hope, share largely the benefits of an unrestrained & extensive commerce now open in America as the first fruits of her independance under the auspicious event of peace. An event, Sir, great & joyful indeed! on which you will permit my sincerest congratulation. America, by the blessing of Heaven, which it becomes her most devoutly & gratefully to acknowledge, has succeeded not less wonderfully in her negociations than her arms; in short she has imposed her own terms, & holden herself between Great Britain & France, as a Lady between two lovers, receiving from both favours which she could not have expected from either but from their mutnal jealousy of being rivalled in her affections. In this scituation may she ever hold her self; & be indeed a tree bearing fruit to all nations & combining the interest & wishes of all for her peace & prosperity. On this occasion, Sir, feeble as I fear your health is, yet if you

have breath I know you will rejoice & feel a divine pleasure in recounting the interpositions of providence by which this great & wonderful revolution has been affected. Your health, Sir, I hope will be benefited by the opening of the spring & in due time perfectly restored. You will not wonder, Sir, at the anxiety of your friends for your recovery, since for them your stay is so necessary tho' for you indeed it might be great gain to depart.

With my best compliments to Mrs. Perry, & wishing you every divine support, I am Revd. & dear Sir with much esteem, your obedt. huml  
Servt  
Oliv. Ellsworth

[P.S.] I will thank you, Sir, to present my best respects to Capt. Grant & Son, if you have opportunity.

RC (CtHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "The Revd. Mr. Joseph Perry, East Windsor, Connecticut."

<sup>1</sup> Ellsworth had just resumed his seat in Congress on April 1. *JCC*, 24:222.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday April 14. [1783]

The Committee on the report of Secretary of foreign affrs. reported as follows, Mr. Hamilton dissenting: <sup>1</sup>

1. That it does not appear that Congress are any wise bound to go into the ratification proposed. "The Treaty" of which a ratification is to take place, as mentioned in the 6th of the provisional articles, is described in the title of those articles to be "a Treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the Crown of G. B and the said U. S. but which is not to be concluded until terms of peace shall be agreed upon between G. B. & France;" <sup>2</sup> The act to be ratified therefore is not the provl. articles themselves; but an act *distinct, future, and event contingent*. Again altho' the Declaratory act entered into on the 20th Jany. last, between the American & British Plenipotentiaries relative to a cessation of hostilities, seems to consider the contingency on which the provl. articles were suspended as having taken place, yet that act cannot itself be considered as the "*Treaty of peace meant to be concluded*"; nor does it stipulate that either the provl. articles or the act itself should be ratified in America; it only engages that the U. S. shall cause hostilities to cease on their part, an engagement which was duly fulfilled by the Proclamation issued on the 11th instant—lastly it does not appear from the correspondence of the American Ministers, or from any other information either that such ratification was expected from the U. S. or intended on the part of G. B., still less that any exchange of mutual ratifications has been in contemplation.

2. If Congress are not bound to ratify the articles in question, the Come. are of opinion that it is inexpedient for them to go immediately into such an act; inasmuch as it might be thought to argue that Congress meant to give to those articles the quality & effect of a definitive Treaty of peace with G. B. tho' neither their allies nor friends have as yet proceeded farther than to sign preliminary articles; and inasmuch as it may oblige Congs. to fulfil immediately all the stipulations contained in the provl. articles tho' they have no evidence that a correspondent obligation will be assumed by the other party.

3. If the ratification in question be neither obligatory nor expedient, the Come. are of opinion, that an immediate discharge of all prisoners of war on the part of the U.S. is premature and unadvisable; especially as such a step may possibly lessen the force of demands for a reimbursement of the sums expended in the subsistence of the prisoners.

Upon these considerations the Come. recommend that a decision of Congs. on the papers referred to them be postponed.

On this subject a variety of sentiments prevailed:

Mr. Dyer, on a principle of frugality was strenuous for a liberation of the Prisoners.

Mr. Williamson thought Congs. not obliged to discharge the prisoners previous to a definitive treaty, but was willing to go into the measure as soon as the public honor would permit. He wished us to move *pari passu* with the British Commander. He suspected that that place<sup>3</sup> would be held till the interests of the Tories should be provided for.

Mr. Hamilton contended that Congress were bound by the tenor of the Provl. Treaty immediately to Ratify it and to execute the several stipulations inserted in it; particularly that relating to discharge of Prisoners.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Bland thought Congs. not bound.

Mr. Elsworth was strenuous for the obligation and policy of going into an immediate execution of the Treaty. He supposed that a ready & generous execution on our part wd. accelerate the like on the other part.

Mr. Wilson was not surprized that the obscurity of Treaty sd. produce a variety of ideas, thought upon the whole that the Treaty was to be regarded as "contingently definitive."

The Report of the Come. being not consonant to the prevailing sense of Congs. it was laid aside.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:456-57.

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment of this committee on the ratification of the provisional treaty of peace, see Madison's Notes, April 12; and PCC, item 186, fol. 94. No other manuscript text of this report has been found.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:245.

<sup>3</sup> That is, New York City.

<sup>4</sup> For a shift in Hamilton's view of this subject, see Madison's Notes, April 16.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Washington

Sir,

Philadelphia, April 15. 1783

There are two resolutions passed relative to the restoration of the British Prisoners and to making arrangements for the surrender of the posts in the possession of the British troops, the first of which is to be transacted by you in conjunction with the secretary of War—the latter by yourself alone.<sup>1</sup> I will explain to you some doubts which have arisen in Congress with regard to the true construction of the provisional treaty—which may be of use to you in transacting the business abovementioned.

The sixth article declares that there shall be no future confiscations &c after the *ratification of the treaty in America*; and the seventh article makes the surrender of prisoners, evacuation of posts, cessation of hostilities &c. to depend on that event to wit—the *ratification of the treaty in America*. Now the doubt is whether *the treaty* means the provisional treaty *already concluded* or the *definitive treaty to be concluded*. The last construction is most agreeable to the letter of the provisional articles—the former most agreeable to the usual practice of nations; for hostilities commonly cease on the ratification of the preliminary treaty. There is a great diversity of Opinion in Congress. It will be in my opinion adviseable, at the same time that we do not communicate our doubts to the British, to extract their sense of the matter from them.

This may be done by asking them at what periods they are willing to stipulate the surrender of posts, at the same time that they are asked in what manner it will be most convenient to them to receive the prisoners.

If they postpone the evacuation of the different posts to the definitive treaty we shall then be justified in doing the same with respect to prisoners. The question will then arise whether on principles of humanity œconomy and liberality we ought not to restore the prisoners at all events without delay. Much may be said on both sides. I doubt the expedience of a total restoration of prisoners 'till they are willing to fix the epochs at which they take leave of us. It will add considerably to their strength, and accidents though improbable may happen. I confess however I am not clear in my opinion.

I have the honor to be yr. Excellency's Most Obed serv

A Hamilton

[P.S.] The provisional or preliminary treaty is ratified by us—for the greater caution.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Congress this day directed General Washington to prepare "for receiving possession of the posts in the United States occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty," and to "take proper arrangements for setting at liberty all land prisoners." See *JCC*, 24:242–43, 251–52.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:243–51; and James Madison's Notes of Debate, this date.

## Joseph Jones to James Hunter

Dr. Sr.

Philada. 15th Apr. 1783.

I am obliged to get from Mr. Minor for want of a remittance from the Treasurer the Sum of six hundred and fifty dollars for which I have given him an order on the Treasurer payable to Col. Monroe on order to be transmitted by the Post to you to be applied for by Col. Monroe or yourself as you shall see best. Should the Treasurer have made me a remittance to that amount before the bill reaches you I request you will suppress the bill as I shall repay the money here to Mr. Minor before his departure; if no such remittance is made or part only is remitted you will please to make use of the Bill for the whole or such part as may not be remitted. I have written to the Treasurer and Col. Monroe upon this business.<sup>1</sup> I have heard nothing further of Poquet. It is probable he will soon be here as the Prisoners are or about to be released at N. York in consequence of the signing and ratification of the preliminary articles of peace official acct. of which they lately received. I am in hopes something may be done in this business before Mr. Minor sets out. I have yours inclosing Genl. Greenes Letter to Mr. Luzerne the delivery of which I conceive will be unnecessary as the war being at an end contracts will cease. I shall however inquire ab. it and if I think it proper shall make use of the letter. Mr. Marbois I think has the Agency of the Marine.<sup>2</sup> About the first of next month I shall set out for Virginia and shall abt. the middle of the month (God willing) be in Richmond. I have and shall mention your views with respect to Holland before my departure to some of my friends in Congress.

Yr. friend &amp; Servt,

Jos. Jones.

RC (ViU: Hunter-Garnett Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The following note of this date to Virginia treasurer Jacquelin Ambler is also in the Hunter-Garnett Papers: "Please to pay to Col. Monroe on his order the sum of six hundred and fifty dollars for value received here and place the same to the acct. of yr. hum. Servt., Jos. Jones."

<sup>2</sup> That is, when the marquis de Barbé-Marbois replaced Jean Holker as French consul general at Philadelphia in 1781, he also assumed Holker's duties as agent for the French marine, a fact Jones had already noted in his April 11 letter to Hunter.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Teusday April 15. [1783]

The ratification of the Treaty & discharge of prisoners again agitated.<sup>1</sup> For the result see Journal of the day;<sup>2</sup> the urgency of the majority producing an acquiescance of most of the opponents to the measure.



MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:462.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison's Notes, April 12 and 14, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> *JCC*, 24:241–51.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Apl. 15. 1783.

My letter by a private hand who left this place a few days ago together with late public letters will have fully apprized you of the decisive events which have taken place in favor of peace.<sup>1</sup> The paper inclosed will amuse you with the bickerings in the British Parliament on that subject.

Genl. Carlton is very importunate for an immediate execution of the provisional articles on the part of Congress in the two points of liberating the prisoners, and recommending restitution to the Loyalists. On his part he has set the example in the first point, but says nothing of executing the other important conditions which are in our favor. This proposition has led Congs. into a critical discussion of the import of the provl. articles, in which the opinions are almost as numerous as the articles themselves.<sup>2</sup> Some think that the instrument was converted by the signature of preliminary articles between F. & G. B. into the Treaty of peace, of which a ratification in America is alluded to in the 6 art: others think that it was conditioned no otherwise on terms of peace between those powers, than that such an agreement rendered it a lawful & necessary foundation for a *Treaty* of peace between the U.S. & G. B. Some again suppose that the provl. arts need no ratification from Congs. but that they ought to wait for the Treaty to be grounded on them. Others suppose that a ratification is essential, or at least proper. The latter description again are divided, some proposing to ratify them as articles still contingent, others to ratify them as having taken effect in consequence of the preliminary articles between G. B. & F. This variety & contrariety of interpretations arise in great measure from the obscurity & even contrariety of the articles themselves.

Mr. Jefferson left us on Saturday last & will probably be with you by the time this gets to hand.<sup>3</sup>

I am Dr Sir &c &c.

J. M.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:465.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Madison's April 8 letter to Randolph and the Virginia delegates' April 1 and 10 letters to Benjamin Harrison. This day the delegates also sent the following brief note to the governor: "Nothing new has happend Since our last by Mr. St. Greaves [*John Sitgreaves*]"—the last Post Brought us no letter from yr. Excellcy we have the honor to enclose to days Paper." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 9:429.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison's Notes, April 14 and this day.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, April 8, note 5.

## Richard Peters to Baron Steuben

Dear Sir,

15th Apl 1783

I wish you to be so good as to send me by the very first Opportunity your Opinion as to the Conduct of Nations so far as you are acquainted with it in respect to Prisoners of War at a Peace. Can they be forced to go from the Country in which they were Captives if they choose to remain & of Course is it a Breach of the Treaty (where there is no express Stipulation) by Implication if Government taking no active Measures to keep them do not interfere for their Delivery to the late Enemy. All Passports, Means of Transportation &c should be furnished but our Treaty says Nothing more than that they *should be set at Liberty* & I do not see what Congress can do if the States admit any of them to be Citizens. I wish you to be so obliging as to furnish me with your Opinion as I believe you & I think alike & I want to corroborate my Sentiments by the Authority of yours.<sup>1</sup>

I am in Haste, yrs afftely,

R Peters

RC (NH); Steuben Papers).

<sup>1</sup> In his April 22 reply to Peters, Steuben explained that "on the conclusion of peace, all persons are liberated; & without a particular agreement to the contrary, the Government in whose hands they were, concern themselves no farther about the matter." Peters Papers, PHI.

## Theodorick Bland to George Washington

Sr

Philadelphia April 16th 1783

I have been honord with your Excellencys two favors of the 31st Ultimo and the 4th Inst <sup>1</sup>—the latter accompanied with your full and explicit answer on the Subject on which I addressed your Excellency in my last at the request of the Committe.<sup>2</sup> It has been according to your desire communicated to Col. Hamilton and the other Members who compose the Committe *confidentially* and is now under consideration. We have conferred with the Superintendant of Finance,<sup>3</sup> and be assured our utmost endeavors shall not be wanting to bring to a Speedy (and I hope happy conclusion) the objects Your Excellency has pointed to with so much clearness, candor & Energy.

Confident I am that there is every disposition in Congress to Appreciate the Services and sufferings of the Army. Unquestionably the most meritorious Class of Citizens in this long & at length, Successful Contest. I am not less persuaded in my own mind, that what depends on the States respectively to put the finishing hand to a complete compensation of their long and meritorious Services and Sufferings will be cheerfully complied with; But these Sr. are the Expectations or

opinions, of an Individual strongly impressed and ardently (perhaps too sanguinely) hoping for that desirable event, in which Expectation if I am disappointed—I shall, with you Sr., have to lament, the most fatal Infatuation, and the grossest ingratitude that ever Seized the heads or corrupted the hearts of a Nation and its Councils towards a Body of men to whom they owe their Political existence and all those blessings which every good Man wishes to see flow from our Union and Independa[nce].

We hope to have the Answer to morrow from the Superintendant of Finance, on the Practicability of the Measure <sup>4</sup>—which shd. it be even in the negative (which I do not expect) I think I can assure your Excellency—Such is the Interest the Committe takes in the Welfare of the Army, that they will not stop in their Endeavors, to devise such measures as may in the end, prove as beneficial and Satisfactory as those which Yr. excellency has thought of if in their Powers.<sup>5</sup>

Yr. Excellency's observations on the necessity of Establishing a National Character Stampd with the indelible traits of Justice, Gratitude and Faith, and carry with them the irresistible force of conviction and meet with my most cordial concurrence nor have I a doubt, that, when the Tumult of War has subsided, but this Enlightend Country altho at present young in Politics—will soon discover the Importance and truth of your observation, and adopt it as the surest Basis on which, must be founded the future greatness and Prosperity of these rising and important States. It is with Infinite pleasure that I think I have observed, such Ideas, succeeding rapidly, to those of Chicane, which so strongly marked, the Councils as well as Manners of the People at large in the days of Paper and Depreciation—from these considerations, I am led to form the most pleasing Augury of our future greatness and respectability among Nations, which has in a great measure dispell'd those fears and Bodings of the evils, which a Joining of Interests among so many Sovereignties, United in one federal chain seemed to threaten. I am happy to think, that *local Interests and prejudices will give way to a great and general good when clearly seen and well understood—and prudently and constitutionally persued*. These Sr. are in my Apprehension the grand objects of our general Council; a steady persuit of which without turning to the right or to the left, from local considerations, party animosity, partial views, or Corrupt Influence, will certainly guide the Vessel of the State to a Safe Anchorage, and reward the Pilots with the Estimation and approval of their fellow Citizens and the Admiration and respect of foreign Powers.

I am happy to Inform Yr. Excellency that a requisition to the States, on such principles as the federal constitution will Authorize if adopted, and on such liberal principles as I hope will facilitate if not insure the adoption, is now so far advanced as to be on the point of its passage through Congress, which will afford the means of Providing

ample and permanent funds for the payment of the Interest not only of our army but of foreign and domestic creditors of every description, as well as for sinking the Principal. I cannot, here, omit suggesting to Yr. Excellcy. that your personal Interest with some of the leading Members of our Legislature, and perhaps with some of the other States, might give a happy turn to those requisitions, when they are laid before the assemblies, especially if grounded on the feelings and true Situation of the Army with which you Sr. are universally acknowledged to be better acquainted, and more conversant than any other person can possibly be. Embarked in the Same cause, and I flatter myself on the same principle as Yr. Excellency—I hope I need not apologize for the length of my letter, as its contents will fully demonstrate the Interests I have in the Successful Issue of our common Endeavors that peace shall not arrive without its Blessings—content and happiness to those by whose exertions it has been principally procured—nor need I give an additional proof, I hope, of that entire confidence and esteem with which I am,

Yr. Excellencys most obedt. and very Humb. Sert.

Theok. Bland

P.S. I have not yet received any answer from Sr. Guy Carleton to my letter which you were so obliging to Send in <sup>6</sup>—shd. I receive it I shall certainly communicate its contents to Yr. Excellcy. or shd. any letter come from him through yr. Hands directed to me Yr. Excellcy. will be pleased to open & peruse it for yr. Satisfaction on the subject you mention.

T.B.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:274–75, 285–91.

<sup>2</sup> See Committee of Congress to Washington, March 25, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See the following entry, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Bland undoubtedly prepared this letter before the committee received Morris' letter of April 14 to which they responded later this day. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Following the passage of a funding plan on April 18, this committee was reappointed on April 21 to respond to a letter from Washington of April 18, James Madison replacing Oliver Wolcott who had just departed Philadelphia. Although the new committee's report was entered in the journals under April 23, Charles Thomson's docket on that report and his entry in the committee book indicates that it was delivered and read April 22. See *JCC*, 24:269–71; and *PCC*, item 19, 4:391–94, item 186, fol. 95.

<sup>6</sup> See Bland's second letter to Washington, March 22, 1783.

## Committee of Congress to Robert Morris

Sir, In Committee of Congress April 16th. 1783.

The Committee have been Honord with yours of the 14th Inst.<sup>1</sup> and as they are under some embarrassment to report on the Subject of the

first months pay from a want of knowledge of the resources which now actually exist under your controul, which have not been already anticipated either by Engagements for subsisting the army or for other purposes, and what will be the amount of the Continental Stores which may with propriety be disposed of they wd. be glad to be inform'd in as full and explicit a manner as your information on those points will admit. The Committee think it necessary to acquaint you 1st further that in a Conference they have held with the Secy. at War who is just return'd from Camp that it is the wish of the officers in General to receive orders for the two Months Pay on the Receivers of their respective States for the payment of which they are willing to run the Chance as they express themselves.

I have the Honor to be with perfect Respect, by order of the Committee, Sir, your most obedient Servant

(Sign'd) Theok. Bland<sup>2</sup>

Tr (DNA: PCC, item 137).

<sup>1</sup> Before receiving Morris' letter, the committee had met with the superintendent on the 9th "relative to certain propositions contained in Genl. Washington's letter to Colo Bland," for which see Committee of Congress to Washington, March 25, 1783, note 5. Although Morris took the matter under advisement, he reported on the 14th that it was "utterly impracticable" to raise the estimated \$750,000 needed for three months pay, given the poor performance of the states in meeting their obligations, and that the only real alternative was "to risk a large Paper Anticipation." While Morris considered "issuing my Notes to the required amount," he did not think he should be expected to put himself in "so desperate a Situation." See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:682-83, 701-2.

<sup>2</sup> Bland also had "a Long Conference" with Morris this day, after which the superintendent prepared a letter informing the committee that he did not expect to command resources "more than sufficient to comply with the engagements already taken as they fall due." See *ibid.*, pp. 707, 711-12. See also the preceding entry.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Abigail Ellsworth

Dear Nabby,

Philadelphia, Apr. 16, 1783

I wrote you two days ago<sup>1</sup> & have little now to add. I am yet without information from home, which you will easily believe I am extreemly anxious & impatient to receive.

The enclosed newspaper shows that they are much less satisfied with the Peace in Great Britain than we are & they have much less reason to be—after you have read it I wish you to send it with my compliments to Mr. Hinsdale to whom I know it will be highly amusing. All our prisoners in the hands of the British are set at liberty—and an order yesterday passed in Congress to release all the British prisoners in our hands. I expect the British will in a few weeks leave New York & that our Army will then be disbanded. The Proclamation of peace is to be



published here in form this day—at noon—and I suppose will be followed in the afternoon & evening with publick demonstrations of Joy.

I am, with proper remembrance to all, your Very affectionate,  
O. E.

Tr (CtHi: Ellsworth Papers).

<sup>1</sup> In his April 14 letter to Abigail, Oliver had written:

"Should I hear, as I hope I shall that you & the little ones are all well it will add greatly to the joy I feel in common with others on the arrival of Peace, which is come at last on terms equal to our most sanguine hopes, & demands our most grateful acknowledgements to the supreme being. It is a great addition[al] pleasure which I feel from the return of peace that I shall now be more at liberty to pursue my own inclinations & discharge the pleasing duties I owe to my little family. Until the Storm was over I could not quit the Ship or desert any post to which I was called for the publick safety, but I have now no ambition left equal to that of spending my time in a little domestick circle. A few more books, I reflect, will be very convenient & these with some other little articles of furniture I shall endeavour to get here or at New York on my way home. And if there is any thing in particular which you wish for that can be obtained here better than at Hartford I shall endeavour to obtain it. Goods of all kinds now are becoming plenty & cheap enough. I have already proceeded so far in trading as to buy me a suit of cloths & sell my old horse." Ellsworth Papers, CtHi.

## William Floyd to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia, April 16th, 1783.

I did Expect to have left this place by the first of April, and that one of my Collegues would have taken my place by that time, the Business of Devising means for the Establishment of public Credit, satisfying the Army, and other Creditors of the United States has been some months under Consideration. Many and great difficulties attend a work of this kind, and as it appears to be of the Greatest Consequence that something should be done to answer that purpose, and as the Vote of our State might be absolutely Necessary to Carry it, I have been induced to Continue here to this time much against my private Interest. It is got near to a close, and I hope to day or tomorrow we shall have the Question on it,<sup>1</sup> after which, as the war is brought to a happy Conclusion, nothing shall Induce me to Continue here under my Embarrassments Scarsely a Single day.

I shall go by way of Elizabethtown, and if I find there is no obstruction or impropriety, shall proceed to my former home on Long Island.

My last Letters from my Son informs me that he Continued in a bad state of health and did not Expect to get much better untill the Weather grows warm.

We have no Accounts from New York that Determines when Genl. Carlton will leave that place, that we may once more be in possession of the whole State; only understand that he is making preparations for

Departure. I have heard that Mr. Benson has been in to Confer with Genl. Carlton on the Subject; by him I expect your Excellency will be better informed of that matter than we are. However, I am very clear, that it cannot be many weeks before I shall have the pleasure of Congratulating your Excellency on being in possession of our Capital.

My Daughters Joyn me in our best Respects to Mrs. Clinton, and am, Sir, Your Excellencys most Obedt and humble Servt.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:138–39.

<sup>1</sup> Floyd was referring to the revenue plan designed to restore public credit which was adopted on April 18 and transmitted to the states with an April 26 “address” from Congress. New York’s vote was negated by the division of Alexander Hamilton (no) and Floyd (yes). *JCC*, 24:256–61, 277–83.

## Samuel Holten to William Gordon

My Dear Sir.

Philada. April 16th, 1783.

I have lately been favor’d with an address of yours, without date, therefore, am not able to determine how well you regarded your promise, but it wou’d be difficult to convince me, that you do not always *strictly* adhere to the same.

I have my expectations raised, respecting your publication,<sup>1</sup> which you are pleased to mention, for if I form a judgement from the opinion I have of the author, I should suppose it will answer very valuable purposes; & the publication of Peace I believe will reach you, before I shall be favor’d with your performance. The brass case you mentioned contained little more than we had received before; but no doubt dispatches appearing in such a formal manner ought to be forwarded immediately, especially in a time of war.

We have now to contend with a large national debt & little money to pay or funds to secure payment, yet you think “*requisitions*” will do better than “*Congressional taxes*.” I shou’d differ from you in opinion if the latter was Constitutional, but is it not our duty to recommend to the several states what we are convinced is most for the ease & benifit of the good people, ’tho’ it is not in the method pointed out by the <Constitution> Confederal Union. If they don’t think so, they will not comply with the measures, but the time may soon come when they will be convinced, that they can’t pay this debt, nor do justice to their creditors, without an impost & excise, & that the laws of the several states ought to be similar for manifest reasons; but I find there will be different opinions, respecting the meeting of such comitees, as you are pleased to mention, whether that method will be *strictly* Constitutional; but your opinion had so far engaged my attention, that I had like not to have congratulated you on the return of Peace, which I

most heartily do, & what adds to this happy & glorious event, is that we have obtained all that cou'd reasonably be expected. I don't know any one man, that I think, this Country is under greater obligations to than our worthy friend Mr. J. Adams, I am not unacquainted with the situation he has been in, in his negociations both in Holland & France, & I suspect you are not altogether a stranger to the difficulties he has had to encounter; we may expect his return in June next, 'tho' Congress have not yet accepted his resignation. Mr. Laurens & Mr. Dana has leave to return at their request, Mr. Jefferson is not to proceed. Two days since I observed a letter directed to Dr. Lee, which direction I suppos'd to be in your hand writing & I immediately forwarded it to him, as the Dr. is returned home. I am, &c

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Gordon's promised history of the American Revolution, which was eventually published in four volumes under the title *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States of America*. . . (London: Printed for the Author, 1788).

## Samuel Holten to Joseph Read

Sir, Philada. Apl. 16th, 1783.

The particular respect shown me when at your house, on my Journey, is not forgot by me, & for which I consider myself under obligations.

I have now opportunity to congratulate you, as I wish to do every sincere friend to Our Country, on the return of Peace, & what adds to this happy & glorious event, is that we have obtained all that could reasonably have been expected; but we have yet difficulties to encounter, a large national debt & but little money to pay, or funds to secure payment. It is my opinion, that imposts & excises must be complied with, for a given time. The common mode of taxation will not answer the purpose, the land is too high taxed already, the Small farmers can't live & pay their taxes, & it wou'd be the want of policy if (not unjust) in our present circumstances, to drive the good people to pay what they are not able & can't do in justice to their families, & after they have so lately made so many exertions against the Common enemy.

We have no intelligence here that deserves your notice, more than what is contained in the public prints. I am, with great respect, your most obedient servant.

FC (DLC: Samuel Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten. Addressed: "Colo. Joseph Reed." Apparently Joseph Read of Uxbridge, Mass., formerly colonel of the 13th Continental regiment of the Massachusetts Line.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday April 16th. [1783]

Mr. Hamilton acknowledged that he began to view the *obligation* of the pro[visiona]l Treaty in a different light and in consequence wished to vary the direction to the Commander in cheif as his motion on the Journal states.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:466.

<sup>1</sup> For the failure of Hamilton's motion this day, see *JCC*, 24:252-53. For his explanation of the two resolutions Congress had adopted the 15th "relative to the restoration of the British Prisoners and to making arrangements for the surrender of the posts in the possession of the British," see Hamilton to Washington, April 15. See also Madison's Notes, April 14 and 15, 1783.

## North Carolina Delegates to Congress

April the 16th 1783

The undersigned delegates in Congress from the State of North-Carolina beg leave to represent, that some time in the year 1780 application was made by the honourable Abner Nash esquire then Governor of the State of North-Carolina to the British Commandant at Charlestown for leave to send cloathing and other articles which might be acceptable and afford relief to the North-Carolina prisoners who were confined there; That leave for that purpose was obtained from General Patterson the then British Commandant as appears by two letters which we have the honour to lay before Congress.

That in consequence of such permission a Flag schooner, called the Adventure, loaded with thirty six hogsheads of tobacco and sundry other articles, having on board some British prisoners of war, sailed from Beaufort in North Carolina on the 9th of June 1781 for Charlestown (This was the third vessel that had been sent with similar supplies the two first were properly recieved) That on the 20 of the said month, near the bar of Charlestown, the said Schooner was seized by a British ship of war, the Cormorant; and sent into the harbour no regard being paid to the Flag under which she sailed nor the permission that had been granted; and altho complaint thereof was made to the Commandant (who we believe on enquiry will be found to have highly disapproved the seizure) yet no part of the Schooner or her cargo was recovered.

The Delegates are persuaded that by the original and other authenticated papers which they have the honour to lay before Congress<sup>1</sup> it will fully appear that the whole proceedings in this business were, on the part of the State, fair and Candid incapable of any possible con-

struction that could violate the honour of a Flag or the faith of a State, and that nothing could have been intended but what was professed, The relief of distressed prisoners, that too, in the manner which had been agreed on.

Wherefore the Delegates, in persuance of their instructions, request, that Congress would be pleased to direct the Secretary for foreign affairs to forward the necessary documents to the British General and Admiral at New York and Claim compensation for the said vessel and cargo.<sup>2</sup>

Benjamin Hawkins

Hu Williamson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 43). Written by Hawkins and signed by Hawkins and Williamson. Endorsed: "Representation of the Delegates of No. Carolina respectg a flag sent by the State to Charlestown & Captured by the *Cormorant*. Laid before Congress April 16th 1783—referred to Mr Gorham, Mr Fitzsimmons, Mr Holten. Acted on May 1st 1783."

<sup>1</sup> These eleven documents pertaining to the seizure of the *Endeavour*, not *Adventure* as stated by Hawkins, are in PCC, item 76, fols. 7–35.

<sup>2</sup> For the disposition of this case, see *JCC*, 24:318; and North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin, June 17, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My Dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 17th 1783

I sent you by an Express<sup>1</sup> our Proclamation for the Cessation of Hostilities, which is proclaimed here in Form this Day. The Proclamation for Peace at New York you mention, was no more. Altho' Peace is *really* taken Place yet it cannot be proclaimed till we recieve the definitive Treaty, which we expect every Day. Last Night we had advices of a Vessel being arrived at Boston from France in 20 Days, perhaps we may have News by her. We also expect to hear in a few Days from Sr. Guy when he is to leave NYork. You will percieve that the King of Britain in his Answer to the address of the Lords, says he is determined faithfully to execute every article of the Treaty.

I fancy all the british Prisoners will be discharged this week.

I have not heard from Elisha but rejoice in his having an addition to his family, altho' I think the Family rage of Girls, very Extraordinary.<sup>2</sup>

I also join with her Excy.<sup>3</sup> & the rest of the Family in *sincerely congratulating* you on the happy success you have met with in the addition to your Family, especially as it is of the Male kind, and as all rejoicings are put off till the definitive Treaty, beg you will not trouble Martin to bring it with him till then—but on second Thought, as I know your fondness for Peace, and the great desire you will have to testify some external signs of Joy and how difficult that is with an empty concavity, and that there is no filling vacuums without materials, which are very difficult to be obtained at the ridge, I beg you will in my Name, but for your own Use, adorn your Board with all the Male & Female gen-



eration, of Calves, Pig's, devouring Sows, Birds, Fowls & Fishes (if any are yet left from the voracious Jaws of your inveterate Enemies) and once in a Way, by Chance, as a great rarity rejoice in the Good Things of this Life, that the glorious Epoch may be remembered throout the great Swamp as long as the Ridge shall Endure.

Your last Letter has lessened your Character here greatly as being neither a Farmer, nor Hog Raiser. Her E. having as she says predicted all those dreadfull Evills that have happened from your want of Skill, Knowledge & Understanding in the Trade, Art & Mystery of Pig Feeding, tho' she fully & plainly anounced the possibility, probability & Certainty of the prolific Nature of the female unlawful Animal whereby you might have added roasters to your joy on the day of your eating & drinking in your younger Brothers House. I hope you wont sell the old Stack of Hay to Mr Van Zandt, as it will be worth haling to Morris Town & only decieve him. I would not let Mr B. have it without the Cash—it had better be fed out in the dung yard. He once charged me with Dicks borrowing a Yoke of his & breaking the wood part of it, which might have been made in half a Day & never cost more than 4 or 5/—but at the same time having borrowed our large Iron Kettle & broke off one of the feet, on being told if I paid for one, he must pay for the other, I never heard more of it—and the payment in Hay, never thought of untill this Occasion, as it was well [. . .] I never before this winter had Hay to dispose of, and [that] was three Years ago. I would rather you should delay renting the Lott a few days, then rent it to *Lewis* unless he would pay the rent at once. May be you may yet stay there all Summer, and want it yourself. You can however mention the possibility & that rather than rent it on any uncertainty you will keep it. Perhaps Mrs. Morton may rent or sell her Farm, & then it would suit the Purchaser better than any body.

Sister remains here very low, having had a relapse. As to the Horses I wish to sell them all, as I shall purchase a pair here to go home with & Horses are becoming cheap. I wish to know your determination, about going to N Rochelle that Hanny may prepare to go to the Ridge in Time.

I am Dr Sir, Yours &c

RC (PHi: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See Boudinot to Elisha Boudinot, April 22, 1783, note.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Boudinot's wife, Hannah.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday April 17th [1783].

Mr. M[adison] with the *permission* of the Come. on Revenue, reported the following clause to be added to the 10 in the first report<sup>1</sup> viz

"And to the end that convenient provision may be made for determining in all such cases, how far the expences may have been reasonable, as well with respect to the object thereof as to the means for accomplishing it, thirteen Commissioners namely one out of each State, shall be appointed by Congress, any seven of whom (having first taken an oath for the faithful & impartial execution of their trust) who shall concur in the same opinion, shall be empowered to determine finally on the reasonableness of all claims for expences incurred by particular States as aforesaid: And in order that such determinations may be expedited as much as possible, the Commissioners now in appointment for adjusting accts. between the U. S. and individual States, shall be instructed to examine all such claims & report to Congs. such of them as shall be supported by satisfactory proofs, distinguishing in their reports the objects and measures in which the expences shall have been incurred; provided that no balances which may be found due under this regulation or the Resolutions of the       day of       shall be deducted out of the preceding Revenues; but shall be discharged by separate requisitions to be made on the States for that purpose."

In support of this proposition it was argued that in a general provision for public debts and public tranquility, satisfactory measures ought to be taken on a point wch. many of the States had so much at heart, & which they wd. not separate from the other matters proposed by Congress: that the nature of the business was unfit for the decision of Congs. who brought with them the spirit of advocates rather than of Judges, and besides required more time than could be spared for it.

On the opposite side some contended that the accts. between U. S. & particular States sd. not be made in any manner to encumber those between the former and private persons—Others thought that Congs. could not delegate to Comrs. a power of allowing claims for which the Confedon. reqd. nine States—Others were unwilling to open so wide a door for claims on the Common Treasury.

On the question Masts. divided, Cont. ay, R. Id. no, N.Y. no, N.J. no, Pa. no, Maryd. no, Va. ay, N.C. no, S.C. no.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:469.

<sup>1</sup> Although he reported here that he was delivering this amendment "with the *permission*" of the committee which prepared the revenue plan submitted March 6, Madison was apparently submitting it as a minority report. For the report at issue, see Madison's Notes, March 6–7, where the article Madison wished to amend appears as number 11. This article had become number 10 when article 5 of the report had been recommitted on March 27.

There is no mention in the journals of this attempt by Madison to amend the committee's revenue report, but for the debate on another article of the plan adopted by Congress the following day, see *JCC*, 24:254–55.

## Rhode Island Delegates to Congress

April 17th. 1783.

The undersigned Delegates from the State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations having recieved a Resolution of the Assembly of said State directing them to lay before Congress certain Accounts <sup>1</sup> therewith transmitted do now present the same for Consideration & direction.

They also request the Attention of Congress to the other papers herewith presented—which respect the depreciation of wages of the Officers of a Brigade of Troops raised by sd. State for the term of Twelve Months and for the Common defence, the raising of which was Approbated by Congress. And,

That Congress will also take into Consideration the subject matter of a Letter to the President of Congress from the director of the Public Military Hospitals in sd. State <sup>2</sup>—dated Feb 5th and recd. & read in Congress March 12th 1781, and referred to the Board of Treasury, but upon which no determination appears to have been had.

Being informed that the Commissioner appointed to settle the Accounts between the United States and the said State—is about to enter on that business—the sd Delegates concieve it necessary that Congress should consider & decide on the foregoing—previous to such settlement.<sup>3</sup>

John Collins

Jona Arnold

RC (DNA: PCC, item 42). Written by Arnold and signed by Arnold and Collins.

<sup>1</sup> This assembly resolution, requesting payment of "the accounts of Major Josiah Flagg and Josiah Flagg, Jr., for their services in the department of the commissary of military stores," is in Bartlett, *Records of R. I.*, 9:655.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Dr. Jonathan Arnold himself, whose letter is in PCC, item 78, 1:399–400. See also *JCC*, 19:253.

<sup>3</sup> This memorial was read on April 22 and referred to a committee consisting of Oliver Ellsworth, John Lewis Gervais, and Hugh Williamson, which reported on May 12, 1783, but Congress adopted only its recommendation denying depreciation pay for the officers of the twelve months brigade raised by Rhode Island in 1779. The commissary of military stores accounts were simply "referred to the Secretary at War to report thereon," although he had already recommended them for payment, and Arnold's ac-

counts were "recommitted" on May 14. *JCC*, 24:268, 339–40; and PCC, item 19, fols. 179–81. The latter had a curious history, as the committee's report on them was resubmitted on June 10 and "filed" on November 1, but they remained unsettled as late as 1787 after having been referred "to the consideration of the next Congress" in 1784 and to the "Commissioner for settling the hospital accounts" in 1785. See *JCC*, 24:388, 27:401, 29:690, 890, 33:754.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday April 18. [1783]

Application was made from Council of Pa. for determination of Congs. as to the effect of the acts terminating hostilities, on Acts to be enforced during the war. Congs. declined giving any opinion.<sup>1</sup>

The motion of Mr. Bland<sup>2</sup> raised a long debate. In favor of the motion it was urged by Mr. Rutledge that the proposed Cession of Va. ought to be previously considered & disallowed; that otherwise a renewal of the recommendation wd. be offensive; that it was possible the Cession might be accepted in which case the renewal wd. be improper. Virga. he observed alone could be alluded to as having complied in part only.

Mr. Wilson went largely into the subject. He said *If the investigation of right* was to be considered, the U.S. ought rather to make cessions to individual States then receive Cessions from them, the extent of the Territory ceded by the Treaty being larger than all the States put together; that when the claims of the states come to be limited on principles of right, the Alleghany Mountains would appear to be the true boundary—this could be established without difficulty before any Court—or the Tribunal of the World. He thought however policy reqd. that such a boundary sd. be established as wd. give to the Atlantic States access to the Western Waters. *If accomodation* was the object, the clause ought by no means to be struck out. The Cession of Virga. could never be accepted because it guaranteed the country as far as the Ohio, which never belonged to Virga. [here he was called to order by Mr. Jones].<sup>3</sup> The question he sd. must be decided. The indecision of Congs. had been hurtful to the interests of U. S. If compliance of Va. was to be sought she ought to be urged to comply fully.

For the vote see Journal.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:471.

<sup>1</sup> For this "Application" and its context, see Thomas FitzSimons to John Dickinson, April 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Madison later interlined at this point: "for striking out recommendation to States which had agreed to cede territory to revise & *compleat* their Cessions."

<sup>3</sup> Brackets by Madison.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 24:256–57. Madison later added: "in the affirmative, with exception of Virga. & S. Carol."

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday, April 21. [1783]

The Motion of Mr. Hamilton 2ded by Mr. M[adison] to annex to plan of the 18, the part omitted relating to expences incurred by States—on the question N.York, Pena. & Virga. alone were in the affirmative. Con[necticu]t not present.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:477.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this motion or vote in the journals. For "the part omitted [from Madison's March 6 revenue report] relating to expences incurred by States," which Madison had also attempted to salvage on the 17th, see Madison's Notes, April 17, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Elisha Boudinot

My dear Brother.

Philadelphia April 22d 1783

I duly recd your favr. of the 17th and do again most sincerely rejoice with you on the kindness of divine Providence towards you. The Health of our Sister on this Occasion increases the Cause for Joy & thankfulness.<sup>1</sup>

I will speak to Mr F. & acquaint you with his directions as to Mr Crane, his Conduct in denying the Bond has alarmed me much, as I am clear it was not the effect of forgetfulness, as it is but a little before my leaving home, that I conversed with him about the Payment. If he will give you satisfactory Security & pay the Interest, you may accept it, otherwise I must beg you will proceed. I do not want the principal immediately.

I am in doubt about T. Balls Bond, and will leave it till I see you. Monsr Viellon's Cause is to be tried to morrow—the poor fellow is almost crazy & if he looses it, I am afraid he will destroy himself, as he is poor beyond Measure.

Your Sister & Susan join me in kind Love to your Rib & Mrs. Smith. Kiss the little Stranger for us. I had forgot to tell you that Sir Guy will go more speedily that you suppose. I am my Dr Brother, Yours Afftly,  
E.B.

[P.S.] I desire Dickey to speak to you about his being with you this Summer. If he is not kept close at writing the Common Business of an Office, and that very speedily, he will never be a Man of Business. He wants it more than Study, and indeed it is absolutely necessary. His Mama I suppose will write you on the Subject, I am clearly of opinion that the measure as to some Office where there is a good deal of Business, is indispensable. You did not let me know how the Costs in Stevens's Detainer was determined.



I enclose a Bill agt Edwd Lewis's adj Mr. Franklin. Have long endeavoured to take one of them, but they keep close. I cannot attend to it, therefore take it & I think you had best issue a Summons, & they have Estate enough particularly the young Man. There have been 3 writs issued & ret'd. y[our] E!

RC (PPPrHi: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot had also sent Elisha the following brief letter of congratulations on April 16.

"By a Letter per Post from Mr Pintard we had the agreeable News of the addition to your Family by the arrival of another Daughter. God grant you much Comfort with all these little Tyes to the World. May they all be trained up for the regions of Immortality & Blessedness. Our kind Love to Sister & present our cordial Congratulations on this joyfull Occasion. It is much heightened by the Olive Branch of Peace that is at the same Time waving o'er our Land. How comes it that you are so tenacious of Girls. It seems to be the rage of our Family. I think it is now Time to put about, and let us have one Male to three Females at least. I sent you our Proclamation for the Cessation of Hostilities, by an Express.

"Sister Stockton lies here very ill." Thorne Boudinot Collection, NjP.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My dear Sir,

Philadelphia 22d April 1783

I highly approve your Plan of rejoicing, illuminating &c &c. upon Condition that you do literally fulfill your proposed plan, of firing "*The Buildings & the Contents*" as this would fully prove you a determined & resolute Whig and entitle you to equal Canonization with King Taminy, who when advanced in Age, and expected at a Treaty held in this City with the Indians, finding himself weary with the Journey and not able to travel farther, stopped in a wigwam near Græme Park and fastening all the avenues to it, set fire to the Wigwam and burned it up "*with the Contents*". Now after you perform so heroical an Act, you also shall be dubbed St. Lewes. I hope you will not insist on the Madam's turning Bramin & attending her Husband on the funeral Pile. Pray also send Old Mama to wait on the Madam, lest she should shew her Whiggism too. The little Prince must also be excepted.

You have sold the Stack of Hay well, but am afraid they will [not? . . .] at Morris Town for a Jew. As to Henry Breene the less you have to do with him the better. It can but be loss'd at the worst, and that will assuredly be the Case if he has it.

I should not choose the Horses should be sent to Burrows at the Price he asks; as if you leave Baskinridge, it will be hard if we cannot get somebody to take them for their work. However I leave it to you. I should think I could get £20—in Cash a piece, perhaps on 6 Months Credit something more. But I am determined to take what can be got. The Cash would be best, if under price.

As to the Lands, I can see no need to sell them unless they will bring at least 40/ per Acre, some of them I would not take under £10 per Acre. They are Lands of the highest Quality. When you want the Cash I have a number of Bonds & Mortgages of Ld. Drummonds that I will call in & pay your Debt. As to the Wines, they will be all confiscated, and your only remedy will be an Application to the Legislature on the circumstances of the Case, and these are not favourable, as they are the Property of Thompson. You had best have them assigned to you in Security for the Debt & Ship them immediately to this City, before the Evacuation. Auth can do this in your Name—and you can be here to receive them. I have got a Letter from Marsden also. I wish to see you on his Acct. If you go in, Permission must be had from Govr Livingston. If you should go, you had best see me first. Sir Guy has applied to Congress to send in Commrs. to superintend the evacuation &c as he is preparing.<sup>1</sup> He wishes to have it known that the Articles of the Peace is fully complied with. Mr. Forman is in New York. If you purchase a Vessel she must be sent away previous to the Evacuation. I wish Cong. was able to get a Pipe a piece &c.—but they think they do great Things to get good Cyder. As to my Brother C. I believe it hurts the finer strings of his Heart to see too much Luxury.

A Vessel arrived here express from France this day. Her Passage 35 Days; but brings no News that has come to hand as yet.

Mrs. B. & S. join in Love &c. Patty sends her Love & Duty tho' greatly mortified that she does not hear from you.

Am Dr Sir, Yours Afftly,

E B

[P.S.] Mrs. B. sent by Jacob Morton some few Things for Prince as he is not to be canonized.

RC (PHi: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> An April 14 letter from Sir Guy Carleton to Robert R. Livingston—recommending the appointment of commissioners to assist in implementing “the seventh article of the Provisional Treaty” concerning the evacuation of New York “without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants”—was referred to a committee of Congress this day. Its recommendation—to refer the matter to the commander-in-chief to “take such measures . . . as to him shall seem expedient”—was adopted April 24. As a meeting between Washington and Carleton had already been scheduled for May 6, the subject was merely placed on the agenda of that conference, and in the aftermath Washington appointed Egbert Benson, Daniel Parker, and William Stephens Smith “to carry fully into execution, the [April 24] Instructions of Congress.” See *JCC*, 24:274; *PCC*, item 78, 6:171–73; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:377; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:402–14.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. Apl. 22. 1783.

Your favor of the 14 inst. written on the Susquehanna with the several letters inclosed were safely delivered to me. I did not fail to pre-

sent as you desired your particular compliments to {Miss K.<sup>1</sup> Your inference on that subject was not groundless. Before you left us I had sufficiently ascertained her sentiments. Since your departure} <sup>2</sup> the {affair has been pursued. Most preliminary arrangements, although definitive, will be postponed untill} the {end of} the {year in congress.<sup>3</sup> At some period of} the {interval I shall probably make a visit to Virginia}. The {interest which your friendship takes on this occasion in my happiness is a pleasing proof that} the {dispositions which I feel are reciprocal}.<sup>4</sup>

The report on funds &c. passed Congress on Saturday last <sup>5</sup> with the dissent of R. Island and the division of N. York only. The latter vote was lost by the rigid adherence of Mr. Hamilton to a plan which he supposed more perfect. The clause providing for unauthorized expenditures, could not be reinstated, and consequently no attempt was made to link all the parts of the act inseparably together. As it now stands it has I fear no bait for Virga. which is not particularly interested either in the object or mode of the revenues recommended, nor in the territorial cessions, nor in the change of the constitutional rule of dividing the public burdens. A respect for justice, good faith & national honor is the only consideration which can obtain her compliance.

We have recd. no intelligence from abroad which deserves to be noted, since your departure. The interval between the preliminary & definitive Treaties has produced several nice & interesting questions. One is whether laws prohibiting commerce with British Ports during the war, have expired with the cessation of Hostilities. A similar one is whether the soldiers enlisted for the war are entitled to a discharge. At least half of the army under Genl. Washington are under this description and are urgent for such a construction of their engagements. A third question is whether the preliminary treaty between F. & G. B. has given such effect to the provisional articles between the latter & the U. S. as to require an execution of the stipulations in the 6 & 7 arts. or whether a definitive Treaty only can produce this effect.

The system for foreign affairs is not yet digested: and I apprehend will be long on the anvil, unless the actual return of our Ministers from Europe should stimulate Congs. on the subject.

I am charged with many compliments from the whole family for yourself & Miss Patsy, which you will accept with an assurance of sincere friendship from

Yr Obt. & Hbl servt.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:481–82.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "Kitty," Catherine Floyd.

<sup>2</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in a variation of the official Virginia cipher.

<sup>3</sup> That is, November 1, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> For Madison's attempt fifty years later to obliterate from this letter the enciphered passage relating to his brief engagement to Kitty Floyd, daughter of New York delegate William Floyd, see Irving Brant, *James Madison*, 6 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941-61), 2:284, and illustration opposite p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Actually the preceding Friday, April 18, for which see *JCC*, 24:257-62.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Apl. 22. 1783.

The mail of yesterday like the preceding one brought [brought] no letter from you.

I just understand that a Frigate from France is at Chester, but what intelligence she brings & particularly whether she brings a definitive peace is unknown. Several interesting questions are raised on the Preliminary Treaty. First whether laws prohibiting British Commerce & which were to be in force during the war are repealed or not? Another of a similar nature is whether the enlistments for the war are to be terminated by the latter or former Treaty? Half the army under Genl. Washington is computed to be interested in this question.

The Report for establishing a Revenue &c. passed Congs. on Saturday. It has been defalcated of several clauses which were material, and which would have touched in particular the supposed interest of Virga. Mr. Jefferson carried with him a copy of the plan as originally reported, and as it stood when he left us. It has undergone no material variation from the latter stage of it.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:483.

## Charles Thomson to Benjamin Harrison

Sir, Office of the Secretary of The United States  
in Congress Assembled. April 22. 1783.

The act of cession made by the Commonwealth of Virginia on the 2d day of Jany 1781 in consequence of the recommendation of Congress of 6 Sept 1780, and which was lodged among the files of Congress, having passed through the hands of many of the members is mislaid & cannot be found, I shall therefore be much obliged if you will order an Authentic copy to be made out & transmitted to this Office.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, with much respect, Your Excellency's most  
obedt & most humble Servt,  
Chas. Thomson.

RC (PHi: Society Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the congressional reception of this Virginia act of cession, see these *Letters*, 16:651n.3.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Philada. April 22d 1783

Your two Favors of April 5th & 12th <sup>1</sup> came both to hand by yesterday's Post. Little Interesting has happend Since our last, except that Congress have agreed to a Modification of the Recommendation to the States, for Vesting in Congress a revenue adequate to the funding the Public Debt—which being limited in its duration, and divested of some other exceptionable conditions, containd in the former requisition—We anxiously hope will for the Public good, and our National Honor & Credit be speedily and generally complied with by the States. A Frigate (the Active) arrived last night from France, at Chester—her dispatches are not yet come up. We hope in our next to Inform your Excellcy. of their Contents. We shall endeavor to procure your Excellcy. a Copy of the recommendation above mentiond—but if disappointed in this—we expect you will soon receive it officially from Congress.<sup>2</sup> The Comr. in Chief and the Secy. at War have orders to make arrangements with Sr. Guy Carleton for receiving possession of the Posts occupied by the British in the United States, and for delivering up the land Prisoners in our possession—the Naval ones on both Sides are already set at Liberty. We are sorry to add that late advices from New York inform us that no steps are taken there which Indicate a Speedy evacuation of that Place. We are with perfect respect, Yr. Excellys. most  
obedt. Sevts.

J. Madison Jr

Theok. Bland

P.S. Since the above Sr. G. Carleton has written to Congress, to request some person or persons may be sent to N. York to take possession of the Negroes & Publick property in conformity to the 7th article of the Preliminary Articles.<sup>3</sup>

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:478–79.

<sup>1</sup> Harrison's letter of April 5 has not been found, but for that of the 12th, see *ibid.*, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Boudinot to Lewis Pintard, this date, note.



## Elias Boudinot to the Comte de Grasse

Sir,

Phil: April 23d 1783.

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Favour of the 28 Jan'y three Days ago.<sup>1</sup> The terms of it were too flattering as well as the essential service offered this grateful Country by your Excellency, have been too important not to command the utmost attention to your very reasonable request.

I did not hesitate immediately to consult the Minister of War and to give express directions for the forwarding to your Excellency by the ship *St L*——<sup>2</sup> (a Continental Ship lent to the Minister of France for transporting the French Legions to France) the two field pieces that are to remain as lasting memorials of your Excellency's valuable services to the United States of America, and their great sense of the exalted merit & bravery of the Comte de Grasse.<sup>3</sup>

May God Almighty take you under his kind protection and long preserve you an illustrious blessing to your Royal Master & the Nation over which he reigns with so much glory.

I have the honor to be &c.

E Boudinot Esq.

MS not found; reprinted from Boudinot, *Life and Letters*, 1:319–20.

<sup>1</sup> De Grasse's letter is not in PCC.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the *Duc de Lauzun*, for which see Committee of Congress to Robert Morris, April 14, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> For Congress' October 29, 1781, resolutions thanking de Grasse and the comte de Rochambeau for their contributions to the capture of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown, and award to each of "two pieces of the field ordnance, taken from the British army under the capitulation," see *JCC*, 21:1081–82. See also Boudinot's letters of June 14, 1783, to de Grasse and to George Washington.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Abigail Ellsworth

Dear Nabby,

Philad. April 23. 1783

Mr. Lyman in his letter of the 14th of this month informd me that he had heard a few days before that my little family were all well. This was some satisfaction to me, but you will easily beleive not all that I wanted; I hope a Letter from under your own hand, by the next post will releive me from my anxiety & give me information that will make me happy.<sup>1</sup>

Nabby I suppose is now with you—& I hope she helps mamma as much as she can & that she will be a good Girl while Daddy comes home when he will not forget to bring her some very fine thing. As for the poor little boy stubbing about & finding Daddy's old Shooks I shall remember him also & bring him a new hat & now send him a picture. I hope you find every body about you kind & ready to do for

you all in their power. As for my own part I can only wish you well, & in this point of duty I certainly am not deficient.

Our Hartford acquaintance here I see almost every day—they are all well & frequently enquiring after you, & it will be a great pleasure to them I doubt not to have so good an account of you as I hope it will soon be in my power to give them.

I went last evening to Mr. Laws singing entertainment which was performed before a great concourse of people assembled upon a general invitation. The performance was decent & a considerable improvement on the singing here; but not equal to what we have in many parishes in Connecticut. He has not met with proper encouragement—his scholars are but few—the young folks here are more fond of dancing than singing—& many of the old ones who care any thing about publick worship are alarmed at the Idea of admitting new tunes & a brisker air.

By the time this reaches you I suppose you will begin to think of gardening. Bissel with a little of your direction will I dare say well perform all that is necessary in that branch. Let him put a little manure on the beads he makes in the new ground & in the hills he plants. The few seeds I sent I hope you have recd. If the time I spend in walking for my health could be employed in making you an elegant garden it would please me much better.

Most of the Tories are gone from New York to the cold region of Nova Scotia which their royal master has provided for them. The British Troops are also beginning to ship their effects & will I hope in a few weeks take their final leave of us. I can hardly realize it that the war is over, tho' I had long expected it & from my knowledge of the State of publick affairs was convinced that the war could not continue much longer. You will remember me to mother & all other friends & beleive me to be with the tenderest affection your O.E.

RC (Ct: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> In a May 7 letter to Abigail, Ellsworth wrote of his joy on learning of the birth of their son: "I hope to hear it yet once more, & that from under your own hand, & that you will tell me also something about this new comer, how he looks & how he conducts. I hope he will not prove very troublesome especially nights, & that I shall find him a very good boy when I come. As to my other poor little boy I think much about him & more so as I suppose you are obliged pretty much to neglect him. If I was at home I should be very happy to divide the babies with you, at least the trouble of taking care of them for I fear you have more than your hands full." Ellsworth Papers, CtHi.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Oliver Wolcott

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia April 23d. 1783.

I hope you got safe home, & found your family well; & your self also in better health than is possible to be enjoyed in the fog of this city.

Your recess from business, after long confinement, must, I think, afford you some pleasure, & to see the fruits of your labors, peace & independence, much more.

Congress, since you left it, has ratified the provisional treaty & ordered the prisoners to be released, & also that the publick Horses & other now useless property be sold; & have passed the report on revenue with the alteration of the duty on Salt to 5 Per Ct. & the Duty on all wines, except Mideira which stands at 12/90, to 6/90 of a Dollar.

We hear nothing more yet of the Definitive Treaty. Late private letters from Europe mention that preliminaries were not signed by the Dutch, but that they had at last recd. such offers from the british as the french court advised them to accept & there was no doubt but they would, also that they had appointed a Mr Van Berckle, their Ambassador to these States. A letter has been recd. from Mr. Dana at Petersburg of the 15th of Jany. He had not then assumed a publick character nor made any advances towards a treaty of commerce, nor indeed could make any to purpose till he should first pave the way according to the niggardly custom of that court, with about £10,000 Sterlg in presents to her ministers. He also thot. it very probable that a war would take place between Russia & the Porte, on account of the Khan of the Crimea who had been deposed by the Tartars of that Independancy.

Sir Guy Carleton has written to Congress to appoint a person to attend at N York to see the 7th article of the treaty relating to American property duly observed, as he expects soon to begin an embarkation. The Tories are mostly gone from there to Nova-Scotia, cursing their King all the way.

I enclose you some newspapers & two letters brot. for you by the last eastern post. Col. Dyer I suppose is well—with Mrs. Trumbul & his new Span<sup>1</sup> & Doct. Holton as an aid, he set off last saturday for an airing to Wilmington & is not yet returned.

I shall be happy to hear from you. With Compliments to Mrs. Wolcott & your two Daughters, I am, Dear Sir, with much esteem, your obedt. Huml. Servt.

Oliv Ellsworth

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, a pair of horses. *OED*.

## Arthur Lee to Abigail Adams

Dear Madam,

In Congress April 23d. 1783

I arrivd in Philadelphia this day<sup>1</sup> & had the honor of receiving your Commands of the 9th. Tho' we were exceedingly desirous of the assistance of Mr. Adams in what yet remains to be done in Europe; yet his

Letters were so pressing, that the Committee to whom they were referred could not resist reporting in favor of his resignation. Congress have not yet considered that report; but I think, Madam, you may rely upon it, that leave will be given as he requests.<sup>2</sup>

I shall participate with you in the pleasure of his return, after so long a sacrifice as he has made to the peace & prosperity of His Country. Her gratitude will I hope never forget, the essential services he has rendered. A french frigate, that left France, the beginning of March, arrived here two days since; but did not bring one line for Congress. We learn however, that the general Treaty was not then settled.

I have the honor to be with the truest sentiments of respect & esteem, Dear Madam, Yr. most Obedt. & most humbl. Servt.

Arthur Lee

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Lee's recent trip to Virginia and return to Philadelphia, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, April 1, 1783, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Congress had considered the committee's report on April 1, but had postponed accepting John Adams' resignation, for which see James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 1, note 7.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday April 23. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

The resolution permitting the soldiers to retain their arms was passed at the recommendation of Genl. Washington. See letter in the files.<sup>2</sup>

The resolution for granting furloughs or discharges was a compromise <sup>3</sup> between those who wished to get rid of the expence of keeping the men in the field, and those, who thought it impolitic to disband the army whilst the British remained in the U. S.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:486.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote: "Teus Apl. 22, see Journal."

<sup>2</sup> That is, Washington's April 18 letter to Congress recommending that the "non Commissd Officers and Soldiers [*be permitted*] to take with them as their own property, and as a Gratuity, the Arms and Accoutrements they now hold," which is in PCC, item 152, 11:219–226; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:330–34.

<sup>3</sup> For the adoption of these resolutions, see *JCC*, 24:269–70. See also Madison's Notes, May 20, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Following this paragraph, Madison made only the following brief entries in his notes before May 5.

"Apl. 24. See Journal.

"Friday 25 Apl. (*No Congress.*)

"Saturday April 26. Address to States passed nem. con. [It was drawn up by Mr. Madison: The address to Rd. Isd. referred to as No. 2 had been drawn up by Mr. Hamilton.]

"The writer of these notes absent till Monday May 5th."

It is clear from the physical evidence that the remarks printed here in brackets concerning the "Address" to the states were inserted by Madison at a later date.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir,

Philadelphia, April 23d 1783

We have the honour to Inclose Your Excellency a Copy of the Resolution passed on the fifteenth Instant relative to a Ratification of the Preliminary Treaty, the Reception of the posts in possession of the British troops, and the Surrender of the prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

We have this day Recd a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton proposing that Congress should appoint one or more persons to assist persons appointed by him to Superintend, all embarkations which shall take place towards an evacuation of New York, conformable to the Spirit of the 7th article of the Treaty, which will probably be Referred to the Commander in Chief.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Benson has made to us the Communication directed by your Excellency; <sup>3</sup> it is possible Sir Guy's Reserve may have arisen from an unwillingness to enter into Stipulations with a particular State—his present Letter has the air of Candour and good faith; but it is also possible there may be an intention of Delaying the Evacuation of the posts in hopes of influencing our measures with Respect to the British Adherents.

We also Communicate to your Excellency in Confidence, that there is a Doubt as to the true construction of the Preliminary Articles to wit: Whether the evacuation of the posts & the other matters mentioned in the 7th Article are to take place on the ratification of the preliminary; or Definitive treaty. This doubt, however, Congress are unwilling to bring into View; the measures taken by the enclosed Resolutions will bring Genl. Carleton to an Explanation—perhaps the Ambiguity of Sir Guy's Conduct may be attributed to the same doubt.

There is a frigate arrived from France which left Rochefort the 14th March. She brings little more than we have already had. It seems the Dutch had not yet made their peace, but the Count de Vergennes Considers the terms last offered by England as Reasonable Enough; and it is, therefore, probable that Matter will soon have been brought to a close.

He adds that they are about the Definitive treatys which offer no Difficulty and are only Delayed by an Invitation given to the two Mediating powers to be parties to the Business, Russia and the Empire. The matter perhaps would have been as well done without them.

We have the Honour to be with perfect Respect Your Excellencys  
Most Obedt Servts,

Wm Floyd.<sup>4</sup>

Alex Hamilton.



<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 155; and *JCC*, 24:241–43.

<sup>2</sup> On April 24 Congress did refer Sir Guy Carleton's April 14 letter to General Washington with the directive "that he take such measures for carrying into effect the several matters therein mentioned, as to him shall seem expedient." *JCC*, 24:274.

<sup>3</sup> Egbert Benson, acting under instructions from Governor Clinton, had journeyed to Philadelphia to brief the New York delegates on his recent conference with Sir Guy Carleton concerning the evacuation of New York City. Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:134–35, 139–44.

<sup>4</sup> Floyd also wrote another letter to Clinton this date, of which only the following extract survives: "The Principle part of the Business which particularly kept me here so long is now got through [*i.e.*, the revenue plan adopted April 18], and will in a few days be officially transmitted to your Excellency by the President." Burnett, *Letters*, 7:142n. And on April 29, just before leaving Philadelphia, he wrote the following note to Clinton: "Please to pay unto Mr. Egbert Benson the Sum of One hundred and fifty Dollars and Charge the Same to the account of Sir your most Obedt. and humble Servt., Wm. Floyd." Doheny Collection, CCamarSJ.

## Richard Peters to Baron Steuben

My dear Sir

23d Apl. 1783.

I have received your Plan <sup>1</sup> & so far as I have had Time to attend to it I am much pleased with it. I have only given it a cursory reading & there being a Committee to consider of Peace Arrangements I have taken the Liberty to give your Scheme to a Member of that Committee.<sup>2</sup> This Gentleman will make a discreet Use of it & return it to me. I hope you will not be displeased with my Conduct.

I fear there will be much Difficulty in the Business of the Army as our Means of Sending them Home satisfied are small tho our Wishes are favourable & sincere. Our Circumstances afford an odd Contrast to those we have heretofore experienced. The Difficulty which heretofore oppress'd us was how to raise an Army. The one which now embarrasses is how to dissolve it. Every thing Congress can do for the Satisfaction of our deserving Soldiers will be done. But an empty Purse is a Bar to the Execution of the best Intentions. We have just under Consideration a Plan for establishing a Mint. All we want to put it in Execution is the *necessary Metal*. But this you will no Doubt think a trifling Impediment. Justice to our Creditors & alacrity in paying Taxes are the best Mines we can spring. But I fear we have not yet found the Vein in which those precious Ores are lodged. I have no material News. A Frigate arrived yesterday from France but she brings Nothing but some Communications about Business except an Account from the French Ministry that the Definitive Treaty is in Train the Preliminaries being transmitted to the mediating Powers more by Way of Compliment than from any Apprehensions of Difficulties flowing from them. On the contrary—the Compté de Vergennes writes to Monsr la Luzerne that no Obstacles will be in the Way of a happy Con-

clusion of the great Work. Holland had not concluded her Treaty the 24th of Feby but Matters were in the fairest Train of adjustment. Yours very affectionately,

Richard Peters

RC (NHi: Steuben Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For Steuben's "Projet" and "Observations Generales" on the establishment of military academies, see PCC, item 38, fols. 443–67. In the undated letter to Peters enclosing the plan, Steuben explained that he had been prompted to draft it as a result of a query from General Washington, soliciting his "sentiments on a peace establishment," in response to a letter from Alexander Hamilton, for which see Committee of Congress to Washington, April 9, 1783; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:315–16. The plan Steuben sent to Washington on April 21 is in the Washington Papers, DLC, for an analysis of which see John M. Palmer, *General von Steuben* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 308–10.

<sup>2</sup> This committee, mentioned in the preceding note, consisted of Alexander Hamilton, chairman, Oliver Ellsworth, James Madison, Samuel Osgood, and James Wilson.

## Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene

Sir,

Philadelphia April 23d. 1783.

Congress on the 18th instant completed their Resolution for recommending to the several States to pass Laws for granting an Impost, an Excise, and to change an Article of the Confederation—a Copy of which we do ourselves the Honor to enclose.<sup>1</sup>

To produce this in its present Form has been a Work of Time. It has engaged the Attention of Congress chiefly, since the commencement of the Year everything has been suggested and done to endeavor to take off the Objections, and render it palable to the several States which could be done consistently with a fixed Determination of preserving to Congress a Power to Collect and Appropriate the Revenues; the latter is restrained to particular Objects, and the whole limited as to Time.

It would have been less exceptionable to us, had the Officers for collecting the Revenues been under the Controul as well as the Appointment of the State; And we conceive the Appointment of Officers for Twenty-five Years incompatible with the Constitution of the State, which requires all Officers to be chosen annually. We are also at a loss to reconcile the Idea of Appointing Officers; which when made immediately become independent of their Makers, with the Principles of Liberty.

But we are happy that it will be submitted to the Consideration of an Assembly, whose Deliberations on former Occasions have been marked with wisdom, and discovered a thorough knowledge of their Constitutional Rights, as a most striking and honorable Testimony of which we appeal to the difference between the present and former Resolution on this Subject.

If it should be the Opinion of the Assembly to adopt the Resolution generally, we take the Liberty to mention that a Deviation so far as relates to the Controul of the Officers may be made, with a probability of its being acquiesced in—by Congress; and if this was to be done in the New-England States, it would be a grand additional guard to the Rights of the States—a matter of the highest Importance, and which requires to be kept in constant view.

During the Time the Resolution was maturing, a Land-Tax of 6/, 3/ and 1/6 per hundred Acres was proposed and much contended for to make a part of the Act, but it met with such warm Opposition from the Western and largely Landed States, as prevented its being inserted and the Delegates from some of them explicitly declared that they never would consent to a Land Tax of any kind, but what should be to their own separate Advantage.

The Affair of the Western Lands is a Subject which begs to force the Attention of Congress. Memorials for Grants have been already presented, it must be necessary therefore soon to ascertain the Line between the United States, and the individual States. Virginia yet continues her tender to cede the Land North of Ohio with some restrictions and Conditions. And We expect Congress will Accept it. The Massachusetts and Connecticut States will be again addressed on the Subject of Cessions, and also the Carolina's. Georgia is curtailed by the Treaty in favor of Spain so as to be able to spare little or none of her territorial Claim.

The definitive Treaty has not yet arrived; several matters are before Committees relative to Arrangements which are deemed necessary to adopt upon its Arrival—particularly the forming Treaties with the Indians (who have lately been troublesome on the Frontiers, and have kill'd & taken about Thirty of the Inhabitants near Fort Pitt) and the fixing Military and naval Establishments during a Peace. This last is a very important matter, and of which we shall give the earliest Advice, as soon as the Report is given in.

The disbanding the Army, is a matter of great Consequence. Those enlisted during the War, are already impatient to be discharged. The want of Money in the public Treasury to satisfy their moderate Claims on being discharged is a perplexing Circumstance, and throws Congress into a very disagreeable Dilemma, and must cause them unavoidably to incur very considerable extra Expences.

However, we have reason to rely on the wisdom and goodness of that directing Hand, which has hitherto led through every gloom, removed every difficulty, and at length crown'd our Efforts and our wishes with Liberty and Independence to guide and direct us thro' the present puzzling mazes in which we are involved.

We are with the highest respect for your Excellency & the Honorable Assembly, Your Excellency's Very humble servants,

John Collins

Jona Arnold

RC (R-Ar Letters to Governors). In a clerical hand and signed by Collins and Arnold.  
<sup>1</sup> JCC, 24:256-63. See also Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## John Francis Mercer to Daniel Morgan

Dear General

Philadelphia April 24th. 1783.

Colo. Wood dissappointed me & left Town without my answer to the favor which you did me the honor to write me some time since, & the casual conveyances which chance offers to your part of the Country have not compensated for his neglect.

The change in our circumstances which the late pacification has made, will now permit the Secretary of War to carry into immediate Execution a Resolve of Congress directing him to furnish the medals, voted to those whose distinguished merit has drawn that mark of Applause & gratitude from their Country during the late War.<sup>1</sup> You may depend on my attention to yours, & if I have any talents at (which by the way I doubt extremely) it shall be aided by the assistance of those, whose imagination I esteem as elegant as correct & I hope will eventually produce what ought to equal your expectation from the hands you have committed it to, if it does not merit your approbation.

A late communication from the Comte de Vergennes, gives us every reason to expect a speedy completion of the definitive Treaty. The paper however which I do myself the honor to enclose contains a very interesting debate. You will observe that the supplies are voted for the ensuing year upon the War establishment, & it is plainly to be discovered that no orders had been sent to Sr. Guy Carleton for the evacuation of NYork, on the 3d of March. This corroborating suspicions which a studied ambiguity of expression & marked reserve in the communications of that Officer had before suggested—it will become a very serious step our compliance with the stipulations of the provisional Treaty on our part, particularly that Article which directs the liberation of Prisoners, the performance of which Sr. Guy presses with incessant ardor. The reinforcement of so formidable a force as they now hold in the heart of our Country with 6 or 8000 Men, would be a perilous measure in the present disorder'd nay distracted state of our political systems. If we find that they hover over us to seize the first advantage which the paroxisms of dissapointment & disgust will occasion, it will then require every exertion of the real patriots to strengthen the hands of Government relaxed to a degree that borders on anarchy. The Councils of the United States are devoted to the grand objects of satisfying the demands of the Army & those public Creditors whose Zeal & confidence have animated them to exertions ruinous to themselves altho' contributing to the preservation of America. If they are properly supported, Union & harmony may spring

from a permanent establishment of an happy government enjoyed in peace abroad & at home. But if the separate States will pursue measures subversive of all public credit—& thwart the united Councils by municipal prejudices—our Revolution will be productive of scenes of confusion, destructive of foreign & domestic quiet.

Your exertions in directing the views of the Virga line to the proper objects, have been similar to those that the General has with a degree of firmness alone equal to the task pursued in the grand Army—& their consequences will be not less beneficial to America than the most splendid military exertions.

With sincere wishes for your Health & happiness, I am Dr General,  
yr. mo. Ob. Sert. John F. Mercer

P.S. I had forgot to mention that the Court of Spain had at length recd. Mr. Carmichael in his Official character as Chargée d’Affaires—Altho’ it came but with a bad grace. He had his audience the 10th of Jany.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Van Berkel of Rotterdam, brother of our friend Mr. Van Berkel the Pensionary of Amsterdam, the father of the American Interest in the States General, is appointed Minister to the United States.

RC (NN: Myers Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Congress had ordered on March 9, 1781, that Morgan and his principal officers be presented with gold and silver medals for their January 17 victory at Cowpens, S.C. See *JCC*, 19:246–47.

<sup>2</sup> William Carmichael’s audience with the conde de Floridablanca had actually taken place on February 20 or 21, 1783. For despatches from Carmichael of September 8, 29 and December 30, 1782, and January 18 and February 4, 1783, and a March 2 report from the marquis de Lafayette enclosing his correspondence with Floridablanca that were read in Congress on April 25, see *PCC*, item 88, fols. 253–66, 332–51, item 156, fols. 324–31, 344–50, item 185, 3:63; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:710–11, 783–85, 6:184–87, 215–18, 259–60.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin

Sir. *Private* Philadelphia April 28th 1783.

The Bearer Colonel Ogden of the New Jersey Line,<sup>1</sup> a Gentleman who has been greatly distinguished for his Bravery & good Conduct, from the first commencement of the present War, having receivd the permission of Congress to make a Voyage to France, on his private concerns; I must take the Liberty to recomment him to your Excellency’s notice. He is of a good family in New Jersey, & having taken a very active part during the contest in this Country, deserves the favor & protection of every Friend to America.

He is one of those brave officers who persevered in the Journey thro’ the Wilderness to Quebec in the Year 1775, and was wounded in the attack on that City—he also bore a share in the Laurels of York Town.



I have the Honor of inclosing a Letter from the Commander in Chief,<sup>2</sup> which he has committed to my Care. We are in daily and anxious Expectation of the Definitive Treaty, having been a long time without advices from our ministers abroad, our last Letters being dated in February.

The terms of Peace give universal Satisfaction here, except the article relative to English Debts, remaining silent, as to the time allowed our Citizens to make the payments. The situation of our Country—The property of the Whigs being in the Public Funds, not a farthing of which can be had—The great Losses from the depreciated money, and the stagnation of Trade for years past—make it absolutely necessary that three or four years should be allowed, for this purpose, on giving security for the Debts. If an immediate payment should be required, it will cast our Merchants so entirely into the power of the British Creditors as to be very injurious to the interests of France.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very Hble Sert, Elias Boudinot

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Matthias Ogden, colonel of the First New Jersey Regiment, whose April 16 request for "leave to go to Europe" had been granted by Congress on April 21. See *JCC*, 24:263; and *PCC*, item 78, 17:353–56.

<sup>2</sup> For Washington's April 23 letter to Franklin, introducing Claude, baron de L'Estrade, who had served with the French forces at Yorktown, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:354–56.

## Daniel Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear sr.

Pha. Apl. 28th. 1783

Your favor of the 25th Instant is just come to hand—please to apply to Mr Calhoun for yr Shoes to whom I shall forward them by next Wednesdays Stage.

By this opportunity I have requested the G & C to apply for £150—in the manner you have mentiond. I flatter myself means may be procur'd on my return for what may remain due on the order.

Measures are taking for a supply of three months pay to the Army—which I think promise success as the financier will remain I Believe in office untill the arrangements for that purpose are made & compleated. The 6 Milln of Livres and more are anticipated. The State in my opinion would suffer a material injury, if the System of each State paying their own line, was adopted. It is now certain we have been much overrated. But there are still more material objections. An Address is agreed to by Congress to accompany the System of finance. It will probably be down the beginning of next week—to that I beg leave to refer you.<sup>1</sup>

I hope to be down by the 15th or 20th next month. A Balle. of abt. £40 for the present allowance will then be due me. If you have setteld the Tobacco affair of Mr McClanagan, pray favor me with an order on him—or a supply Some other way by the return of this post.

I am Dr sr., Yr. Most Obt Hble Servt, Danl Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Thomas Shaw

Sir Philadelphia April 28th 1783

I was in hopes not to have been Oblidged to have troubled you with another letter before the Close of your affair, but Notwithstanding I had finally Induced Mr Read to Attend the Court of Appeals as one of the Judges at the time Appointed, but when the Court was opened, Mr. Lewis who had been Council or Attorney for Colls. Stanton & Noyes Objected against the Courts proceeding, at that time as he had been informed by one of the Judges after he Understood that Mr Read could not attend till the 1st Monday in May that the Court could not be held untill that time & in Consequence of that Information he had wrote to Genll Varnum who he expected here not to come till that time on which the Court Inclined to postpone the hearing till the 1st Monday in May and have Assigned your Cause specially for hearing on that day & then not to fail. This has oblidged me to tarry till after that time, as I cannot think of now leaving the Cause after persuing of it with my utmost care for near 12 months.<sup>1</sup> I hope now a Very few day will decide it.

Yr Hle Servt, E Dyer

RC (CtY: Shaw Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the conclusion to this marathon case, see Dyer to Shaw, June 3, 1783.

## Daniel Carroll to William Paca

Dear sr., Pha. Apl. 29th. 1783

I believe it was some time in July last that I obtained from the G & C an order for the Balla. due me for the year 1781, amounting to near £500 specie.<sup>1</sup>

Having applied to the Intendant for the discharge of it, he informs me, that on an application to him from your Excellly & Honors, that it is probable he might contrive me abt £150 in 10 or 12 days.

The Honorable Mr. Stoddart has the order in his possesn. Please to Let him have directions to the Intendant for the obtaining £150 Specie in part.

I am with great respect, & esteem, Yr. Excellys & Honors Most Obt  
Servt, Danl. Carroll

RC (PHi: Etting Old Congress Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For this July 27, 1782, order of the Maryland Governor and Council, see *Md. Archives*, 48:223.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Apl. 29. 1783

Yesterday's post was the third that has arrived successively without a line from you.

The Definitive Treaty it is said is to be remitted to the two Imperial Courts for their approbation, before the last hand will be put to it. This will be a mere compliment however, and as the parties have settled their contests without their intermediation there can be no pretext if there were a disposition to meddle. It appears from English Gazettes that Shelburne has been so pressed by the unpopularity of some of the terms of peace, that he cd. not prevent a vote of the House of Commons declaring them to be disadvantageous & dishonorable. The consequence prognosticated is another change of the Administration in favor of North's & Fox's parties, who have made a common cause agst. Shelburne.

The propositions relative to the National debt, with an address enforcing it & referring to sundry documents &c is completed and will soon be forwarded to the Legislatures.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jefferson will have given you the general views of Congress on this subject.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:503-4.

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## James Madison to George Washington

Sir

Philada. Apr. 29. 1783.

I have been honored with Your Excellency's favor of the 22d inst. bearing testimony to the merits & talents of Mr. McHenry.<sup>1</sup> The

character which I had preconceived of this Gentleman was precisely that which your representation has confirmed. As Congress have not yet fixed the peace establishment for their foreign affairs and will not probably fill up vacancies unless there be some critical urgency, until such an Establishment be made, it is uncertain when an opportunity will present itself, of taking into consideration the wishes & merits of Mr. McHenry. Should my stay here be protracted till that happens, which I do not at present expect, I shall feel an additional pleasure in promoting the public interest from my knowledge that I at the same time fulfill both your Excellency's public judgment & private inclination.

I have the honor to be with perfect respect & sincere regard yr. Excellency's Obt. & hble Servt.  
J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:505.

<sup>1</sup> Washington's April 22 letter recommending Maj. James McHenry to be a secretary to the ministers abroad is in *ibid.*, pp. 484–85.

## John Francis Mercer to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Philadelphia April 29th. 1783.

I have judged it most advisable to enclose to yr. Excellency a Letter which I receiv'd a few days since from N. York.<sup>1</sup> Its contents will inform you how incapable I am of adding any comment or explanation, unacquainted wholly, with this young Gentleman & the truth of the circumstances which he alledges in his favor. Nor will I offer any observation of my own, how far he is an objectt of the Provisional Treaty, or any Law of the State, but request your Excellency to enable me to inform him how far his expectations & wishes can be complied with. With real respect & esteem I have the honor to be Yr Excellencys most Obt. Servt.

John F. Mercer

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The enclosure was apparently a March 17 letter to Harrison from Capt. John Wormeley who had served in the British army during the war but was attempting to re-join his family in Virginia. Washington, he explained, had informed him that a passport would be furnished "when I obtain'd permission from the Governor and Council of that state." Continental Congress Papers, Vi. For Wormeley's eventual success in regaining Virginia residency after overcoming several obstacles, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:218, 244, 365; Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 6:332n; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 5:286n.14.

## John Francis Mercer to George Weedon

Dear General.

Philadelphia, April 29, 1783

My indisposition has in some measure decreased, notwithstanding the perpetual routine of public business, of a nature too interesting not to agitate, has prevented my regaining perfect health. By the papers, which are enclosed, you have a very interesting debate in the House of Commons, which will in some measure corroborate the hints which I dropt in my last <sup>1</sup>—the force of which would otherwise be diminished by Sir Guy Carleton's last letter to Mr. Livingston, desiring the appointment of Commissioners to attend in New York, to the strict observance of that article of the provisional treaty, which relates immediately to the evacuation of the British posts. By this debate, it appears most clearly, that no orders had been sent to Sir Guy to leave New York, at that period, nor can we form any probable conclusion how long they shall continue him there, as they seem to connect his stay with the affairs of the Refugees. The vote of Parliament to continue a war establishment, induces a very serious consideration, how far it will be prudent and politic, to disband our troops and leave our Country defenceless and exposed, with so formidable a force in our bosom, restrained only by the faith which is due to a *provisional treaty*, certainly revocable at any moment, until a definite one shall be realized. The moment is critical, and demands the utmost exertions of those who are vested with confidential offices. I have a reliance in the prudence of Congress, who are really composed of members, at present, who rise in my estimation in proportion as our intimacy increases. For the present, adieu, and believe me, With much sincerity,

John F. Mercer

P.S. Upon looking for your letter, to give an extract of it to Sterret, I find it mislaid. You must excuse me, Dr. General. Indisposition and hurry have prevented your memorandum being yet complied with, but write it again, and it shall be done instantly.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 208–9.

<sup>1</sup> See Mercer to Weedon, April 11, 1783.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Philadelphia April 29th. 1783

By yesterdays post we were Honord with Yr. Excellencys favor of the 19th Inst.<sup>1</sup> We have informed Mr. Nathan of its contents, so far as they



related to him. Mr. Pollock has declined offering any security for the present, as he expects the returned Bills themselves, which he says will be the best Vouchers in his power to give.<sup>2</sup> We doubt not your having received, before this, the official information of the Cession of Hostilities & the Proclamation Issued by Congress.

Nothing Material has happened Since our last, except that it has been moved in Congress, by us, in order to sound the present disposition—viz “that the United States in Congress assembled will and they do hereby accept the Cession of Territory made to them in the act of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia bearing date the       day of       on the Terms and stipulations therein mentioend, except so much thereof as stipulates that the U.S. in Congress assembled shall guarantee to the said Commonwealth the remaining Territory containd within the Bounds therein described.”<sup>3</sup> It was committed and has produced a report of the Committe viz that the report of the former committe on the Cessions be taken up and Considerd;<sup>4</sup> that report Yr. Excellency has been heretofore informd, has been repeatedly considerd and as often laid aside—nor shd. we have now taken any steps to call it into view, but that we considered it as our duty to produce if possible some decisive determination on a matter so important to the welfare of our state, and of such consequence to the U States in General.

The report has not yet been taken up—on the recommendation of the Comm.—but we expect will in a few days—when we shall inform Yr. Excellency of its fate.<sup>5</sup> We are respectfully, Sr., Yr. Excellys most obedt. Svts,

Theok. Bland Jr.

John F. Mercer

A Lee

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Bland and signed by Bland, Lee, and Mercer. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:502.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Bernardo de Gálvez, May 4, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Theodorick Bland's April 23 motion was referred to a committee of five chaired by John Rutledge. See *JCC*, 24:271–72; and *PCC*, item 30, fol. 579. For Bland's earlier motion on western land cessions, see James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 18, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> In its April 25 report, which was not entered in the journals, Rutledge's committee recommended that a decision on Bland's motion be postponed until the original committee report of November 3, 1781, on Virginia's land cession was taken into consideration. See *PCC*, item 30, fol. 577, item 186, fol. 97. For that report, see these *Letters*, 18:188n.4.

<sup>5</sup> The report of Rutledge's committee was not considered until June 4, for which see Madison's Notes of Debates, June 4, note 2, June 6 and 10, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear sir,

Philadelphia April 30th. 1783.

Some time since I informed your Excellency (or the Secretary) <sup>1</sup> if my memory serves me, that Congress, were about recommending to the several states to set apart a day of humiliation, fasting & prayer, but such is the state of our public affairs at this time, that a recommendation will not be sent out.

Congress have lately come into a number of *important* resolutions respecting finance, by way of recommendations to the states, but if you shou'd not receive them *officially* before this comes to hand no doubt you will *very* soon after, therefore, I consider it unnecessary to be more particular.

I inclose your Excellency a state of the receipts and Expenditures of public monies for the year 1782.<sup>2</sup>

I have, with perfect respect, the Honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

FC (PPIIn). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See Holten to John Avery, March 19, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the enclosed *A State of the Receipts and Expenditures of Public Monies . . . from the 1st of January, 1782, to the 1st of January, 1783*, compiled by the register of the treasury Joseph Nourse, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:386.

The Massachusetts delegates' fiscal attention was about to return to the problem of obtaining congressional action on a memorial from the Massachusetts Assembly of October 21, 1782, respecting "measures for calling in the old emission bills," of which Holten reminded Samuel Osgood in the following brief note of May 3, 1783. "Dr. Holten presents his compliments to the Honorable Mr. Osgood, & requests that he wou'd send him, by the bearer, the first letter of instructions, respecting the late paper curry." Holten Papers, DLC.

## Samuel Holten to David Sewall

Dear Sir.<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia April 30th. 1783.

The letter you did me the honor to write the 26th ultimo, I have receiv'd, & observed the contents. The observations you are pleas'd to make respecting *Aliens & Denizens*, I think are very just, yet, I have no reason to think that such a recommendation as you mention wou'd be agreed to in Congress, as they seem to incline, to keep themselves, as much as possible, to the Confederal Union & not even to recommend to the states unless there is a great necessity for it; therefore I think it must lay with the several States to conduct the affair as they think proper, & as you justly observe "a subject of any one of the united States, is intituled to the rights of Citizenship thro' the whole." We have

now a large national debt to contend with & but little money to pay or funds to secure payment. Congress after the greatest deliberations have lately come into a number of very important resolutions respecting finance by way of recommendations & 'tho' the several states may not at present be convinced of the necessity of the measure, & their interest in adopting them, yet, I have no doubt the time will soon come when they will be convinced that the national debt can't be paid nor justice done to the public creditors in the way pointed out by the Confederation.

You was pleas'd to congratulate me "upon the prospect of an Hon-ble & speedy Peace," & please to accept in return the like salute, with the addition of its having really taken place; and what adds to this happy & glorious event is that we have obtained all that cou'd reasonably be expected.

I shall always consider myself honored by your addresses, but can engage nothing in return more than not to be wanting in numbers.

If your Honorable Colleagues in office shou'd happen to be present when this comes to hand, please to make them my best compliments & congratulations on account of Peace.

I have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your sincere friend & humble servant;

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> David Sewall, a judge of the Massachusetts Superior Court, has been identified in these *Letters*, 4:199n.1.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

[April ? 1783] <sup>1</sup>

I beg leave to subjoin, that as soon as some present Important matters with respect to Finance are got through that the Delegates from Massachusetts according to their positive instructions Aided with some other States will resume the Affair of the old Continental money, of which beside sinking their Quota they say they have now to the amountt of near 30 million dollars private property in that State which they Insist to be redeemed at 75 for one to be brot in & funded at that rate to be paid by the United States or that the several different States may be oblidge to sink their proportion which will oblidge such States to purchase it from them at any rate they please. I apprehend when the matter is brot on again they will succeed & probably in the first. If they do not they are determined to stop the Value thereof at 75 out of their taxes. The State of Connecticut is so much Interested in this Event I thot it my duty to renew my Notice to them on the Subject.

E Dyer

RC (CtHi; Jonathan Trumbull Papers). Only this fragment of the final page of this letter has been found.

<sup>1</sup> Dyer probably wrote this letter before Congress completed the revenue plan of April 18 or the "Address" adopted on April 25 to explain the plan to the states, the two fiscal measures that best seem to fit his opening reference to "some present Important matters with respect to Finance." He certainly wrote it before May 22, the date finally assigned for renewing debate on Massachusetts' memorial on "the old Continental money," but a May date seems unlikely as Dyer was preparing to return home by the end of the month and probably would not have written in the present vein so near the end of his current congressional term.

## Stephen Higginson? to Unknown

April [1783]

In truth the French did not intend a Peace, but were surprised into it. The Count de Vergennes, when he politely consented that the American Commissioners should meet Mr. Oswald, relied wholly on the restrictions he conceived them to be under, of recurring to him for advice, well knowing that in every such recurrence he would have it in his power to defeat the Negotiation. He expected too that sufficient Obstructions would necessarily arise on the part of the British, especially as he himself encouraged them. He intended to have dragg'd America thro' another Campaign at least, and instead of leaving her in Circumstances from which she would rise and make a figure, he meant that she should be so fetter'd with Embarrassments that she must have continued, in a large degree, dependent on France. Had this been the case, the political Connection with that nation might have been indissoluble. It is to the Count's mistake of the Characters of the American Commissioners, particularly Mr. Jay, that we are in some measure indebted for the present pacification. Had he supposed they would have dared to construe their Instructions in the liberal manner they have done, he assuredly would never have trusted them with the Opportunity. Mr. Oswald, it appears, considered the Interest of the two Countries in the same light with Adams and Jay, every Essay of the French therefore to divert him from the purpose was vain and fruitless. But peace, however grateful it is to the many, causes great Chagrin to some in public life. We have a Junto here so completely inlisted in the French Service, and so closely attached to them by some invisible tie, that I almost despair of seeing a Separation. These men, like those whom they serve, have it now in view to deprive us of those inestimable Advantages which, if we act wisely, must result to us from the Peace. Their Object is, to prevent our forming any commercial Connection with any European Power, other than Spain and Sweden—these Courts being entirely under the French Management. To this end they have pressed the recall of Dana, Adams, &c.

and have urged that Instructions should be given to enter into no treaty nor even Conversation on the Subject. Dana might have finish'd a very advantageous one long ago, but for the French Minister, whom he was bound to obey. Every opposition from the same quarter was made to Mr. Adams in Holland, and it was their Policy which so exceedingly embarrassed Mr. Jay at the Court of Madrid. In a word, it is clear, by the advices from all our Ministers, except Dr. F—— that they oppose our Connection with any power but themselves. They meant to save us, but it was to themselves and for their own use. We are now told that they are justly entitled to a Monopoly of our Tobacco Trade—that 'tis the smallest Compensation we can make for their kindness and their Expence in saving us—and that their Farmers have made Arrangements, counting on the Benefits to arise from this exclusive Trade.

But shall we give ourselves up to the Devil in this manner? Shall we neglect to avail ourselves of the Advantages within our Reach? Shall the Great Council of America discover less knowledge and less Virtue than their Servants have done in every line and every Character? Shall they at this stage of the business be the first to betray or relinquish the Interest of their Country? God forbid! For the honor of America, I hope it cannot happen. Our true Interest consists in avoiding too close a Connection with any Nation, and by pacific perseverance to derive commercial Benefits from all. And I trust there is still a Majority in Congress who think with me, and who, preferring the Interest of this Country, to that of any other, will pursue those measures that promise the advancement of it.<sup>1</sup>

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 110:205–10; and P.R.O. 30/55 [Carleton, or British Headquarters, Papers], No. 8492). This letter was sent (with extracts of three others) by Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North in a letter of August 1, 1783. Carleton also sent a similar one of August 5 (apparently from Higginson to Nathaniel Gorham) to Lord North on August 29. Although the British had captured a number of letters from congressional delegates during the war which were transmitted to England, these five were probably not intercepted but supplied by the writer. They were written over a period of four months, and share a strongly pro-British and anti-French point of view suggesting common authorship, one that is almost precisely mirrored in Higginson's letter to Theophilus Parsons of April 7–10? 1783. The letters enclosed in Carleton's August 1 letter to North are printed in this volume under the heading Stephen Higginson? to Unknown. The first three extracts are dated only "April," "May," and "May." The fourth, dated July 21, 1783, concludes with the following arresting observation that makes strikingly clear Higginson's frustration with French influence in America and determination to help Americans realize that their future interest lay in restoring good relations with Britain. "The Interest of America and Britain are so clearly one in my mind, that their joint Efforts should be exerted in opposition to the French. Without this, there is great Danger that, thro' the medium of unprincipled Individuals in the States, the Interest of America and Britain will be highly injured. I should not therefore hesitate at taking an active part in concert with them, so far as our Interest and theirs should coincide."

<sup>1</sup> For the next in this series of letters that Carleton sent to North, see Higginson? to Unknown, May 1783.



## Thomas FitzSimons to John Dickinson

Sir,

May 4. 1783

I have the honor to hand to Councill an Act of Congress passed the 1st Inst. & I hope in a few days, other Measures will be adopted to give farther satisfaction to the state upon Indian-Affairs.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, Yr Excellys Mo Obdt hble servt,

Thos. FitzSimons

RC (NN: United States Congress Collection).

<sup>1</sup> President Dickinson had directed Pennsylvania's delegates on April 3 to urge Congress to make peace "without loss of time . . . with all the Indian nations," and, in response to continued reports of casualties incurred in clashes with the Indians on the state's frontiers, he repeated the instruction on April 28. For Dickinson's letters, see PCC, item 69, 2:435-38, 447-50; *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:25, 45 (where they are dated April 4 and 29 respectively); and James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 2-5, 1783, note 6. The enclosed May 1 resolve, directing the secretary at war to "take the most effectual measures to inform the several Indian Nations, on the frontiers of the United States, that Preliminary articles of peace have been agreed on and Hostilities have ceased with Great Britain," is in *JCC*, 24:319-20.

## Virginia Delegates to Bernardo de Gálvez

Sir

Philada. May 4th. 1783

We have the honor of Enclosing to your Excellency a Resolution of the General Assembly of our State, by which your Excellency will see that the Accounts of Mr. Oliver Pollock, are Liquidated, and the balance put into a due Course of payment.<sup>1</sup>

We think it proper to give your Excellency this Information for the benefit of such of the subjects of the King of Spain as are in Possession of the Bills drawn by the said Mr Pollock on Penette, Dacosta, Freres & Co. These Bills will be paid agreeable to the Inclosed Resolve, upon thier being presented at the Treasury of Virginia.

We beg leave to recommend Mr Pollock to your Excellency's protection, as one who has suffer'd much and who has discharged his duty both to the Publick & to his Creditors with Zeal & Integrity.

We have the honor to be with sentimen[ts] of the highest respect, Your Excellencys Most Obedient and Humble Servts.

(Copy)	Sign'd {	Arthur Lee	Theok. Bland Jr
		J. Madison Jur.	John F. Mercer
		delegates in Congress from the State of Virginia.	

Tr (Archivo General de Indias: Cuba, legajo 2370). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:9–10.

<sup>1</sup> For this December 27, 1782, Virginia resolution and a review of the state's efforts to settle Pollock's claims against it, see *ibid.*, pp. 8–9, 10–12. On an earlier attempt to settle Pollock's accounts as commercial agent for Congress and Virginia in New Orleans, see also John Hanson to Estevan Miro, October 31, 1782, note 1.

In the meantime, Pollock had again presented a memorial and his accounts against the United States to Congress on February 24, 1783. They were assigned to a committee chaired by Thomas FitzSimons that reported March 26. Considering the report on April 10, May 1 and 2, Congress ordered Robert Morris to pay Pollock that portion of his account that could be authenticated as soon as "finances will permit." On May 1 Congress also allowed Pollock \$5,000—half the sum he requested—for his five years of service as agent at New Orleans and on May 30 appointed him as an unsalaried U.S. commercial agent at Havana. See *JCC*, 24:234–38, 266, 318, 323, 372, 376–77; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:385n.2.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday May 5. [1783]

Mr. Bland & Mr. Mercer moved to erase from the Journal the resolution of Friday the 2d instt. applying for an addition of three Millions to the grant of six millions by H. M. Xn Majesty, as in part of the loan of four Millions requested by the Resolution of Sepr. 14. 1782.<sup>1</sup> As the resolution of the 2d had been passed by fewer than nine States, they contended that it was unconstitutional. The reply was that as the three Millions were to be part of a loan heretofore authorized, the sanction of nine States was not necessary. The motion was negatived. The two movers alone voting in the affirmative.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:14.

<sup>1</sup> For these resolutions, see *JCC*, 23:577–79, 24:325–26.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Theodorick Bland and John Francis Mercer, Benjamin Hawkins also supported this motion. *JCC*, 24:328–29.

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir, (Circular) Philadelphia May 6th 1783

I have the honor of inclosing to your Excellency a certified Copy of an Act of Congress, of the 2d Instant.<sup>1</sup>

The universal importance of the Object, and the true interests of the United States in general & your State in particular, being so obviously engaged in support of this recommendation, make it unnecessary to add any arguments to inforce the attention of your State to so desirable a Subject.

I have the Honor &c,

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> The following note was added at this point in the margin: "relating to the establishing literary Property." For the enclosed May 2 act, recommending that the states "secure to the authors or publishers of any new books . . . the copyright of such books for a certain period of time, not less than fourteen years," see *JCC*, 24:326–27.

The movement for enacting general copyright legislation, which led Congress to adopt this resolution, had its origin in Connecticut, where Andrew Law, John Ledyard, and Noah Webster had secured protection for specific individual works in 1781 and 1782, and the General Assembly enacted a general copyright law in January 1783. Almost simultaneously the struggle for copyright protection was carried beyond the borders of Connecticut by Joel Barlow in a January 10, 1783, letter to Congress, which was referred to a committee consisting of Hugh Williamson, Ralph Izard, and James Madison on March 24. The committee's April 28 report "on the subject of literary property" contained the proposed resolution adopted by Congress on May 2. See *JCC*, 24:180, 211n; and PCC, item 24, fols. 91–93, item 78, 4:369–73. For the context of this campaign, see the introduction by James Gilreath in Elizabeth Carter Wills, comp., *Federal Copyright Records, 1790–1800* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1987), pp. xv–xxiv. Even before May 2, "Maryland and Massachusetts had anticipated the Continental Congress' action and already followed Connecticut's example. . . . [and] by 1786, all states except Delaware had passed a copyright law." *Ibid.*, p. xix. For the interest in copyright protection in Connecticut, see also Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Jr., January 29, and February 12 and 19, 1783.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Oliver Wolcott

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia May 6th. 1783.

I am happy to find by your letter of the 25th of April, that you was safe home, & in perfect humour, & that you propose by & by, writing a treatise <sup>1</sup> to keep every body else so. A work of this kind well executed would be a valuable production to the world, & conduce more, I dare say, to the health & happiness of mankind, than a great deal that is spent for doctors & clergymen. I hope, Sir, you will send me one of the first impressions, which I shall certainly stand in need of if I do not get away from here sooner than there is at present a prospect of. But it seems, Sir, that you are not quite out of the noise of politicks tho' you are happily removed from this seat of them. That horrid clamor you speak of, about commutation, a mere change of a name indeed, tho' it excites neither the Idea of guilt or fear in your mind, does very illy become a people of sense, especially in the very moment of their salvation, when every heart & voice ought to be joined in praise. But so it is, Sir, the princes of the power of the air, can raise storms any time when they have occasion for them, having elements to work upon, which, like the raging sea that casteth up mire & dirt, are easily set in motion.

We are not yet favoured with the definitive treaty. The completion of it is said, has been delayed for the approbation of the Emperor of Germany & the Emperess of Russia, or a compliment to

them, I suppose, for having so far interested themselves as to offer their mediation to bring it about.

General Washington & Sir Guy Carleton have an appointment to meet this day at Tappan, to confer about the evacuation of ports & other matters in the 7th article of the treaty. Nothing as yet appears to induce a suspicion that the treaty will fail of being carryed into execution on both sides as fast as the nature of the case will admit of. Certainly we cannot wish to see it violated & annulled, nor has Great Britain so much reason to be dissatisfied with it, under all circumstances, as North, Fox & their partisans pretend for, whose object probably is to hunt down the present minister & to transfer the popular odium from the criminal to the executioner. If Great Britain induced thereto by the folly of a former administration, must make us independant of herself, it is wise in her to do it with a grace, & in a manner that shall keep us also independant of France. This principle no doubt was well explained & enforced by Mssrs. Adams & Jay—but it would have been weakness in a British minister not to have adopted it, & in his large an extent, as in the present treaty seems to have been done. Even as to the Loyalists, which are said to have been sacrificed for nothing, I believe the true interest of the British nation is better secured by peopling a Colony with them, than it could have been by reinstating them with us. Their number is said to be near 30,000.

A number of officers from Sir Guy Carleton are now in town going on to take charge of the british prisoners at Lancaster & elsewhere & conduct them by land to New York. Sir Gui expects soon to be superceeded or relieved by General Gray.

Three months pay is like to be made to the Army when they shall be disbanded. One third in Cash & the rest in Mr. Morris's notes. He will continue in office until the engagements he shall enter into for this purpose, & those that he has already entered into which are not yet performed, shall be fulfilled.

Congress are busy on the peace arrangements; and I now think will not have a recess the ensuing summer.

Should this find you at Hartford, as I hope it will, I must beg your influence with Mr. Huntington to come forward to Congress as soon as he can, as Coll Dyer does not propose to stay much longer & there is danger of Congress being without a representation of nine states which would greatly embarras the business they have now generally to transact. I hope Mr Strong<sup>2</sup> or some other gentleman will also be ready to relieve me. I do not & dare not think of staying thro' the Summer.

I was favoured with your letter from Danbury—which, as Brown was here, I omitted to answer till he should return, which did not happen till I recd your other letter of the 25th. I shall be very happy, Sir, to receive your letters as long as I stay here, & to merit the continuance of your confidence & friendship as long as I live. With compliments to

Mrs. Wolcot & your Daughters—I am, Dear Sir, with gratitude & sincerity, Your obedt. Huml Servt.  
Oliv Ellsworth.

RC (CtHi: Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Jedediah Strong, deputy to the Connecticut assembly from Litchfield, who was elected a delegate to Congress in both 1782 and 1783 but never served. *Journal of the Connecticut House of Representatives*, DLC(ESR), May 9, 1782, May 8, 1783.

## Joseph Jones to George Washington

Dr. Sr.

Philada. 6th May 1783.

We have at length got through the plan of funds to be recommended to the States for their adoption.<sup>1</sup> It has been the most difficult & perplexing discussion of any that has engaged the attention of this body for some time. The various objects to be combined, and the different interests to be reconciled, to make the System palatable to the States was a wish not easily or speedily to be effected, and altho' it was the wish of many to settle the plan upon clear and unquestioned principles of finance, yet such were the prejudices of some States, and of some individuals, and such their jealousies, we were obliged to take a middle course with respect to its duration, and the appointment of Collectors, or hazard ultimately the loss of the measure. As it stands I believe it will answer the purposes intended, if the States will grant their concurrence—a Copy will be transmitted to you for yours and the Armys information.

As the State of our finances at present is such as to make it difficult for the present officer now at the head of that departmt., much more so for any new hand who might succeed him, to form the necessary arrangemts. for obtaining money sufficient for disbanding the Army Mr. Morris has agreed to act untill that business is accomplished<sup>2</sup> and will I hope be able to effect it to the satisfaction of the Army—but from appearances the period of disbanding will be more distant than in any at first apprehended, if that measure, as it seems to be proper it shod., goes hand in hand with the evacuation of our Country by the British forces. By this time you are better able to judge of the views and designs of Sr. G. Carleton or of those who direct his movement as I presume the intended interview took place—tho' I confess I thought there was indelicacy in the manner of that Gentlemans mentioning his proposed attendants. In every thing else, but that of evacuation (and they may be doing all they can in that for any thing I know) they seem to act with fairness and liberality and I shod. be sorry to find them in that, or any other instance, practicing the old game of deception—we have reports something of this sort appears in their conduct



respecting the Negros in their possession claimed by our Citizens—these relations come from men of character and untill the contrary is ascertained of what they assert, credit will be given their reports.<sup>3</sup> No proclamations can authorize a refusal of property to those who claim under the article of the Treaty, and establish their right by satisfactory proof. Col. F. Thornton of Machadach about two years ago lost many of his Negros who went on board some of the British ships of war up Potomack, he wrote to me the other day ab. them—these I believe are not sanctioned by proclamation and yet I suspect if the old Gentleman was to send a person to claim them, his labour woud. be lost. If what we are told respecting the conduct of those in power in N. York concerning the claimed property of the American Citizens be true, it will prove an effectual bar to the restoration of confiscated Estates had there been a disposition in the States before to render them. I wish to have seen the treaty faithfully executed on both sides, but when arts and prevarication take place on one side, they are apt to prevail on the other. I proceed immediately to Virga. in order to attend the assembly now convening <sup>4</sup> and shall thank you for any information respecting these matters you can properly communicate—that the truth may be known, and misrepresentations if any prevail, removed. If any thing occurs to you which you do not choose to communicate directly to the Executive with respect to the arrangements necessary to be made on a peace, and shall confide them to me, proper attention shall be paid to your observations. With perfect esteem & respect I am, Dr. Sr., yr. aff hum. Servt.

Jos. Jones.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For Robert Morris' continuation in office, see *JCC*, 24:283–85, 326; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:789–90.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, James Madison's Notes of Debates, May 8, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Jones had not voted the preceding day and apparently left Philadelphia after posting this letter. See *JCC*, 24:329; and James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, this date.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Tuesday May 6. [1783]

A motion was made by Mr. Lee, to recommend to the several States to pass laws indemnifying Officers of the Army for damages sustained by individuals from Acts of such officers rendered necessary in the execution of their military functions. It was referred to Mr. Lee, Mr. Williamson & Mr. Clarke.<sup>1</sup>

He proposed also that an Equestrian Statue should be erected to General Washington.<sup>2</sup>

A report from the Secy. of For. Affairs of a Treaty of Commerce to be entered into with G. Britain, was referred to Mr. Fitzsimmons, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Hemsley, & Mr. Madison.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:15.

<sup>1</sup> There is no entry in Secretary Thomson's journals for this date, but for the report of this committee and its adoption the next day, see *JCC*, 24:330; and *PCC*, item 21, fols. 347–48, item 186, fol. 99. See also Madison's Notes of May 7.

<sup>2</sup> According to the endorsement on Lee's draft motion, it was referred this day to a committee consisting of Lee, Oliver Ellsworth, and Thomas Mifflin, which delivered a report on May 8 that was adopted on August 7. See *PCC*, item 36, 2:105–6, item 186, fol. 100; and *JCC*, 24:330n.1, 494.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this action in the journals, but according to Secretary Thomson's "committee book" the issue of a commercial treaty with Britain, the subject of John Adams' letter to Robert R. Livingston of February 5, had been referred on April 28 to a committee consisting of Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, and John Rutledge, which recommended the following day that a special commission for this purpose be issued to John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay. Congress adopted this recommendation on May 1 and simultaneously directed the secretary for foreign affairs to prepare "a plan of a treaty of commerce and instructions relative to the same," which resulted in the report referred to here. See *JCC*, 24:320–21, *PCC*, item 19, 1:33–36, item 186, fol. 97; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:242–47.

For the report of Thomas FitzSimon's committee, which was submitted and read on June 19 but "superseded" by subsequent action of Congress on October 29, see *JCC*, 24:404–5; and *PCC*, item 25, 2:233–35.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. May 6. 1783.

Your favor of the 21 Ult.<sup>1</sup> written at Col. Pendleton's was brought to hand by the post of last week. Col. Floyd's family did not set out untill the day after it was received. I accompanied them as far as Brunswick, about 60 miles from this, and returned hither on Friday evening. Mr. Jones will attend the Assembly, and proposes to begin his journey this afternoon, if the present rain should cease.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lee also means to set out for the same purpose in a few days.<sup>3</sup>

[Congress have received a long and curious epistle from Mr. Adams dated in February addressed to the president not to the secretary for foreign affairs.<sup>4</sup> He animadverts on the revocation of his commission for a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, presses the appointment of a minister to that court with such a commission, draws a picture of a fit character in which his own likeness is ridiculously and palpably studi[e]d, finally praising and recommending Mr. Jay for the appointment *provided* injustice must be done to an older servant.]<sup>5</sup>

Letters from the Marquis de la Fayette and Mr. Carmichael shew that the Court of Spain has become pretty tractable since the acknowledgment of our Independence by G. B.<sup>6</sup> The latter has been treated

with due respect, and the Court has agreed to accede to the territorial limit fixed for W. Florida in the provisional Articles. The navigation of the Mississippi remains to be settled.

My absence from Congs. the past week disables me from giving you exact information of their latest proceedings. I am told that in consequence of {Mr. A—— letter the secretary of foreign affairs has been instructed to project a treaty of commerce with Great Britain} which will {probably bring the attention of Congress to the general department of foreign affairs.} <sup>7</sup>

Under the same cover with this are two letters for Miss Patsy, one from Mrs. Trist, and the other from Miss Floyd with the copy of a song. I beg that my compliments may be accepted along with them.

I am Dear Sir your sincere friend, J. Madison Jr.<sup>8</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:18–19.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See Joseph Jones to Washington, this date, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For Arthur Lee's attendance in Congress during this period, see Madison to Edmund Randolph, April 1, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, the letter was addressed to Robert R. Livingston, the secretary for foreign affairs, for which see the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Words in braces in this text were written by Madison in a variation of the official Virginia cipher.

<sup>6</sup> See John Francis Mercer to Daniel Morgan, April 24, 1783, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Madison clearly wrote this letter before attending Congress this day. See the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> This day Madison also executed a receipt for Theodorick Bland in the amount of \$332 15/19, or one-fifth of £500 Virginia currency, remitted to the Virginia delegates in a bill drawn by agent David Ross. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:16.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My Dear Friend

Philada. 6 May. 1783.

After a silence of 4 weeks your favor of the 26 Ult. was particularly welcome.<sup>1</sup> Your conjecture was but too well founded as to the compiler of the Proclamation.<sup>2</sup> The offensive passages were adverted to by some, but the general eagerness on the occasion, increased by some unavoidable delays, rendered all attempts to draw the attention of Congress to smaller inaccuracies unacceptable.

We have no late despatches from Paris, except a letter from Mr. Adams which affords a new & signal exemplification of those qualities which have so much distinguished his correspondence with Congress. We are informed from Madrid by Mr. Carmichael & the Marquis de la Fayette, that that Court, since the British acknowledgmt. of our Independence has dismissed its hauteur & reserve towards the U. S., has treated the American Chargé d'Affaires with due attention & has sig-

nified its acquiescence in the limits fixed by the provisional articles between the U. S. & G. B. The navigation of the Mississippi remains to be discussed.

Yesterday was fixed for an interview between Genl. W. and Sr. G. Carlton for the purpose of taking arrangements for carrying the stipulations of the provisional articles into effect. The interview was proposed by the former, who intimated that as the evacuation of the post of N. Y. was particularly interesting to the State of N. Y., Govr. Clinton would accompany him on the interview. The answer of Carlton imputed that he did not decline the proposition, but suggested that as Genl. Gray was expected with final orders it might be best to postpone the conference; adding that he should be attended by *Lt. Govr. Elliott* and *Chief Justice Smith*.

The sample you give of the new Assembly is a flattering one. The plan of revenue with an address & sundry documents enforcing it is in the press & will soon be ready for them. Mr. Jones proposes to set out this evening, & will make but a very short stay at home. Mr. Lee enters on his journey tomorrow & proceeds without a halt to Richmond.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:20–21.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 6:499–500.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the ceasefire proclamation drafted by Robert R. Livingston that Congress adopted on April 11.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Lee did not leave Philadelphia until May 12, for which see Madison to Randolph, May 13, note 1.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir

Philadelphia 6th May 1783

We have not any thing material to communicate.

General Washington & Sir Guy Carleton were to meet on yesterday at Tappan, in consequence of a Resolve of Congress directing Genl Washington in Conjunction with the Secretary at War to enter on proper Arrangements for the restoration of prisoners and the Evacuation of the several posts in possession of the British in the united States.<sup>1</sup>

From Sir Guy Carletons Letter to the Genl, it appears that Sir Charles Gray is hourly expected with the final Orders, from the british Ministry.

We have the honor to be, Your Excellencys & Honors most Obedt. Servts.

Danl. Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Hemsley and signed by Hemsley and Carroll.

<sup>1</sup> See Maryland Delegates to Paca, May 13, note 1.

## Richard Peters to Baron Steuben

My dear Sir,

6th May 1783

You continue to complain I find by Mr Depentiere that I do not write to you. I thought you knew me better than to expect it. Shall I be perpetually telling a Man I have an Esteem for that my Respect & Affection for him continues. This would be supposing such reiterations necessary & this I will not suppose. As to your Plans I have received them & have given them to the Committee for Peace Establishments.<sup>1</sup> You know how much I value all your military Opinions & therefore I need not tell you that I find much to commend in this.

But if I were to go into the Details my Answer would be wordy & possibly not well grounded. All of them will not be adopted but they will furnish very respectable Parts of any Building we may erect.

We are all well at Belmont. I wish you & your Neighbours at Camp were as well satisfied. It is the Thing nearest my Heart that the Army should be satisfied. Every thing in the power of Congress is doing but how our plans will succeed a short Time will determine.

Yours afftely,

Richard Peters

RC (NH: Steuben Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Peters to Steuben, April 23, 1783, note 1.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Philada. 6 May 1783.

Your Excellency's favor of the 25th Ulto 1 came duly to hand yesterday. A commercial intercourse is under present circumstances carried on freely from other States with our late Enemy, and as far as an advantage can be drawn from it, Virginia must certainly be equally entitled to share in it.

Congress have recd. no further intelligence relative to the final treaty of peace, nor any other material intelligence from Europe.

The plan to be recommended to the states for funding the national debt, has been at length concluded, and with the documents proper to explain & urge it, will be forwarded as soon as the whole can be duly prepared.

We inclose your Excellcy. a letter addressed to us from Coulougnac & Cie. representing their transactions with Penet.<sup>2</sup>



We have the honor to be with sentiments of due respect Yr. Excellcy's  
Obt. & hbl servts.

J. Madison Jr.

John F. Mercer

Arthur Lee

RC (PHi: Dreer Collection). Written by Madison and signed by Madison, Lee, and Mercer. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:17.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but for the request of Coulignac et Cie to be reimbursed for military supplies ordered by Gov. Thomas Jefferson on behalf of the state, see *ibid.*, p. 17n.4.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia May 7th. 1783.

I have duly recd. your Excellency's several public dispatches of the 9th, 18th & 30t of Aprill and 3d May, all which have from time to time been laid before Congress.<sup>1</sup>

We are without any farther advices from Europe than what your Excellency has already received, except that Compte De Vergennes in a Letter to the Minister of France of the 27th Febr'y,<sup>2</sup> mentions that there are no difficulties in the Way of the definitive Treaty—that they were waiting for Answers from the Courts of Petersburg & Vienna, as the Emperor & Empress had been invited to attend the signing of that Treaty in the Character of Mediation, I suppose as a Compliment.

I shall be careful to transmit the first Intelligence we receive from Europe, without delay.

I have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of regard & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedt. & very Hble Servt

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> These letters are in PCC, item 152, 11:211–14, 219–26, 237–40, 249–52; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:308, 330–34, 370, 398–400.

<sup>2</sup> Vergennes' February 27 letter to the chevalier de La Luzerne is in Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondence politique, États-Unis, 23:188–90.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Thomas Shaw

Sir

Philadelphia May the 7th 1783

I have once more to Inform you of a small delay in the Trial of your Cause in my Next hope to Acquaint you with a favourable Issue. I had pushed the matter to the Extreem to prevent Judge Griffins resigna-

tion, & after that to prevent his making a Journey to Virginia before your cause come on & by which means he tells me he has lost at least £400. I insisted on Judge Reeds Attendance on the 14th day of April & when all was done And the Courts meeting on that day Coll. Stantons Attorney here Viz Mr Lewis objected to the proceeding in the Cause on that day for that after the appointment of the Court to be held on the 14th & Judge Griffen having recieved letters from Mr Lowell & Mr Reed that they could not attend till the 1st Monday in May & in Consequence thereof had sent to Rhodisland & Boston that the Court would not be held till that time which had prevented Genll Varnum, Coll Stantons Attorney his coming forward & therefore he was not prepared to proceed. We found the Court inclined to postpone the Matter till that time & it was feard if we pressed the matter too hard it might prejudice the Court & endanger the Merits whereupon it was Yielded to Assign the Cause for a hearing on the first Monday in May provided Mr Lewiss should write to Genll Varnum or Coll Stanton to delay the execution till a Trial could be had which he engaged to do when the 1st Monday in May Arrived Mr Lowel from Boston was here & your cause was to have come on but Unhapily Judge Griffin was Very Unwell & no Court could be held that day for Mr Lowell could not take his seat till he had got through some causes he was concerned in. The Next day being Tuesday Judge Griffin & Mr Reed Attended, Mr Lewis then Informed the Court he had waited on Monday and then depended on a Trial but that the Supreme Court was then sitting at Chester wherein among others he was concerned in two or 3 Capital Cause for the prisoner on life & death, they depended upon him for Assistance & that he could not possibly return till Saturday, & Mr Lowell & all the Lawyers present urged that the 3 or 4 Causes on which Mr Lowell was concernd as Counsell might be first tried so as he might then take his seat as Judge which he could not do till his Causes were determined, & Considering your Cause to be an Important one & that if we went to Trial before only 2 Judges if we lost it, or the Judges should be divided no Judgment could be given, we should repent he had not delayd it a few days that we might have a full Court & all the Lawyers present appeard Very Urgent to have Mr Lowells Causes first Tried for the reasons above mentioned & the Court seeming also much inclined it was therefore finally Consented to have your Cause delayd till Next Monday when it is fully agreed by Court, parties & all it shall be heard & Tried without further delay. Indeed I was prepared & had fully Intended to have returned home before this time but am determined if Providence permit at all Adventures to see your cause through before I leave Philadelphia.

Mr Lewis has not yet withdrawn the Attachment on late Capt Herns money but encourages me strongly he will in a few days. I urge the matter as far and as fast as it will bare without puting him out of

humor, hope I may yet succeed. I urge the distress of the widow immediately after your cause is determined. I mean to leave this City on my return home. Am with sincere regard Yr Hle Servt,

Elipht Dyer

RC (CtY: Shaw Papers).

## Samuel Holten to Joseph Ward

Dear sir.

Philadelphia, May 7th. 1783.

Your attention of the 28th of March, I receiv'd the 14th ultimo, & immediately caused the inclosed to be deliver'd at Mr. Horton's lodgings; and be assured it will always give me pleasure to render you services.

You are pleas'd to congratulate me "on the rising prospects in favor of our Country," & please to accept, in return, the like salute, with the addition that Peace has really taken place, & what adds to this happy and glorious event, is that we have obtained all that cou'd reasonably be expected.

Congress are greatly embarrassed with a national debt, & but little money to pay or funds to secure payment; they have lately come into a number of important resolutions respecting our finances, by way of recommendations to the several states, but if they shou'd not be convinced of the necessity of the measures, & not comply with them, I fear we shall suffer in our national character, & much injustice may be done to the public creditors, by delay of payment, for I am fully convinced that this people can't discharge the national debt in the common mode of taxation.

Please to accept my sincere thanks for your good wishes for my "health and felicity," & receive for your self the like in return.

I am, with particular respect, your most obedient;

S. Holten

RC (ICHi: Ward Papers). Addressed: "Colo. Joseph Ward, Massachusetts, Sutton."

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday May 7. [1783]

The Resolution moved yesterday by Mr. Lee for indemnifying military Officers, being reported by the Committee was agreed to.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee on a motion of Mr. Dyer, reported "that the States which had settled with their respective lines of the army for their pay

since Aug 1, 1780, should receive the Securities which would otherwise be due to such lines."

The report was opposed on the ground that the settlements had not been discharged in the value due. The notes issued in payment by Connecticut were complained of, as being of little value.

The Report was disagreed to. See Journal.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:22.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:330; and Madison's Notes of May 6.

<sup>2</sup> JCC, 24:330-31. Eliphalet Dyer's motion "for securing to the states the repayment of the money advanced in settling with their respective since Aug 1780," had been referred on May 2 to a committee consisting of Stephen Higginson, Abraham Clark, and John Lewis Gervais. See PCC, item 36, 2:73, item 186, fol. 99; and JCC, 24:327.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Avery

Sir, Philadelphia, May 7th, 1783.

Your official letter to the delegates in Congress from Massachusetts, of the 21st ulto. has been receiv'd & attended to; and it is with pleasure they comply with the request of his Excellency & the Honorable Council, and inclose the Journals of Congress.

Some time since we were requested to transmit the unsettled Accounts that had been lodged here from Massachusetts; they were sent forward about a fortnight directed to his Excellency,<sup>1</sup> which we hope has come safe to hand. In the name & behalf of my Colleagues, I am, Sir, your most obedient,

S. Holten

FC (PPIIn: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten and endorsed by him: "Copy of an official letter to the Secry. from the Delegates. May 7th 1783."

<sup>1</sup> No letter of this description has been found, although Holten may have enclosed these Massachusetts accounts with his letter to Gov. John Hancock of April 30.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday May 8. [1783]

Mr. Bland suggested that the Prisoners of War should be detained, until an answer be given as to the delivery of slaves, represented in a letter from Mr. Thomas Walke, to be refused on the part of Sr. Guy Carlton.<sup>1</sup>

On his motion seconded by Mr. Williamson it was ordered that the letter be sent to Gen. Washington for his information, in carrying into effect the Resolution of Apl. 15, touching arrangements with the British Commander for delivery of the posts, negroes &c.<sup>2</sup>

A Portrait of Don Galvez was presented to Congress by Oliver Pollock.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:28.

<sup>1</sup> For Thomas Walke's May 3 letter to the Virginia delegates, complaining of the obstacles he had encountered in New York in attempting to reclaim Virginia slaves "wrested from us by the British enemy," see *ibid.*, pp. 5–7.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:333; and Elias Boudinot to Washington, May 9, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See the following entry.

## Elias Boudinot to Oliver Pollock

Sir, Philadelphia May 9th. 1783.

I have the honor to inform you in answer to your favour of the 7th inst. that Congress have chearfully accepted the portrait of Don Bernardo De Galvez late Govenor of Louisiania in consideration of the early & Zealous friendship of that Gentlemen frequently manifested in behalf of these States, and have directed me to cause it to be hung up in the Hall of the Presidents House.<sup>1</sup>

It is with Pleasure I make this communication, And am &c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:333. According to the Catalog of American Portraits maintained at the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., the location of this portrait is not known

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir, (Circular) Philaa. May 9th. 1783.

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency (together with the system recommended for the support of public credit) the address of Congress to the several States in the Union, on the important subject of public finance—a subject in which the well-being of the Confederacy is most intimately concerned.<sup>1</sup>

This system has received the most solemn deliberate, & serious consideration of Congress—to which I am instructed to call the most speedy attention of your State.

If this should not find the Legislature sitting or likely so to do in a very short Time I am expressly commanded by Congress earnestly to request it may be summoned with all possible expedition.

The Difficulty of doing business without a full Congress, and the great importance of their present deliberations, make it necessary again for me to remind the States whose representation in Congress is deficient of the great propriety of insisting on the immediate attendance of their Delegates.<sup>2</sup>

I have the Honor &c,

E B



LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed fiscal resolves of April 18, and "Address to the States" on the "necessity of complying with them" adopted on April 26, see *JCC*, 24:256–61, 277–83. For the drafting of the "Address," which was the work of James Madison as chairman of a committee (with Oliver Ellsworth and Alexander Hamilton) appointed on April 18, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 6:487–98. The final *Address and Recommendations to the States* was accompanied by eight numbered "Papers" documenting the fiscal crisis facing the United States, which were incorporated into the 64-page pamphlet printed by David C. Claypoole enclosed by Boudinot, for which see *JCC*, 24:285–311, 25:986–87; and Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, nos. 18,223–18,224. For the dissemination of congressional fiscal recommendations at this time, see also Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:767–81, 789–90.

<sup>2</sup> For the difficulty of maintaining a quorum in Congress at this time, see also Boudinot to Certain States, June 3, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia May 9th 1783.

I have the honor of inclosing to your Excellency, an Act of Congress of the eighth instant, together with the Letter,<sup>1</sup> therein referred to, and have the pleasure to be, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & very Humble Servant.

Elias Boudinot.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> At this point in the LB an asterisk was inserted, to which the following note was keyed in the margin: "Letter from Mr Walke relating to the Enemy's taking off Negroes." For Congress' response to the representations of Thomas Walke, see James Madison's Notes of Debates, May 8, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Boudinot also wrote the following additional letter to Washington this date: "I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency a Copy of the recommendatory System of Finance, lately adopted by Congress, together with their address to the several States [*see the preceding entry*], which may serve for your information and amusement." Washington Papers, DLC.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday May 9. [1783]

A question on a Report relating to the occupying the Posts when evacuated by the British was postponed by Virginia in right of a State.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Dyer moved a recommendation to the States to restore confiscated property conformably to the Provisional Articles. The motion produced a debate which went off without any positive result.<sup>2</sup> Adjourned to Monday.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:29.

<sup>1</sup> This report had been submitted by a committee appointed on May 6 to recommend a reply to Washington's May 3 letter "on measures necessary to be taken respectg west-

ern posts," which he wrote in response to instructions Congress had adopted on April 15. See *JCC*, 24:242–43; PCC, item 186, fol. 99; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:398–400. There is no mention of this matter in the journals, but two reports from this committee, submitted on May 8 and May 9, respectively, are in PCC, item 19, 6:431–33, item 38, fols. 303–4. The former, in the hand of Alexander Hamilton, recommended that whenever enemy-occupied posts were evacuated, the commander in chief should garrison them with whatever troops remained under his command, which implied a Continental jurisdiction over them inadmissible to Virginia, inasmuch as some of the posts were located in the northwest territory claimed by that state. The latter, in the hand of Oliver Ellsworth, is a slightly revised version of the Hamilton report, but contains the same recommendation Virginians found offensive. It is endorsed by Charles Thomson: "May 9. 1783. Postponed by State of Virginia. Passed May 12. 1783." According to the vote on this recommendation recorded by Thomson on the verso, it was opposed only by the Virginia delegates, Theodorick Bland, Arthur Lee, and John Francis Mercer—Madison not in attendance.

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of this matter in the journals. At issue was article V of the "Provisional Articles" ratified by Congress on April 15, which provided that "Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties, which have been confiscated." See *JCC*, 24:248.

## Elias Boudinot to Elizabeth Ferguson

My dear Madam.

Philadelphia May 10th. 1783.

The Bearer of your kind Favour of the 5th Instt. this moment called on me, and is to return immediately. I will do what lays in my Power to finish his Business.

My poor Susan <sup>1</sup> has been very ill, and is but just begining to set up, tho' I hope quite on the recovery. When able, and I am convinced it will not be inconvenient to your domestic matters, will give her a Jaunt to Græme Park, of which she is very fond. I sincerely sympathize with you in *all your Troubles*. I most earnestly wish it was in my Power to remove them all, and to restore their direct reverse, I mean the most perfect Happiness. I have also seen some Trouble in my Life, and therefore can feel for my Friends. Have often experienced, as the only Consolation amidst impending Evills, the great advantage of looking to the great Governor of the universe, as directing all the Affairs of this lower World, even the most minute with infinite Wisdom. The kindest Father will sometimes correct the most beloved Child, in a manner not entirely suitable to the apprehension of the sufferer—and I have often taken notice that the most hospitable Lord, will chearfully part with the finest Lamb of the flock.

God only knows, what designs infinite wisdom has on our sufferings. This is sufficient for us, to know, that he who has counted all the Hairs of our Head, and whose Knowledge extends to the falling of a Sparrow whose Price is but a Farthing, cannot do [...] "*Of how much more Value are you than many Sparrows.*" <sup>2</sup>

I really am distressed for poor Mr S——n. Your [...] seem not to be at an End. I heartily pray to God, to grant you his special Support. I know this is but poor Comfort to one who stands in need of more effective aid, but I am tied by the Foot, or I would immediately pay you a Visit.

Mrs. Boudinot is confined with her one little Ewe Lamb, as you may imagine, as it [is] the chief of her Treasure.

Both join in kindest Love to yourself & Miss Stedman. Excuse this scrawl as it is wrote with all the hurry of a Man of Business.

Am truly, Your Affecte,

Boudinot

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot inserted an asterisk at this point to which he keyed the following comment in the margin: "She has had the Measles severely."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "ye are of more value than many sparrows," Matthew 10:31 and Luke 12:7.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker

Philada. May 13th 1783

Having much to do and many letters to write I had determined to deferr answering yr. letters by this post—but reflecting on yr. Punctuality—I could not forego acknowledging the rect. of yr. letters of March the 6th, 10th & 14th which came all to hand about the same time, and with one of them the enclosed Bill on Inglis for 33⅓ dollars, which was paid at Sight—and was tho a small sum very seasonable and acceptable. I am sorry that you have not been able either to rent or dispose of any of my Estates—these—go among the number of my small misfortunes—an addition to which I have lately had in the loss of the most valuable servt. I ever possessd—Bell—who died Suddenly in child bed. I was much pleased with your political Reverie. I think there are some good & new thoughts. But there are so many Lycurgusses in our day—that the Sentiments of an Individual is either lost or confounded with the rubbish of opinions so that there is little or no encouragement to set up a manufacture of constitutions. We find the cobbler always ready with his awl & end to heel Tap the constitution where it wants mending—and the Blacksmith to Iron bind the wheels of State. The wisdom of later ages has taught them not to listen to Political dogmas—but to patch, Tinker & Solder up the old Kettle for present use—and leave it to be mended and remended by future generations. I nevertheless love to Indulge political Chimera's. They sometimes produce good, always amusement. I am not much surprized at the new born Patriots who have lately made their appearance in yr. Hemisphere. Slip in is now the word and Yr. Womelys, and a long list of Zealous friends to America will now appear. Take care of

these o ye Romans—vel sic vos non vobis <sup>1</sup>—will certainly be your portion. I have written a long letter to Fanny by this post.<sup>2</sup> Patsy has also written. Make our respectfull compts to Yr Brother if he is with you.

God Bless You,

T Bland

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, thus you labor, but another gets the credit—words written by Virgil to expose a rival who had wrongly claimed credit for a couplet written by Virgil. Hugh Percy Jones, ed., *Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations* (Edinburgh: J. Grant, 1929), p. III.

<sup>2</sup> Bland's letter of this date to his sister Frances Tucker is also in the Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW. Although chiefly devoted to personal and family matters, it also contains the following observations on public service and the prospects of retirement. "A series of almost eight years constant employment in Public business, attended with a Constant abstraction from the greatest number of those I love most and from those scenes capable of yeilding the most real pleasure, and in which I most delight—begins to excite in me strong inclinations, for quiet retirement; I have persued the course in which I began untill I thank god we are nearly arrived at the goal—dont pun on the word—and I have serious thoughts of returning in the fall to the bosom of solitude, friendship, and peace—never more to launch into the troubled Ocean of Politics, to Hunt after the Phantom Fame or persue the Bubble Honor e'en in the Canons-mouth."

## Daniel Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear sr.,

Pha. May 13th. 1783

Mr. McClanaghan not being in Town I have not receivd an answer on your order. If he shou'd fail to pay it, I shall draw agreeable to your direction. My stay here will be longer than I expected, owing to a fall from my Sulky, which hurt my Left arm considerably. It is mending, but slowly.

I wrote some time past to the G & C on the Subject of yours of the  
I hope that business is accomplis'd, & that I shall receive an order by next post; the *extraordinary* expences I am *obliged* to be at make it more, & more necessary.

I beg leave to refer you to the enclosd paper. I am, Dear sr. with sentiments of respect, yr. Mo Obt & Hble Servt, Danl. Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

## Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia, May 13th, 1783

Little has occurred here worth your Excellency's notice since Col<sup>o</sup>. Dyer addressed you by Messenger Brown.<sup>1</sup>

An interview has been had between General Washington & Sir Guy Carleton at Orange-town, for sundry purposes relating to the execution of the 7<sup>th</sup> article of the provisional treaty. Every assurance is given by the Latter that New York with Penobscot shall be evacuated as soon as the Shipping necessary for that purpose can be procured, which he has sent for. Commissioners on the part of the United States are appointed to superintend, with others on the part of the british, the embarkation, to prevent any property being carried away which by the treaty is stipulated to be left. It is not probable that our Army will disband till the embarkation takes place.

The Army are like to be furnished with three months pay at the time of disbanding. Part of it must be a paper anticipation. M<sup>r</sup> Morris will continue in office until the engagements necessary to be entered into for that purpose shall be discharged. The troops of the southern Army composing the Pennsylvania, Maryland & Virginia Lines are sent for to be brought into their respective States, in order to their being discharged. Congress are now busied in reducing as fast as may be the publick expenditures, & settling the necessary peace arrangements. A plan of revenue for funding the publick debt, which has taken up much time in Congress, will be immediately forwarded for the consideration of the States, accompanied with the documents necessary to give information relating to that important subject.<sup>2</sup> As was natural to expect at the close of so long a war, we find a considerable debt on our hands, which, all will agree, it much concerns our national Character & prosperity to provide for, how various so ever may be the opinions as to the mode of doing it. It is, I think, Sir, also of much importance at this time that the accounts of the several States with the United States should be liquidated & brought to an equitable adjustment. Unless this is done it will be impossible to preserve mutual confidence & a good understanding among them, or to obviate the objections which almost every one in its turn makes against complying with the requisitions necessary for the common interest & safety. Commissioners for liquidating those accounts are now gone & going into the States. The necessary instructions to the one nominated for Connecticut, I understand by Mr Morris, are sent forward, & hope, if he is approved by the State, he will be able immediately to proceed to business.<sup>3</sup>

We are not yet, Sir, favoured with the definitive treaty of peace, which is now daily expected. The completion of it is supposed to have been somewhat delayed to consult the approbation of the Emperor of Germany & the Emperess of Russia, who particularly interested themselves in the restoration of a general peace.

By the enclosed paper your Excellency will perceive that another change has taken place in the british ministry. Not seeming in a humour to be satisfied, that fickle nation one day sacrifices a premier



for continuing the war, & the next day another for putting an end to it. The truth perhaps is, that Great Britain, not having been able to accomplish her purposes either by fighting or treating, finds it more convenient to charge the failure on a deficiency in her servants, than to acknowledge, what the world perceives to be the case, a deficiency in her resources & power. It is no secret that her debt is so increased as to require, together with her peace establishment, a million & a half annually more than her revenue amounts to. This circumstance alone made it necessary for her at all events to purchase peace—and will probably be a sufficient security for her good behaviour for a long while yet to come. Neither the safety of this country, or the ballance & peace of Europe requires that Great Britain should be at all more reduced than she in fact is. And it is by avoiding that distraction of counsels & corruption of manner which have brought her down that America can hope to rise; or long enjoy the blessings of a revolution which under the auspices of Heaven she has gloriously compleated.

I am informed by Col<sup>o</sup>. Dyer that he expects Judge Huntington will soon come forward to Congress to releive him. I have to request, Sir, that some Gentleman of the Delegation may also soon come forward to releive me. I expect to be under the necessity of returning in the month of June at farthest.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect & consideration, Your Excellency's most obed<sup>t</sup>, humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>. Oliver Ellsworth.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Eliphalet Dyer to Trumbull, April 12, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> That is, William Thompson, who had been nominated to the post upon the resignation of Melancton Smith, and was approved by the Connecticut Assembly during its May 1783 session. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:441, 450.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. May 13. 1783.

{Marbois lately took occasion in our family <sup>1</sup> to complain of ungenerous proceedings of the British against individuals as well as against their enemies at large and} <sup>2</sup> finally signified that {he was no stranger to the letter transmitted to Congress which he roundly avered to be spurious. His information came from Boston} where the {incident is said to be no secret} but {whether it be the echo of letters from Philadelphia or has transpired from the correspondence of Mr. Adams to his private friends is} uncertain.<sup>3</sup> This {conversation passed during my absence in New Jersey but was related to me by Mr. Carroll.

A project for a treaty of commerce with Britain has been reported by Secretary foreign affairs and is now in the hands of a committee.<sup>4</sup> The objects most at heart are first a direct trade between this country & the West Indies. Second a right of carrying between the later and other parts of the British empire. Thirdly a right of carrying from West Indies to all other parts of the world. As the price of these advantages, {it is proposed that we shall admit British subjects to equal privileges with our own citizens. As to the 1st object it may be observed that the bill lately brought in British parliament renders it probable that it may be obtained without such a cession.} As to the {second that it concerns eastern states} chiefly and {as to the third that it concerns them alone.} Whilst the {privilege to be ceded} will chiefly if not alone {affect the southern states.} The interest of these {seems to require that they should retain at least the faculty of giving any} encouragement {to their own merchants ships or mariners which may be necessary to prevent relapse under scotch monopoly or to} acquire {a maritime importance.} The {eastern states need no such precaution.}

Genl. Washington & Genl. Carlton have had an interview on the subject of arrangements for executing the provisional Treaty. It was interrupted by the sudden indisposition of the latter. In the conversation which took place he professed intentions of evacuating New York & all the posts in the U.S. held by British Garrisons as soon as possible, but did not authorize any determinate or speedy expectations. He confessed that a number of Negroes had gone off with the Refugees since the arrival of the Treaty, and undertook to justify the permission by a palpable & scandalous misconstruction of the Treaty, and by the necessity of adhering to the proclamations under the faith of which the Negroes had eloped into their service. He said that if the Treaty should be otherwise explained, compensation would be made to the owners and to make this the more easy, a register had been & would be kept of all Negroes leaving N.Y. before the surrender of it by the British Garrison. This information has been referred by Congs. to a Committee.<sup>5</sup> But the progress already made in the discharge of the prisoners, the only convenient pledge by which fair dealing on the other side could be enforced, makes it probable that no remedy will be applied to the evil.

I have sent Mr. Randolph a pamphlet comprehending all the papers which are to be laid before the States relative to the National debt &c. and have desired him to let you have the reading it.<sup>6</sup> The fewness of the copies made it impossible for me to get one for each of you.

I am Dr Sir your sincere friend,

J Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:39–40.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Madison's fellow boarders at the lodgings of Mrs. Mary House, among whom was Daniel Carroll mentioned by Madison at the end of this paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in a variation of the official Virginia cipher.

<sup>3</sup> For speculation on the circulation in Massachusetts of the marquis de Barbé-Marbois' intercepted letter of March 13, 1782, critical of the American peace ultimata, see *ibid.*, p. 40n.2. See also Madison's Notes of Debates, December 24, 1782.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, May 6, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Washington's letter of May 8 enclosing copies of his correspondence with Sir Guy Carleton and the "Substance of the Conference" they held on May 6 had been referred on May 12 to a committee of three chaired by Madison which apparently returned the documents to Charles Thomson on May 21 without reporting. See *JCC*, 24:340n.1; *PCC*, item 152, 11:253-74, item 186, fol. 101; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:402-6, 408-9, 410-12.

<sup>6</sup> For this pamphlet, see Elias Boudinot to the States May 9, 1783, note 1.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir

Philada. 13. May. 1783.

By Mr. Lee who set out yesterday afternoon I sent you a pamphlet collecting into one view all the acts & documents relative to the National debt &c, which Congress have prepared for the Legislatures.<sup>1</sup> For still more minute information on the subject, I refer you to Mr. Jones who is now on his way to Virga. and will be at Richmond a few days after Mr. Lee. I refer you to him rather than to the latter gentleman because the task will coincide more with his sentiments as to the measure.

Genl. Washington & Genl. Carlton have had an interview on the subject of the provisional treaty which was interrupted by the indisposition of the latter. It wd. seem from the conversation which passed that altho' a sincere intention is professed of evacuating N.Y. & all the other posts, the time at which it may be expected is very uncertain; and that a shameful evasion of the article for restoring the slaves will be practiced. Carlton did not deny that numbers of them were going off from N.Y. and attempted to justify the indulgence by a most outrageous misconstruction of the Treaty; and by the [professed?] necessity of adhering to the tenor of the proclamations under which the Negroes had resorted within the British lines. He said that in case a different construction of the Treaty sd. be established a compensation would be made to the suffering owners, and that the precaution of keeping Registers of all Negroes which should leave N.Y. would be accordingly observed. An ominous sample of candor & good faith in our New friends!

We have no further advices of the definitive Treaty. The sweets of peace begin to be amply enjoyed notwithstanding its delay. All foreign commodities have fallen to a price, almost below example, whilst the produce of the Country has proportionally risen beyond former prices. Salt is already down at  $\frac{1}{4}$  Dr. per bushel & wheat up at 8/. per do. I hope a removal of all legal obstacles to a share of these blessings,

will claim the first attention of the Assembly. Their proceedings on that & other matters will furnish you with ample means I trust for resuming your correspondence as soon as your forensic labours will admit of a respite. With great affection I am Dr. Sir Yr. fr[i]end & Sert.  
J. Madison Jr.

[P.S.] The letter from the Govr. signifies that the territorial cession of Virga. has been revoked. Is this the fact? Ascertain it & let me know.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:42-43.

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter of May 3, 1783, Gov. Benjamin Harrison had mistakenly informed the delegates that the Virginia assembly had revoked its land cession of January 2, 1781, a mistake which he corrected in his letter of May 9. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:4, 30-31. See also Charles Thomson to Harrison, April 22, 1783.

## Maryland Delegates to William Paca

Sir

Philadelphia 13th May 1783

General Washington & Sir Guy Carleton had a meeting on the 5th instant; the interview was short, owing to Sir Guy being taken ill. The following is an extract of what passed between them.<sup>1</sup> With respect to the Evacuation of New York, Sir Guy Carleton informed the General that every preparation which his Situation & circumstances wou'd permit was making. That an additional Number of transports, & which were expected, were necessary to remove the Troops & Stores. And as it was impossible to ascertain the time when the Transports wou'd arrive, their passages depending on the Casualties of the Sea, he was therefore unable to fix a determinate period within which the British forces wou'd be withdrawn from the City of New York. But that it was his desire to exceed even our own wishes in this respect & that he was using every means in his power to effect with all possible dispatch an Evacuation of that & every other post within the United States occupied by the British Troops under his direction. That he Considered as included in the preparations for the final departure of the Troops, the previously sendg. away those persons, who supposed that, from the part they had taken in the present War, it wou'd be most eligible for them to leave the Country, and that upwards of 6,000 persons of this Character had embarked & sailed—and that in this embarkation a number of Negroes were comprised. Genl Washington thereupon expressed his surprized, that after what appeared to him an express stipulation to the contrary in the treaty, Negroes the property of the Inhabitants of these States shou'd be sent off. To which Sir Guy Carleton replied, that he wished to be considered as giving no construction of the Treaty—That by *property* in the treaty might only be in-

tended property *at the Time*—the Negroes were sent off. That there was a difference in the mode of Expression in the treaty—Archives, papers &c were to be *restored*—Negroes & other property were only not to be destroyed or *carried away*. But he principally insisted that he conceived it cou'd not have been the intention of the british Government by the Treaty of peace, to reduce themselves to the Necessity of violating their faith to the Negroes who came into the british Lines under the proclamation of his predecessors in command. That he forbore to express his Sentiments on the propriety of those proclamations, but that delivering up the Negroes to their former Masters wou'd be delivering them up, some possibly to Execution, and others to severe punishments, which in his opinion wou'd be a dishonorable violation of the public Faith pledged to the Negroes in the proclamations. That if sending off the Negroes shou'd hereafter be declared an infraction of the treaty, Compensation must be made by the Crown of G. Britain to the owners. That he had taken Measures to provide for this by directing a Register to be kept of all Negroes who were sent off, specifying the Name, Age & Occupation of the person, & the Name & place of residence of his former Master.

We inclose an Address with the System of Finance<sup>2</sup> and have the honor to be Your Excellencys and Honors most obedt Servts,

Danl. Carroll

Wm. Hemsley

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by Hemsley and signed by Carroll and Hemsley.

<sup>1</sup> For Washington's "interview" with Sir Guy Carleton, see James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, this date, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## Phillips White to Meshech Weare

Hond sr.

Phila. May 13th, 1783

I have been looking with some degree of Impatiance for the Arrival of Mr. Foster, have had no information respecting his coming sence yours of 31st March, except one from Mr. Gilman of the 29th April, Wherein he mentions that Mr Foster had been in town a few days before, and that it was uncertain when he would set out. I am very sorry the state is unrepresented, like to be for some time, it is not likely that Mr. Foster will get here before I set out for home.<sup>1</sup>

I have business of Importance to transact in the Massachusetts State, which if neglected will cause me much trouble, if that was not the case I would have overlooked other inconveniences, and have tarried until the State had opertunity to send one in my room.



If I have no money from the State before I set out, I know not at present how to get home, but am in hopes I can borrow.

The Deligates from the State of Massachusetts have Instructions to bring on the Affair of the old money to see if Congress will do Justice to the Possessors,<sup>2</sup> and as far as I can learn, if Congress refuse to do it, the State will take it in, & do themselves Justice, by Stopages. Inclosed are an Address,<sup>3</sup> Newspaper &c.

I am Sir with sincere Regard your Honours Humble. Servant,  
P White

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> White left Congress before May 21 and Abiel Foster did not begin attending Congress until July 29, 1783. See *JCC*, 24:352, 456.

<sup>2</sup> See Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams, May 20, note 9, and June 10, and Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, May 28, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton

Sir

Philadelphia, May 14, 1783

The President of Congress will of course have transmitted to Your Excellency the plan lately adopted by Congress for funding the public debt.<sup>1</sup> This plan was framed to accommodate it to the objections of some of the states; but this spirit of accomodation will only serve to render it less efficient, without making it more palatable. The opposition of the state of Rhode Island for instance is chiefly founded upon these two considerations. The Merchants are opposed to any revenue from Trade, and the state depending almost wholly on commerce wants to have credit for the amount of the duties.

Persuaded that the plan now proposed will have little more chance of success than a better one; and that, if agreed to by all the states, it will in a great measure fail in the execution, it received my negative. My principal objections were:

1st That it does not designate the funds (except the impost) on which the whole interest is to arise; and by which (selecting the capital articles if visible property) the collection would have been easy, the fund productive and necessarily increasing with the increase of the Country.

2dly. That the duration of the fund is not coextensive with the debt but limited to twenty five years, though there is a moral certainty that in that period, the principal will not by the present provision be fairly extinguished.

3dly That the nomination and appointment of the collectors of the revenue are to reside in each state; instead of at least the nomination

being in the United States, the consequence of which will be, that those states which have little interest in the fund by having a small share of the public debt due to their own citizens will take care to appoint such persons as are least likely to collect the revenue.

The evils resulting from these defects will be that in many instances the objects of the revenues will be improperly chosen and will consist of a multitude of little articles which will on experiment prove insufficient—that for want of a vigorous collection in each state, the revenue will be unproductive in many and will fall chiefly upon those states which are governed by most liberal principles; that for want of an adequate security, the evidences of the public debt will not be transferrable for anything like their value—that this not admitting an incorporation of the Creditors in the nature of banks will deprive the public of the benefit of an increased circulation, and of course will disable the people from paying the taxes for want of a sufficient medium.

I shall be happy to be mistaken in my apprehensions but the experiment must determine.

I hope our state will consent to the plan proposed; because it is her interest at all events to promote the payment of the public debt on Continental funds (independent of the general considerations of Union & propriety). I am much mistaken if the debts due from the United States to the citizens of the state of New York do not considerably exceed its proportion of the necessary funds, of course it has an immediate interest that there should be a Continental provision for them. But there are superior motives that ought to operate in every state, the obligations of national faith honor and reputation.

Individuals have been already too long sacrificed to public convenience. It will be shocking and indeed an eternal reproach to this country, if we begin the peaceable enjoyment of our independence by a violation of all the principles of honesty & true policy.

It is worthy of remark that at least four fifths of the domestic debt are due to the citizens of the states from Pensylvania inclusively Northward.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obed ser, AH

P.S. It is particularly interesting that the state should have a representation here. Not only many matters are depending which require a full representation in Congress and there is now a thin one; but those matters are of a nature so particularly interesting to our state, that we ought not to be without a voice in them. I wish two other Gentlemen of the delegation<sup>2</sup> may appear as soon as possible, for it would be very injurious to me to remain much longer here. Having no future view in public life, I owe it to myself without delay to enter upon the care of my private concerns in earnest.<sup>3</sup>

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:179–81.

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> James Duane, John Morin Scott, and Ezra L'Hommedieu were the non-attending members of the New York delegation.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton added the following sentence to the RC sent to Clinton: "I take the liberty to inclose Y<sup>r</sup>. Excell'y a letter to Mr. LeRoy's son for Mr. Floyd." Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:181.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Adams

Dear sir,

Philadelphiia, May 14th, 1783

I have receiv'd the letter you did me the Honor to write the 18th ultimo; it was deliver'd me by Mr. Appleton, who is still here with Mr. Wendel, & you may be assured of my attention to them, & more particularly so as they are recommended by you.

It never once entered my thoughts to be displeas'd with you for the reasons you are pleas'd to mention, but the true reason for my not doing myself the Honor of addressing you before, was, that I concluded when I undertook to attend Congress last, that I would correspond but little, on account of my health, & exercise more; yet I freely acknowledge my neglect in not noticing you by letter before.

You are pleas'd to congratulate me, "on the happy conclusion of the War," & please to accept in return the like salute & what adds to this agreeable event is that we have obtained all that cou'd reasonably be expected; such has been the conduct of our negociators, that, I think, they deserve the thanks of the public, & must ever be respected by this people; no person has a higher sense of instructions than I have, yet I can conceive, that circumstances may so alter affairs that they may & ought to be departed from for the good of their constituents; there is no danger here at present, whatever there may have been heretofore, of their conduct being disapproved, but the contrary; I conclude you are not unacquainted with the difficulties they have had to encounter, and when this comes to be known, & many other secret matters of State hereafter, I agree with you that it will have all the effects you are pleas'd to mention.

It is difficult to tell what will be the "Issue of the fifth Article,"<sup>1</sup> but you may expect a full compliance, so far as respects Congress, & then I expect the states will act with freedom, as they think proper.

I wish to stand well in the opinion of Dr. Lee, as I assure you he does in mine; and I have it in request from him to make you his best respects when I write.

By my correspondents, I understand that the late resolutions of Congress respecting the officers of the army are not likely to be agreeable to our state; It should be remembered that some years since, Congress engaged them half pay for life, not to make good their depreciation, as I understand some people say; And by our late resolu-

tions we have only made a commutation with them,<sup>2</sup> and had not this been done, I have reason to think, that we should have been requested to have paid our own officers, & many others would, most likely, have receiv'd there pay out of the public treasury. & it wou'd have been difficult for us hereafter to have got the matter adjusted & settled.

The late *important* resolutions of Congress respecting our finances, I do myself the Honor to inclose,<sup>3</sup> but as they will speak for themselves, I shall make no observations upon them, further than assuring you that they were come into after the greatest deliberations; & so was the resolutions respecting the officers of the army.

I have, with perfect respect, the Honor to be, your most obedient servant  
S. Holten

RC (NN: Samuel Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Holten was referring to the fifth article of the preliminary peace treaty, which required Congress to recommend to the states the restitution of confiscated property of "real British subjects . . . who have not borne arms against the said United States." See *JCC*, 24:248.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:207-9.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the revenue plan distributed in Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday May 14. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Elsworth moved a call on the States, to fulfil the recommendation relative to the Tories.<sup>2</sup> After some remarks on the subject, the House adjourned.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:43.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote "Monday May 12. See Journal. Tuesday May 13. No Congress."

<sup>2</sup> That is, in keeping with Article V of the preliminary peace treaty ratified April 15 pledging that Congress would recommend that the states take measures to restore confiscated loyalist property. For a previous debate on implementing this article, see Madison's Notes, May 9, note 2. See also Madison's Notes for May 19 and 20.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday May 15 [1783].

See Journal.

The Report relating to the Dept. of For. Affairs taken up and after some discussion of the expediency of raising the Salary of the Secy. Congress adjourned.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:44.

<sup>1</sup> Madison originally wrote only "Thursday May 15. See Journal," and apparently after discovering that the journal did not mention the report later crowded this sentence into the small space available.

For the report at issue, which had been submitted to Congress on May 8 and was taken up again on May 23, see Madison's Notes, May 23, note 3.

## Elias Boudinot to John Searle

Dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia May 19th. 1783.

I am honoured with your very polite & friendly Letter of the 3d Ultimo, by our worthy Friend Capt. Pintard, whose dangers & distresses on his Passage to this Place, I make no doubt will be furnished you by himself.

Your very affectionate & kind congratulations on the very happy State of our public Affairs & the establishment of our Indepen[den]cy & Sovereignty, are accepted in the most pleasing Terms & reciprocated with the warmest Affection.

The Family here, feel most sensibly, the very singular Kindness & Hospitality with which their Friends Capt Pintard & his Family, have been honored by Mr & Mrs Searle for so long a series of Time, and of which they return the most lively remembrance.

I have been very fortunate in preserving the two Pipes of Wine you were so kind as to ship for me by the Sea Nymph, and which I doubt not but will answer my highest Expectations. Our excellent Friend Mr L. Pintard will write you particularly of the remittance I have made by this Opportunity of 45 Barrells of flour, which he thinks may Ballance the acct. These were shipped before the Capt's arrival, in order to accomplish the business which has been so agreeably anticipated by your kindness. Some of my Friends, Delegates in Congress have also sent for a few Pipes, which I hope you will be particularly careful to supply of the best Quality, as it will be a means of raising the Credit of your House in future here.

Permit me Sir, in the most cordial manner to wish you every Blessing this world can afford, and particularly those of the most permanent & substantial nature.

I must beg the favour of your honoring me by making my most respectful Compliments [*and*] best wishes acceptable to your good Lady and my old Friend Miss Searle with all your agreeable Family, in all which *My Dr Mrs. Boudinot* & Miss Susan most sincerely join.

I have the honor to be with every Sentiment of Esteem & respect,  
D Sir, Your &c

FC (NHi: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). In the hand of Elias Boudinot. Endorsed: "To John Searle, May 19, 1783."



<sup>1</sup> John Searle, Philadelphia merchant and elder brother of James Searle, whose firm at Madeira was a principal source of wine to the United States. See Boudlinot to James Searle, April 1, note.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday May 19. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

Spent in debating the Report recommending provision for Tories according to the Provisional Artic[le]s of peace.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:52.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote:

"Friday, May 16. See Journal.

"Saturday May 17. No Congress."

<sup>2</sup> There is no entry for this date in Secretary Thomson's journals. The report debated this day may, however, have been one submitted on April 1 by a committee (consisting of Samuel Osgood, Thomas FitzSimons, and John Francis Mercer) appointed on March 20 to take into consideration an instruction of the Virginia assembly opposing treaty commitments involving the restitution of confiscated loyalist property, which was recommended to another committee (consisting of Mercer, FitzSimons, and Theodorick Bland) on May 20. It was recommitted a second time on May 29 and a revised version was adopted the following day, for which see *JCC*, 24:372-76; and *PCC*, item 20, 2:153-56.

## South Carolina Delegates to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia May 19th, 1783.

Mr. George Readhead & Mr. John Johnston are impowered, by the Governor of South Carolina, to proceed to New York, & demand & receive all the publick & private Property which has been carried off, from Carolina, by his Britiannic Majesty's Forces.<sup>1</sup> The Governor has refer'd those Gentlemen to Us, for Advice & Assistance. We have given it as our Opinion, that they should wait on your Excellency, shew you their Commissions, & make your Directions the Rule of their Conduct: And, We request, that you will be pleased to instruct the Commissioners whom you have appointed to superintend the British Embarkations at New York, to afford Messrs. Readhead & Johnston any Aid which may facilitate the Object of their Mission; tho', from Sir Guy Carleton's Silence on the Subject of our Letter to him, & from his Conduct, as stated in your Excellency's late Letter to Congress, We fear that there is little Hope of Success.<sup>2</sup>

We have the Honour to be, with great Esteem & Respect, Sir, Yr. most obedt. Servts.

J. Rutledge

John Lewis Gervais

Ra. Izard.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written by Rutledge and signed by Rutledge, Gervais, and Izard.

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment of Readhead and Johnston, and the delegates' previous communication with the British commander-in-chief at New York, see South Carolina Delegates to Sir Guy Carleton, March 27, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> In response to this letter, Washington immediately introduced Readhead and Johnston to the commissioners he had recently appointed "to superintend the embarkation from New York," Egbert Benson, Daniel Parker, and William Stephens Smith. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:455.

## Phillips White to John Langdon

Sir Phila. May 19th 1783

Recd. your favr. of April 14th, you may well think that I have been very Negligent in not Writing to you more frequent. It was not owing to the want of Respect, but as I could give you no meteriel Inteligence other than What was in the Publick Papers, would not trouble you with my scrawels, this serves to Cover an Address &c.<sup>1</sup> Also to inform you that I am about to return home. It gives me uneasiness that our State is so freequently unrepresented In Congress, and especially that it should be so at this critical time. My Business Calls me home, but if I was to Tarry longer I see no prospect of having a Colleague.

You will see by the Inclosed Newspaper an Account of the Arrivals sence this month came in. You may Judge that goods are plenty here, as they really are, there has not been time for all sorts of Goods to fall yet, neither have I been in the Way to know very particularly, but from good Authority I am informed that Salt is offered at one Pisterrene <sup>2</sup> per Bushel, it is likely we shall soon have more good in the Country, than will be paid for, for some time. I have business by the way home otherwise should expect to be at home before this reaches you. I remain sir your sincere friend & Huml. Servt, P White

RC (PHi: Etting Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the *Address . . . to the States* announcing the new financial plan distributed in Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> That is, pistareen, a Spanish 2-real piece—or 1/4 of a Spanish dollar.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dr. Tucker Philada. May 20th 1783

I herewith enclose you an address of Congress to the respective Legislatures and People of the U.S. I need make no comment thereon—the purpose will sufficiently appear—and I have no doubt the wisdom of our Legislature and the Honesty of the people will be manifested in giving it a hearty support, you will also find with it a report of our Ex-

penditures & receipts officially returned to Congress. I have no time to descant on these things at present so adieu—it will afford you full information with respect to our money affairs to this date nearly. Make the information as diffusive as you can among all ranks of People—and let each man put his hand on his heart & say yea or nay. God Bless you, Yrs.

T. Bland

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

## Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee

My Dear Sir

Pha May 20th 1783

Yours from Baltimore came to hand Yesterday & I Immediately called on Mr Morris—who told me that he was determined not to abate an iota (was his expression) of what he had ask'd you. This precluded me from saying a word to him on the Subject.<sup>1</sup>

I do not wonder at the Suspicions you mention—the same persons who entertain them, woud likewise say that it was a reflection occasioned by the same interested views, if they were told, that the offering of Annapolis instead of the other place, woud give Kingston a better chance of Succeeding.<sup>2</sup>

I shall leave this on next Saturday or Sunday & return by the E. Shore—on acct of my wrist which is not yet in a condition to bear rough roads. I must make use of expedients, which are disagreeable to get out of Town. I have been I think cruelly treated. My love and compts. as proper & am my Dr Sr., Your Most assured & aff Hble sr.

Danl. Carroll

RC (MdHi: Lee, Horsey, and Carroll Papers deposit, 1985).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> That is, having Kingston, N.Y., designated the permanent residence of Congress, for which see Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, April 10, note 3; and Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

## Benjamin Hawkins to James Iredell

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 20th May 1783

The enclosed from Mr. McColloh we yesterday received under cover to the Delegates of North Carolina. I shall write to this gentleman<sup>1</sup> and acknowledge the receipt of his letter by a ship that will sail for London next week. It will be impossible for us to say any thing respecting his return, or the repeat of the confiscation act he mentions.

If you wish to write to him and an opportunity dos not offer from Edenton, enclose your letters to us, and they shall be immediately forwarded, either from this or New-York.<sup>2</sup>

Give my respectful compliments to your Lady and believe me, with the highest respect, Dear Sir, your most obedient & most humble servt.  
Benjamin Hawkins

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For the efforts of Henry E. McCulloh, a loyalist exile in London, to enlist the support of the North Carolina delegates and Iredell in his quest for the restitution of his confiscated North Carolina property, see Iredell, *Papers* (Higginbotham), 2:74-79, 380-85, 394-97, 445-46, 467-69.

## Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams

Sir

Phila. May 20th 1783.

I ought before this time to have written to you & given some short account of the state of politics in Congress, having promised you at my departure from Boston that I would do it—but want of leisure, though it may appear strange, & not of inclination has hitherto prevented. By the last post I sent you under cover to Mr. E. Parsons<sup>1</sup> Our System of Finance, you will there see the product of four months labour, & be able to judge of the Views & the wisdom of Congress. In some of my Letters to Mr. Parsons, Mr. Cabot & Mr. Jackson &c,<sup>2</sup> I have mixed politics & business, & made some observations on the propriety & tendency of that System. The political parts of those Letters I desired them to communicate to you, if They have done so, you are acquainted in some degree with my sentiments as to that plan. The impost I always was opposed to, & being now confirmed in my opinion, as to the danger of too great an influence resulting from it to individuals, already too influential by far, I am now as much or more opposed to it than ever! It is the avowed intention of some to create a Congressional influence by the disposal of places of honor & of profit, but the effect of this plan if adopted will be a very great increase of particular individual<sup>3</sup> influence & not Congressional. Congress may appear to appoint but it will be, of such persons only as may be nominated by others. Some late instances will show you what extensive influence some Gentlemen have—& many I dare say wonder that after what has passed Mr. Morris should remain in Office. It is however not an easy matter to set him aside. His Friends in Congress are many & powerful. His continuance in Office is by others deemed absolutely necessary at present. It is supposed, & perhaps justly, that if any other person was to be appointed to his Office, or if the business was at-

tempted by a Board, he would be able so to obstruct & oppose their measures that no success could be expected. I confess that I am much of that opinion myself, I should wish however to run the risk, persuaded that the difficulty will not lessen but increase. He will always have it in his power to embarrass if displaced & the disposition is not to be doubted. Disappointed Views in ambitious minds will certainly produce resentment. To increase such influences, such ability to injure the public in an individual, is in my mind very injudicious. The Impost would very greatly increase his power, for all Officers will be appointed by him in effect, which may be necessary to collect it. Let this weight be added to his Scale & the balance will be decidedly in his favour. I also think, that a general impost would afford a revenue less secure, & be more unequal in its operation, than any other mode that has ever been suggested—for the reasons on which I ground this opinion, I must refer you to the Letters to Mr. Cabot &c, which I trust you have seen.

The arrival of Peace was to us very opportune, Our finances were low, Our resources small, Our affairs deranged & Our dependance on foreigners increasing very much—by means of this fortunate Event We are liberated from very dishonorable restraints, & have an opportunity of retrieving our character & putting Our Affairs into a good train. Foreign Loans & the officious advice of distant Friends, is no longer necessary for us. We have nothing but the Debt to provide for at present, & that surely is not so large, as that we can not pay the interest with ease & punctuality, in the way of Quotas agreeable to the Constitution. When We were pressed hard with very heavy Taxes to carry on the war, when Our all was nearly taken to raise, feed & cloath Our Army, when Our means of acquiring was destroyed by the Enemies Cruizers, it is true that under these circumstances, Quotas were not nor could they be paid—but no man I think can with propriety say, that the interest of the Debt can not be provided for by the rule of the Confederation, untill fair trial has been made. If Quotas are assigned, the States may provide by Excises or in any other way such Funds as are necessary, & they ought to make the provision adequate & permanent, but the collection should be made by the States & the amount go to their respective credit. I should not think it eligible by any means to adopt the Impost or any other general Taxes, untill by experience it shall be found, that no other mode will answer. To attempt to strengthen the federal government by influence, must be at all times dangerous & will certainly introduce great corruption, but to do it at present & in the way proposed, will be peculiarly improper, for the force of Congress will not be thereby increased but lessened. It will greatly increase an influence which is now by much too great, & enable a few individuals to give law to Congress.



We are employed in making peace establishments, preparing Treaties of Commerce &c, but We are so divided in Sentiment that the work goes on very slowly. There are those who appear to be sorry that peace has taken place, or rather perhaps, that the terms are so good & we thereby rendered so independent of all foreign powers. These persons seize every occasion to find fault with it, to censure Our Commissioners, & to retard the complying with the Articles of the Treaty.

There are those also among us who wish to keep up a large force, to have large garrisons, to increase the navy, to have a large diplomatic Corps, to give large Sallaries to all Our Servants. Their professed view is to strengthen the hands of government, to make us respectable in Europe, & I believe, they might add to divide among Themselves & their Friends, every place of honour & of proffit—but it is easy to see where all this will lead us, & Congress I think is not yet prepared for such Systems.

It is thought by many to be highly necessary that Congress should send forth their recommendations agreeable to the fifth Article.<sup>4</sup> The States will consider it I suppose as matter of form, & such appears to have been the Ideas of Our own & the British Commissioners—but the States ought seriously to set about measures for complying with the other Articles—good faith & sound policy both require it. If it be delayed by the Massachusetts We shall certainly lose many good Subjects & give the British great advantages by peopling Nova Scotia for them. We can not forward their interest more than by taking measures to prevent the return of the greater part of the Refugees. No evil surely can arise from the admission of many of them—a judicious line should be drawn, excluding all such as have been active against us, but the greater part have never been very inimical nor very much disposed to be active in their Service. If We exclude all those of Our own State they will be received by some of the other States, or go to Nova Scotia, & when they have set down in Business & formed their connexions, We never shall again recover Them. I see by the Boston papers that great pains is taken to prevent their return, by inflaming the minds of the people against them, & it is suggested that it will be highly ungrateful & will give great uneasiness to Our Allies. This argument is I suspect furnished by those very Allies, for certain it is, that they were the cause of Our being saddled with the Refugee Articles. Their object was to divide & perplex us by it, having done this, they on the same principles now endeavour to encourage our opposition to it, & if they can by this means prevent or delay a friendly, commercial intercourse between us & Brittain, They gain a great point. The same measures are used by Them here & in Congress. They expect in this way to retain their influence over us, & prevent any connexion with others—but surely the good Sense of this people will guard Them against the intrigues of Foreigners, & will direct Them to pursue

Their true interests. No possible advantage can arise to us by engaging in a separate dispute with Brittain, on the contrary great injury may result therefrom. It [*will*] delay Our forming a beneficial commercial Treaty with Them. If such a Treaty was pushed immediately, while they feel anxious about Our Trade & are disposed to make large concessions to secure it, We might gain very important points—but if by engaging in disputes with them it should be delayed, experience will shew Them that Our trade will necessarily fall to Them, individuals here will eagerly drive a Trade with them, & they will see that important concessions on Their part will not be necessary. Our policy should be to perfect the Treaty of peace & to comply with the several Articles on Our part, at least in appearance, that no objection may arise to Their engaging with us readily in the treaty of Commerce.

These are my own Sentiments on this subject & they correspond with those of Congress. I mention them freely to you because I think the interest of Massachusetts is deeply concerned. Congress are now framing a commercial Treaty & preparing recommendations to the States to take measures for perfecting the Treaty of Peace. I hope no impressions will be made to prevent a candid attention to the Subject.

The Commutation given to the Officers for their half pay I find is disagreeable to many in the Massachusetts. The Governor has wrote or the Council, I do not recollect which, for the yeas & nays on that question, they will find that We were unanimous<sup>5</sup>—& if their design is to punish those who voted for it, by dropping Them, They must have an entire new delegation. For my own part I am very willing that such should be Their intention, for I am quite tired of public Life & wish to quit it for ever—& I will thank you to inform the Gentlemen of both Houses, that I can not think of serving another year, should they be disposed again to elect me.

But a cool deliberate attention to the matter will, I think, result in an entire acquiescence on Their parts to the measure. The promise of half pay was made at a time when the Army was new arranged, by which many a great number of super numerary Officers were set aside—that arrangement was necessary for disciplining the Army & a great saving resulted from it—but such was the temper of the Officers, that it would have been hazardous to have attempted the reform, without some such provision as the half pay. The General urged the necessity of the reformation, & at the same time stated that it would endanger the dissolution of the Army, if it was not made to be the interest of the Officers to remain in the Service—The particular situation of Our Affairs at this time was such, that had the Army been broke up, it must have been fatal to Our Cause. The promise of half pay appears then to have been a necessary measure at least it appears that the General & Congress thought it so—the promise was made & was absolute—Congress was therefore bound to take measures for securing the half

pay, or to commute & provide for the interest on the amount of the commutation. The latter was thought most eligible both for the Officers & the public—the interest on the capital of the commutation is just  $\frac{3}{5}$ ths of one years half pay, the public are therefore saved  $\frac{2}{5}$ ths annually by the commutation, which is an object of importance for us at present, the other provisions to be made for other Debts, being as large as we can with convenience make in Our present situation—a few years will enable us by the sale of back Lands & other increasing resources gradually to pay off the principal. It will be found by calculation that five years whole pay is not quite equal to half pay for Life, the Officers therefore do not by the commutation receive a full equivalent. Mr. Osgood who was on the Committee for settling the value of the half pay has all the calculations with him & can give full information on this head. I inclose you copies of the Generals Letters<sup>6</sup> which induced the resolutions of May 1778 & Octr. 1780 establishing the half pay for Life.

May 21. Having missed the opportunity by which I expected to have forwarded this Letter, I have time to be more particular with respect to the Refugees. It seems to be the opinion of Congress & I confess it is my own opinion, that the whole of the fifth Article, except the last clause,<sup>7</sup> is to be considered as merely recomendatory, & the States may decide as they please upon it. A question may arise whether it would not be good policy to comply with some other parts—but the last clause I take to be absolute & obligatory. It is not to be understood that the persons mentioned in the last clause, are such as come within the descriptions mentioned in the former parts of that Article. They must be such therefore as it would be very unjust to deprive of their claims upon confiscated Estates. It would be absurd to suppose that a man who had forfeited his own Estate should be entitled to recover a Debt due to him from another forfeited Estate. The same principles which justify the taking from him the former will surely justify his being deprived of the latter.

But it may be a question whether those who by the sixth Article<sup>8</sup> will save Their Estates, not being already confiscated, will not also be entitled by the last clause of the fifth Article, to their just demands on Estates that have been confiscated, for such demands are certainly a part of Their property or Estate. The sixth Article appears to be explicit & absolute. This Article will occasion the most difficulty I imagine—it is very much opposed to the feelings & interest of the people & will probably meet great opposition in some of the States—it should however be considered, that the interest which may by that Article be restored to individuals, bears no proportion to that which may be lost by not complying with it. The giving up those Estates is the only concession We have made in the Treaty, it is the only price We have paid for the many great points conceded to us. When the French saw that

Brittain had acceded to terms, vastly more beneficial to us than They had any Idea of, or They wished us to obtain—They then endeavoured to prevent the completion of the Treaty & by their intrigues urged on Brittain to insist on very large provisions for the Refugees. Lengthy discussions & warm debates between Our Commissioners & the British ensued. Monsr. Vergennes interested himself very much in the discussion, & finally obliged Our ministers to accede to the Refugee Articles as they now stand, but not till long after every other point was settled. Their policy in doing this was, in the first instance, to break off the Treaty & deprive us of those concessions, which they wished us not to obtain—in this They failed. The same policy now leads them to encourage an opposition to the Treaty here, to bring on a dispute between us & Brittain, & if they can, to create such dissension as shall retard if not prevent a compliance with the Articles. The Articles relative to the Refugees, they find somewhat obnoxious to us, as they expected, & They will use every means in their power, to strengthen and encourage an opposition to Them. It is their interest to do this, I therefore do not blame Them for it, but I think We shall be highly blameable, if We suffer them to mislead us. We must expect much intriguing & many attempts to inflame & mislead us, but a cool steady attention to Our interest, to their interest, to the tendency of the measures they propose & the channels through which they are communicated, will enable us to guard against Them. Nay we may even turn their own weapons against themselves, as Our Commissioners did in Europe.

But there is another important question as to the Refugees, it is whether they or any of them shall again be admitted as Citizens. To increase the number of good Subjects certainly is desirable & must be for Our interest, but it may be doubted whether any of that Class ever can make good Subjects. In order to form a right judgment on this question it will be necessary to attend to their characters &c. Many of them have conducted in such a manner, both before & since the evacuation of Boston, their opposition to us has been so uniform & active, their minds are so sound & become so rancorous, that their admission can not be in any degree prudent—the just resentment of the people against such characters, would not suffer them to reside among us, & their malice is so great, so deep rooted, that they would be dangerous to us.

There are others & by far I suppose the greater part of those who went away, that never were greatly opposed to us in principle, who have never taken an active part against us, who very soon wished again to return & live among us, whose feelings have in the main been with us, who were persuaded to go away by their friends, whose fears hurried them off, when there immediate interest led them to depart from us with an intention of soon returning, or who by a variety of acci-



dents & circumstances, were induced to leave us, with feelings & dispositions far from being inimical. Many of these We know have been long desirous of returning & it is said that all of them wish to do it. The neglect, the insults, & the various kinds of distress which these people have experienced since they took refuge with the British, & chiefly brought on Them by the British, has very thoroughly weaned them from their attachment, & created an aversion to every thing that is British. No impression unfavorable to us, compared with others, can remain in their minds. They must prefer Our interest & living with us to that of any other people. Their desire to return is evidence of such a disposition—for it must arise from their preferring us & Our interest, or because they wish to reside with us in order the more effectually to injure. The latter is by no means presumable, since they must know, that their former character & past conduct, will naturally lead us to be very watchful over Them, which would render it almost impossible for them to attempt any thing injurious to us without being detected, & certain destruction must be the consequence of being detected.

Their having such a strong desire to live among us must I think evidence a good disposition toward us. They will be desirous of effacing every impression & all remembrance of their past conduct—this & the recollection that their Conduct in future will be very narrowly watched, must certainly induce them to the most exemplary behaviour.

If increasing the number of good Subjects is desirable & We have good evidence that any part of the Refugees will become such, should it not be Our policy to receive Them? Can We not draw a line that may admit the return of such as will again be good Subjects, & exclude all those that will be dangerous to us or that we are doubtful of? We know well every character among them, why then may We not say that A, B & C. shall not be permitted to return, naming Them, but that all others shall on certain conditions be again received? It may not perhaps be improper nor unjust to require of Them such Sums, as will be equal to double the amount of the Taxes paid, by persons of equal property during the war—whether it would not be best to delay the taking any decided explicit measures for this purpose, in order that the passions of people may subside, & their feelings which would lead to an opposition have time to abate &c, deserves attention—but if it is thought best to receive Them at any future day, no step should be taken that can make them despair of being admitted, for with such an impression They will probably settle in Nova Scotia, or in some of Our sister states—& having fixed themselves down, in either, they will soon form such connexions, as will make it difficult for them to remove, though you should then even invite them to return. By permitting them to return on some such conditions as I have suggested, We may avail Ourselves of a great part of Their property, not already con-



fiscated, We shall increase the number of Our Subjects, We shall deprive the British of their property & labours, & We shall perhaps take a good step to defeat the Views of the French. On the other hand if we prohibit their return, the sixth Article if complied with will deprive us of the whole of their property, the British will probably have the benefit both of their labours & Estates, & the French will have the greater means of creating uneasiness & distrust between us & Brittain. I have taken the liberty of throwing out these scattered thoughts on the Subject, and I flatter myself that if they should not coincide with yours, you will consider them as proceeding from an honest disposition to promote the public interest. I wish I had time to copy this Letter, to write it fairer & to methodize in some degree my Ideas—your candor will apologize for me I know as I have not time.

With respect I am Dr Sir you most humle Servt.

S. Higginson

Sir

May 22.

The report on the old money has been several times called up, but the disposition of Congress is clearly not to decide upon the matter at present<sup>9</sup>—nor will they come to any Question as to the former requisitions & supplies. Every thing of the kind is opposed & by some means or other set aside. Many motions have been made since I have been here to bring forward Questions of that kind & have failed. The rules of Congress make it easy to get rid of disagreeable motions.

There are so many States that are delinquent, such a variety of Sentiments as to what is right or eligible, that I very much doubt whether any of those Questions will be ever settled. They seem to be afraid of promoting dissensions & uneasiness among the States by deciding on such Subjects, but I think much more danger will arise from a delay of such decissions. It has been Our intention to push them to some decision as to the old money, but no good opening has presented since the business of finance has been finished, & while that was on the Table they would not attend to any other matter. We can not muster nine States above one day in a Week, there being but just nine States in Town. The Financier has given *permission* to Mr. Hillegas to receive the April & May money remaining in Our Treasury. Mr. Osgood has got with him the State of all the different emissions & can give you every information respecting the several situations of the States as to money matters. I am Sir respectfully yours &c.

S. H.

RC (NN: Samuel Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Higginson's letters to George Cabot and Jonathan Jackson have not been found, but one to Theophilus Parsons has been printed above under the date April 7–10? 1783.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Robert Morris.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the fifth article of the preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain, concerning the restitution of loyalist property and their rights.

<sup>5</sup> Higginson was probably referring to the Massachusetts delegates' unanimous vote of March 22 in favor of substituting five years of full pay, for half pay for life, to eligible Continental officers. *JCC*, 24:207–10.

<sup>6</sup> Not identified; but for some of Washington's letters supporting half pay, see these *Letters*, 9:411n.1, 420n.2, 16:235n.3.

<sup>7</sup> Which reads "that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights." *JCC*, 24:249.

<sup>8</sup> Which reads, "That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war." *Ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, May 28, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Tuesday May 20. [1783]

On the proposal to discharge the the troops who had been enlisted for the war (amounting to ten thousand men) from the want of means to support of them.

Mr. Carroll urged the expediency of caution, the possibility that advantage might be taken by G. B. of a discharge both of prisoners and of the army, and suggested the middle course of furloughing the troops.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Dyer was strenuous for getting rid of expence; considered the war at an end; that G. B. might as well renew the war after the definitive Treaty as now; that not a moment ought to be lost in disburdening the public of needless expence.

Mr. Rutledge viewed the conduct of G. B. in so serious a light that he almost regretted having voted for a discharge of the Prisoners. He urged the expediency of caution, and of consulting the Commander [in] chief. He accordingly moved that the Report he referred to him for his opinion & advice. The motion was seconded by Mr. Izard.

Mr. Clarke asked whether any military operation was on foot that the Commander in Chief was to be consulted. This was a national question, which the National Council ought to decide. He was agst. furloughing the men because they would carry their arms with them.<sup>2</sup> He said we were at peace, & complained that some could not separate the idea of a Briton from that of cutting throats.

Mr. Ellsworth enlarged on the impropriety of submitting to the Commander in Chief a point on which he could not possess competent materials for deciding. We ought to discharge the men engaged for the war or to furlough them. He preferred the former.

Mr. Mercer descanted on the insidiousness of G. B. and warmly opposed the idea of laying ourselves at the mercy of G. B., that we might save fifty thousand dollars; altho' Congress knew that they were violating the Treaty as to Negroes.

Mr. Williamson proposed that the soldiers be furloughed. Mr. Carroll seconded him, that the two modes of furlough & discharge might both lye on the table.

By general consent this took place.<sup>3</sup>

The Report as to confiscated property, on the Instructions from Virga. & Penna. was taken up, & agreed to be recommitted,<sup>4</sup> together with a motion of Mr. Madison to provide for the case of Canadian refugees, & for settlement of accts. with the British, and a motion of Mr. Hamilton to insert, in a definitive Treaty, a mutual stipulation not to keep a naval force on the Lakes.<sup>5</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:53–54.

<sup>1</sup> There is no entry for this date in Secretary Thomson's journals. Congress had already resolved on April 23 to leave the furloughing or discharging of troops "engaged to serve during the war," "to the discretion of the Commander in Chief." See *JCC*, 24:270; and Madison's Notes, April 23, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> This too had been authorized on April 23. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> For Congress' return to this issue, see Madison's Notes, May 23 and 26, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes, May 19, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 24:348nn.1 and 2, 369–72.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. May 20. 1783.

In obedience to your request I am to answer by this post your favor of the 7 inst.<sup>1</sup> recd yesterday. My brevity will therefore be excused.

For the tenor of the conditions on which Congs. were formerly willing to accept the cession of Virga. I beg leave to refer to their resolutions of the 6 of Sepr. & 10 of Ocr. 1780.<sup>2</sup> I take it for granted you have their Journals. The expunging of the article relative to State expences was a subject of no less regret with me than it is with you & for the same reason, but I acknowledge that considering the probable defect of vouchers in Virga. & the ardor with which the clause was supported from some other quarters, mine was much diminished in the course of the discussion.<sup>3</sup> On the last trial there were but two or three states besides Virga. that favored it. *S. Carolina's* opposition to it had great weight.<sup>4</sup> After this clause was expunged it was thought improper to retain the connective clause as Virga. will now be at liberty to confine her accession to the revenue part of the plan, without enlarging her territorial Cession or being deprived of the opportunity of annexing any Conditions she may think fit. The connective clause however could not have been carried I believe either before or after the mutilation of the plan. Notwithstanding this disappointment I adhere to my wishes not only that the revenue may be established, but that the federal rule of dividing the burdens may be changed, and the territo-

rial disputes accomodated. The more I revolve the latter subject, the less inducement I can discover to a pertinacity on the part of Virga. and the more interesting it appears to the Union.

I am sorry your departure from Richmond became necessary before more of the members were assembled. I make no doubt that useful impressions have been left with those who were so & were susceptible of them. I shall keep in mind the intimation relative to Mr. Short. The idea of adding the fraction of a year to my Congressional service is totally new,<sup>5</sup> and even if it sd. prevail, will not as far as I can now see, coincide with my private conveniency.

Since my last I have been able to procure for you a copy of pamphlet which I herewith enclose.<sup>6</sup> If in consequence of the provisional steps I before took it sd. prove a duplicate I shall thank you to forward one of them to my father. The ladies & gentlemen join me in compliments. to Miss Patsy & to your self.

Adieu

J.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:56–57.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 23–25.

<sup>2</sup> See these *Letters*, 16:45–46, 95–96, 216–17.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Congress had dropped from its funding plan the proposal to assume each state's reasonable war expenses, an omission that affected vouchers issued by Virginia which had either been destroyed in the invasions of the state or were involved in the tangled claims of Simon Nathan and Oliver Pollock. See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, January 28, note 1, and February 4; and Virginia Delegates to Bernardo de Gálvez, May 4, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, April 17 and 21, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Madison's term of service could technically be extended four months to March 1, 1784, three years after the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, even though that document stipulated that no delegate could serve beyond a third consecutive term which in Madison's case was due to expire at the end of October.

<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly Congress' *Address and Recommendations to the States*, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783, note 1.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. May [20] <sup>1</sup> 1783.

Your favor of the 9th inst.<sup>2</sup> was duly brought by yesterday's Mail. My impatience is great to know the reception given to the propositions of Congress, by the Assembly.<sup>3</sup> I foresaw some of the topics which are employed against them, & I dread their effect from the eloquent mouths which will probably enforce them; but I do not despair. Unless those who oppose the plan, can substitute some other equally consistent with public justice & honor, and more conformable to the doctrines of the Confederation, all those who love justice and aim at the

public good will be ad[v]ocates for the plan. The greatest danger is to be apprehended from the difficulty of making the latter class sensible of the impracticability or incompetency of any plan short of the one recommended; the arguments necessary for that purpose being drawn from a general survey of the fœderal system, and not from the interior polity of the States singly.

The letter from the Delegation by the last post to the Govr. appri[sed] the legislature thro' him that negociations for a Treaty of Commerce with G. B. might be expected soon to take place and that if any instructions should be deemed proper no time ought to be lost in giving the subject a legislative discussion. For my own part I wish sincerely that the commercial interests of Virginia were thoroughly investigated & the final sense of the State expressed to its representatives in Congress.<sup>4</sup>

The power of forming Treaties of Commerce with foreign nations is among the most delicate with which Congs. are intrusted, and ought to be exercised with all possible circumspection. Whilst an influence might be expected from them on the event or duration of the war, the public interest required that they should be courted with all the respectable nations of Europe, and that nice calculations of their tendency should be dismissed. The attainment of the object of the war has happily reversed our situation and we ought no longer to enslave ourselves to the policy of the moment. The State of this Country in relation to the Countries of Europe, it ought to be observed, will be continually changing, and regulations adapted to its commercial & general interests at present, may hereafter be directly opposed to them. The general policy of America is at present pointed at the encouragement of Agriculture, and the importation of the objects of consumption. The wider therefore our ports be opened and the more extensive the privileges of all competitors in our Commerce, the more likely we shall be to buy at cheap & sell at profitable rat[es.] But in proportion as our lands become settled, and spare hands for manufactures & navigation, multiply, it *may* become our policy to favor those objects by peculiar privileges, bestowed on our own Citizens; or at least to introduce regulations inconsistent with foreign engagements suited to the present state of things.

The relative situation of the different States in this respect is another motive to circumspection. The variance of their policy & interests in the article of commerce strikes the first view, and it may with great truth be noted that as far as any concessions may be stipulated in favor of foreign nations they will chiefly be at the expence of those States which will share least in the compensations obtained for them. If for example, restrictions be laid on the Legislative right of the States to prohibit, to regulate or to tax as they please their imports & exports, & to give such preferences as they please to the persons or



vessels employed in them, it is evident that such restrictions will be most felt by those States which have the greatest interest in exports & imports. If on the other side the Citizens of the U.S. should in return for such a stipulation be allowed to navigate & carry, in forbidden channels, is it not equally evident [that] the benefit must fall to the share of those States which export & consume least, and abound most in resources of ships & seamen.

Nor should it be overlooked that as uniform regulations of the Commerce of the different States, will so differently affect their (*different*) several interests, such regulations must be a strong temptation to measures in the aggrieved States which may first involve the whole confederacy in controversies with foreign nations, and then in contests with one another. I may safely suggest also to your ear, that a variety of circumstances make it proper to recollect that permanent engagements entered into by the Confederacy with foreign powers, may survive the Confederacy itself, that a question must then arise how far such engagements formed by the States in their fœderal character, are binding on each of them separately, and that they may become pretexts for quarrels with particular States, very inconvenient for the latter, or for a general intrusion into American disputes. On the other hand candor suggests that foreign connections, if founded on principles equally corresponding with the policy & interests of the several States might be a new bond to the fœderal compact.

Upon these considerations I think it would be advisable to form all our commercial Treaties in future with great deliberation, to limit their duration to moderate periods, & to restrain our Ministers from acceding finally to them till they shall have previously transmitted them in the terms adjusted, for the revision & express sanction of Congress. In a Treaty of Commerce with G. B. it may be the policy of Virga. in particular to reserve her right as unfettered as possible over her own commerce. The monopoly which formerly tyrannized over it, has left wounds which are not yet healed, & the numerous debts due from the people, & which by the provisional articles they are immediately liable for, may possibly be made instruments for reestablishing their dependence. It cannot therefore be for the interest of the State to preclude it from any regulations which experience may recommend for its thorough emancipation. It is possible that experience may never recommend an exercise of this right, nor do my own sentiments favor in general, any restrictions or preferences in matters of commerce, but those who succeed us will have an equal claim to judge for themselves and will have further lights to direct their judgments. Nor ought the example of old & intelligent nations to be too far or too hastily condemned by an infant & inexperienced one. That of G. B. is in the science of commerce particularly worthy of our attention; And did she not originally redeem the management of her Commerce

from the monopoly of the Hanse towns by peculiar exemptions to her own subjects? did she not dispossess the Dutch by a like policy? and does she not still make a preference of her own Vessels & her own mariners the basis of her maritime power? If Holland has followed a different system the reason is plain. Her object is not to exclude rivals from her own navigation, but to insinuate herself into that of other nations.

The leading objects in the proposed Treaty with G. B. are 1. a direct commerce with the W. Indies, 2. the carrying trade between the different parts of her dominions, 3. a like trade between these & other parts of the world. In return for these objects we have nothing to offer of which we could well deprive her, but to *(please)* secure to her subjects an entire equality of privileges with our own Citizens. With regard to the 1. object it may be observed, that both the temper & the interest of the nation leave us little ground to apprehend an exclusion from it. The French have so much the advantage of them from the facility of raising food as well as the other produce of their Islands, that the English will be under the necessity of admitting supplies from the U.S. into their Islands, and they surely will prefer paying for them in commodities to paying for them in cash. With regard to the 2 & 3 objects, it may be observed that altho' they present great advantages, they present them only to those states which abound in maritime resources. Lastly with regard to the concession to be made on the part of the U.S. [it] may be observed that it will affect chiefly, if not solely, those States which will share least in the advantages purchased by it. So striking indeed does this contrast appear that it may with certainty be inferred that If G. B. were negotiating a Treaty with the former States, only, she would reject a mutual communication of the privileges of natives, nor is it clear that her apprehensions on this side, will not yet lead her to reject such a stipulation with the whole.

If this subject should be taken up by the Legislature, I hope that altho' not a member, your attention & aid will be given to it. If it sh. not be taken up publicly, I wish for your own private sentiments & those of the most intelligent members which you may be able to collect.

We have no European intelligence. Sr. G. Carlton in a letter to Gel. W. avows the same sentiments as were expressed in the conference relative [to the] Negroes, but repeats his caution agst. their being understood as the national [constr]uction of the Treaty.<sup>5</sup>

I send you herewith three more copies of the pamphlet of Congress which I have procured since my last.<sup>6</sup> If Majr. Moore & Mr. F. Strother sd. be in the Assembly, I beg the favor of you to present one with my compliments to each of them. The third you will dispose of as you may think best.

In reviewing the freedom of some of the remarks which I have hazarded above, I am almost induced to recall them till I can cover them

with [cyph]er. As there is little danger attending the mail at present, and your own [discretion?] will take care of such as may be improper to be reverberated to this place, I shall upon the whole let them stand.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:59–62.

<sup>1</sup> Blank in the manuscript, but Madison undoubtedly wrote to Randolph on Tuesday the 20th as he did on every other post day in May.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the fiscal resolves and address to the states forwarded by Pres. Elias Boudinot on May 9 that were presented to the Virginia assembly on May 22. See *ibid.*, pp. 29n.2, 117–18.

<sup>4</sup> For the May 23 instructions of the Virginia assembly on the proposed commercial treaty with Great Britain, see *ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> For Sir Guy Carleton's May 12 dispatch to Washington, enclosed in the commander-in-chief's letter of May 14 and read in Congress on the 19th, see *JCC*, 24:347n.1; *PCC*, item 152, 11:275–86; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:430–31.

<sup>6</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783, note 1.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

[May 20, 1783]

If an official & joint correspondence with your Excellency be less circumstantial than that which individual delegates may enter into with their private friends, we persuade ourselves that your Excellency is too sensible both of our public & private respect for your character to impute to any defect of either. The difference can only proceed from the necessity in the former case of confining ourselves, not only to such matters as are worthy of the public, & for which we can be officially responsible, but to such also, with respect to which no diversity of private opinions may exist. . . .

Notwithstanding the numerous arrivals from Europe, we receive no other information than what passes through the public prints. Sir G. Carlton in answer to a letter from General Washington on the subject of the provisional Treaty repeats the same sentiments regarding the Negroes, which he advanced in the Conference at Orange Town; entering a Caution however against their being considered as a final construction of the article.<sup>1</sup> We have the honor to be with great esteem Yr. Excellency's obt. & humble servants, J. Madison Jr

MS not found; reprinted from extracts in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 3:485, and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 12:477. It is described in the *Calendar* as a letter from James Madison, Theodorick Bland, and John Francis Mercer, which began with an acknowledgment of Harrison's letter to them of the 9th concerning Virginia's territorial cession, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:30–31; and Madison to Edmund Randolph, May 13, note 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison to Randolph, this date, note 5.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dr Sir,

Philadelphia May 21st. 1783

I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency two Letters that have been committed to my Care.<sup>1</sup>

Not a Word of News from Europe, but what is taken from the New York Papers.

Have the Honor to be with great respect, Your Excellency's Most Obed & very Hble Servt.  
Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the May 20 letters written by General Armand-Tuffin and Lt. Col. Jean-Baptiste Ternant from Philadelphia concerning the latter's claims to promotion, which are in the Washington Papers, DLC, and which Washington answered May 28. Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:456–58.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia, May 21st, 1783

I have been Impatiently waiting some Weeks in hopes & expectation that some Gentleman in Delegation from the State of Connecticut would arrive to my relief, and with Mr. Ellsworth represent that State in Congress. I most Sincerely wish Connecticut & every other State to be represented; I wish the New England States to be represented; I wish they had not Suffered for want of a full representation. When I Consented to attend Congress the last time I understood it to be the mind of the Assembly that 3 should attend from that State in so Critical a season, but that has been the Case but for a little time in the Course of the Year. It is unhappy to have a State divided, which sometimes must be the Case when but two, or yield & Condescend the one to the other. It is very inconvenient that a Member cannot be absent, whatever the Occasion may be, but it leaves the State unrepresented. I have been urged, I have tarried, I have never heretofore left the State Unrepresented, tho it has frequently been done, & I believe to good satisfaction; but I begin to be Apprehensive that as long as I tarry no Gentn will come forward, for I believe no one is fond of being here, am therefore determined by the leave of Providence to set out on my return in a very few days.<sup>1</sup> I think I cannot be blamed, I hope & trust I shall be excused, & as I expect to be at Hartford before the Assembly rises, renders it unnecessary for me to enlarge in this letter, and nothing New of Importance to Communicate. Am, with the greatest Esteem and regard, Your Excelcy most Obedt, Hle Servt

Elipht Dyer.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Dyer left Philadelphia on May 29. See Dyer to Thomas Shaw, June 3, 1783.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Benjamin Huntington

Dear Sir,

Philada. May 21. 1783.

I expect to leave Congress next month at farthest & must call on you & Mr. Strong to agree between you which shall come forward to take a Seat—that the State may not be without a representation at a time when it is so indispensible as at the present. I have written to Mr. Strong<sup>1</sup> who I think has never taken a tour tho' chosen a number of years; if his health will admit it perhaps he will have no objection to come forward at this time. You will how[ev]er please to confer with him & adjust the matter between you as shall be most convenient. Col. Dyer proposes to leave us next week & expects Mr. S. Huntington will soon be here in which I hope he will not be disappointed.<sup>2</sup>

We have nothing material from Europe later than you have. Congress are now busy in adjusting the necessary arrangements for peace & reducing as fast as may be the publick expenditures.

I am Dr Sr. yr. obed. H Sert.

Oliv Ellsworth

RC (NROM: Huntington Autograph Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Ellsworth's letter to Jedediah Strong has not been found.<sup>2</sup> Dyer's proposed return to Connecticut is also documented in the following brief letter that Ellsworth wrote to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull on May 28.

"I have to beg the favour of your Excellency, if it shall be consistant, that the necessary orders may be given for forwarding to me by Jesse Brown or some other safe conveyance a sum not less than sixty pounds on account of my expences in attending Congress; which sum I shall probably have occasion for if as I fear will be the case I shall have to remain here to the last of June.

"Colo. Dyer expects to set out tomorrow & will I hope reach Hartford before the assembly rises." Trumbull Papers, Ct.

## Nathaniel Gorham to Timothy Dwight

Dear Sir.<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia May 21 1783

I was in great hopes to have seen you at Greenfield upon my return home—but I having been detain'd rather longer than I expected and finding by conversation with Mr Simpkin that you would probably leave Greenfield about this time I in[c]lose to Mrs Dwight for you at North Hampton a pamphlet—containing the resolutions of Congress relative to finance—which when you have read I wish you to circulate among your friends. I hope you have by this time got ready an affirmative answer to the Parish in Charlestown—but if not I hope Mrs. Dwight will be our advocate. I think she will form connections there at Boston, which will be very agreeable.

I wrote her a few lines on the subject—hope you & she will excuse last—& be assured that I [*am*] your sincere friend & very humble servant,

Nath Gorham



RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Yale tutor, poet, chaplain to Parson's brigade of the Connecticut Line, gentleman farmer, and president of Yale College, 1795–1817. Dwight had represented Northampton in the Massachusetts legislature in 1781–82, and was in the process of selecting a pastoral home, becoming in July 1783 minister of the Congregational church at Greenfield Hill, Conn., where he served until 1795. *DAB*.

## Samuel Holten to the Massachusetts Senate

Sir.<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia, May 21st. 1783.

I inclose for the use of the Honble Senate the printed address & recommendations of Congress to the several states respecting our Finances, notwithstanding I have reason to think they will be made acquainted with them officially before this comes to hand.<sup>2</sup>

I have also the Honor of inclosing a state of the receipts & expenditures of public monies, from the time of the Superintendent of Finance coming into office to the first day of January last.<sup>3</sup>

I have the Honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten. Addressed: "The Honorable, The President of the Senate, Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup>That is, Massachusetts Senate president Samuel Adams. Holten also sent a slightly variant copy of this letter to "The Speaker of the House of Represts., Massachusetts," a draft of which is in the Holten Papers, MHi.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783. The "Address and Recommendations to the States" was subsequently reprinted in Boston "By Order of the Hon. House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." *JCC*, 25:987.

<sup>3</sup> See Holten to John Hancock, April 30, 1783, note 2.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

[May 21–22, 1783]

Wednesday May 21.

Thursday. May 22.

See the secret Journal for these two days.<sup>1</sup> The passage relating to the armed neutrality was generally concurred in for the reasons which it expresses.

The disagreements on the questions relating to a Treaty of Commerce with Russia, were occasioned chiefly by sympathies, particularly in the Massachusetts Delegation with Mr. Dana; and by an eye in the navigating & Ship building States, to the Russian Articles of Iron & Hemp. They were supported by S. Carolina who calculated on a Russian market for her rice.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:64.

<sup>1</sup>JCC, 24:348–57.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday May 23 [1783]

The Report from Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Gorham and Mr. Peters, in favor of discharging the soldiers enlisted for the war; was supported on the ground that it was called for by Economy and justified by the degree of certainty that the war would not be renewed. Those who voted for furloughing the soldiers, wished to avoid expence, and at the same time to be not wholly unprepared for the contingent failure of a definitive treaty of peace. The view of the subject taken by those who were opposed both to discharging and furloughing, were explained in a Motion by Mr. Mercer seconded by Mr. Izard to assign as reasons, first that Sr. Guy Carlton had not given satisfactory reasons for continuing at N. York, second, that he has broken the articles of the provisional Treaty relative to the negroes, by sending them off.<sup>1</sup>

This motion appeared exceptionable to several, particularly to Mr. Hamilton, & rather than it should be entered on the Journal by yeas & nays, it was agreed that the whole subject should lye over.<sup>2</sup>

The Report relating to the Department of For. Affairs being taken up: Mr. Carroll seconded by Mr. Williamson moved that no public Minister should be employed by the U. S. except on extraordinary occasions.<sup>3</sup>

In support of the proposition it was observed that it would not only be economical, but would withhold our distinguished Citizens from the corrupting scenes at foreign Courts, and what was of more consequence would prevent the residence of foreign Ministers in the U. S. whose intrigues & examples might be injurious both to the Govt. & to the people.

The considerations suggested on the other side were that Diplomatic relations made part of the established policy of Modern Civilized nations, that they tended to prevent hostile collisions by mutual & friendly explanations, & that a young Republic ought not to incur the odium of so singular & as it might be thought disrespectful innovation. The discussion was closed by an adjournment till Monday.

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:66–67.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:358–61. Although the delegates were unprepared this day to accept the committee's report to begin disbanding the army, the recommendation was carried just three days later. For an analysis of the fiscal crisis facing Congress and the superintendent of finance's explanation that it was simply impossible both to feed the Continental troops and to pay them—that “unless they are disbanded immediately the Means of pay-

ing them even with Paper will be gone"—see Robert Morris to a Committee of Congress, May 15, 1783, in the forthcoming volume 8 of Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson).

<sup>2</sup> For the resumption of this debate on May 26, see *JCC*, 24:363–65.

<sup>3</sup> For the submission of this report to Congress on May 8 and its initial discussion in Congress on May 15, see *JCC*, 24:334–35; and Madison's Notes, May 15. Secretary Thomson's journal entry for May 23d makes no mention of either the report or of Daniel Carroll's retrenchment motion, but for a discussion of the foreign service establishment proposed by Secretary Robert R. Livingston and the anti-Gallican congressional opposition that emerged to check the secretary's plans, see Howard J. Phillips, "The U. S. Diplomatic Establishment in the Critical Period, 1783–1789," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1968), pp. 31–32, 38–43, 46–60, 364–69.

## John Montgomery to William Bingham

Dear Sir

Philadea 23d May 1783

After thanking you in the name of the frontier Counties for your very generous Contribution to our proposed College at Carlisle I beg leave before your Departure to Suggest a few thoughts to you as one of the fathers and patrons of the institution by which means you may serve us essentially abroad and thereby make up in a Smal degree for the lose we Shall Sustain by your absence.<sup>1</sup>

1. In mingling with the learned and the great you may have frequent oppertunities to obtain gifts of books and philosopical instruments and apparatus proper for a College.

2. In mingling with the wealthy you may perhaps give Some of them an oppertunity of gratifying thire benovolence upon our infant Seminary especialy in Great Britain were the rich who have been our Enemies may be glad to Show a return of thier affections for america by such an act of generosity.

As soon as the Board of Trusties is formed you may depend upon recieving a Delegated power for the porpose but a great deal may be done immediatly without it.

It will always give me pleasure as well as your frineds our Susquhannah to hear from you while [you] are on your trevals. Wishing you and your amiable Lady Happiness abroad. and safty in returning to your native Countrey, I am my Dear frind your most obdt and Very Humble Servant,

John Montgomery

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Montgomery's work in founding Dickinson College, see Montgomery to Robert Magaw, February 11, 1783, note 2. For Bingham's support of the institution, which he also agreed to serve as trustee, see Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752–1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), pp. 117–18. The reference to Bingham's "departure" is to the grand tour of Europe he was about to embark upon now that the war was over. *Ibid.*, pp. 120–56.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday May 26. [1783]

The Resolutions on the Journals instructing the Ministers in Europe to remonstrate agst. the carrying off the Negroes; Also those for furloughing the troops (*enlisted for the war*), passed *unanimously*.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:80.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:363–65. No votes on these resolutions were recorded in the journals.

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hond. Sir

Philada. May 27. 1783.

I duly recd. your's of the 16th inst.<sup>1</sup> yesterday by the post, and hope as you are fixing a communication with Fredg. that I shall hear often from you during my stay here thro' the same channel, as I shall be attentive on my side to fulfil your wishes on that subject. How long my stay will be continued here is uncertain, but longer probably than my last indicated. I wish for this reason, that tho' I shall attend to the bark & Vitriol for my mother, an intermediate supply may be procured within the State. I shall endeavor to provide a chair for you, on a convenient model, perhaps with a top to it if such an addition will not too much augment the price. I have hitherto not been inattentive to the request of Mos. Joseph, but shall in consequence of your letter renew my efforts for the books, which the return of peace, renders more likely to be attainable for him. I see few books in the Catalogue which you have sent which are worth purchasing, but I will peruse it more carefully & send you the titles of such as I may select.

I recd. a letter from Mr. Jos. Chew a few days ago by which & the information of Col. Wadsworth who brought it & is a friend of his, I find that he is in N.Y. with his family, that they are all well, that he continues as yet to hold a post which supports them comfortably, that altho' he has enjoyed opportunities of honestly laying up profits, his generosity of temper has prevented it. I cannot learn whether he proposes to remain in this country or not, but am inclined to think he will go to Canada, where he has some little expectations. He seems to be exceedingly anxious to hear of his friends in Virga. and I have written as fully to him on the subject as my knowledge would admit. I wish some of his friends on the spot & particularly yourself would write to him. Besides the information he wd. receive, it would be a pleasing proof to him that he still retained a place in their remembrance & regards.

We are without information of late as to the progress of the definitive Treaty, and of the bill in the British Parliamt. for opening trade with the U. States. The confusions produced in their councils by the long suspension of the Ministry seem to put every thing to a stand. The paper which I inclose will give you the latest information on that subject. Remember me affectionately to all the family & be assured that I am, Yr. dutiful son,

J. Madison Jr.

P.S. I have got a piece of silk for Sally which I shall send by the first opportunity if any offers before I set out myself. Perhaps I may make an addition to it. Fanny I suppose too must not be overlooked.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:87–88.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. May 27th. 1783

A letter recd. yesterday from Mr. F. Webb, inclosing bills in my favor for £200 Virga. Curny. informed me of the successful effort of your friendship for my relief. Mr. Ambler informed me that your attempt was for £100 more, but was abridged on a doubt as to the balance due to me. My answer to him by this conveyance will shew that you would have been sufficiently under the mark.<sup>1</sup>

The next post I hope will bring me your remarks on the Budget of Congress, with the pulse of the Assembly with regard to it.<sup>2</sup> The example of Virga. will have great & perhaps decisive influence on the event of it. In Rhode Island they are attacking it in the News papers before it has appeared. But this State is swayed by a party which has raised & connected its importance with an opposition to every Contl. measure. The bulk of the people are taken in by a belief that if no general impost on Trade be levied, their State will be able to tax the neighbouring States at pleasure. Should all the other States unite heartily in the plan, I do not think any single State will take upon itself the odium & the consequences of persevering in a veto upon it.

I wish much to know how far your hope was well founded of an introduction of Mr. Jefferson into the Legislature. The hopes of some I find extend to his Mission to Congress. The latter would be exceedingly fortunate & if his objections are not insuperable ought & I trust will be urged upon him by his friends. I have been also indulging a hope that your return for such periods as would be most interesting, & wd least interfere with the exercise of your profession, might be reconciled to your views. Unless temperate & experienced members come in for the ensuing year, I foresee that the exclusions reqd. by the Confederation will make way for a change in the fœderal Councils not



favorable to those catholic arrangements on which the harmony & stability of the Union must greatly depend.

We have recd. no accession of intelligence either as to the progress of the definitive Treaty, of the bill in the British Parlt. for commerce with the U. S. or of the negotiations among the hungry suitors for the loaves & fishes of the Administration.

I am Dr. Sir Yr sincere friend,

J. M.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:89-90.

<sup>1</sup> For Jacquelin Ambler's May 10 letter to Madison and Madison's May 28 statement of receipts from the Virginia treasurer, see *ibid.*, pp. 35-36, 93.

<sup>2</sup> For reports on the Virginia assembly's reaction to Congress' funding plan from Randolph, Joseph Jones, and Edmund Pendleton, see *ibid.*, pp. 72-73, 75-77, 81-82.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir,

Philada. 27 May 1783.

We have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 17th instant.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jones we believe carried with him a copy of the offer of a Seat for Congress in the State of N. York. Lest it should have happened otherwise, we will endeavor to provide one for the next mail.<sup>2</sup> The propositions of Congress with regard to Revenue have long since been transmitted to your Excellency by the President. Relying on the full explanations of our two Colleagues who will attend the General Assembly, we have supposed it unnecessary to trouble you with any less perfect remarks on that subject in our correspondence.

The state of our information from Europe remains precisely as at the date of our last; the progress of the definitive Treaty, of the British bill relative to a commerce with the United States, and of the arrangements for a new administration, being left in the utmost uncertainty by the latest arrivals in this part.

Congress have received no further communications from the Commander in chief, with respect to the Conduct of the British Commander at New York, touching the evacuation of that port, or the execution of the other articles of the provisional Treaty. The breach of that which stipulated a restoration of the Negroes, will be made the subject of a pointed remonstrance from our Ministers in Europe to the British Court; with a demand of reparation;<sup>3</sup> and in the mean time General Washington is to insist on a more faithful observance of that stipulation at N. York.

We have the honor to be with great esteem and respect yr Excellency's  
Obt. Hble Servts.

John F. Mercer

J. Madison Jr.

Theok. Bland Jr.<sup>4</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 7:172, which was "Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:49–50.

<sup>2</sup> The New York "offer" and a similar one from Maryland were apparently sent to Harrison with the delegates' now missing letter of June 3, for which see *ibid.*, p. 86n.2. For these offers "of a Seat for Congress" later circulated by the president, see Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, May 26, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> This day the delegates also wrote to the Virginia auditors of public accounts regarding £500 Virginia currency remitted to them by treasurer Jacquelin Ambler, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:92.

## James Wilson to William Bingham

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 27th May 1783

In Consequence of our Conversation the other Evening, I give you in Writing my Thoughts on what was the Subject of it. An Adventure in Lands, particularly in those near the frontier Settlements and the navigable Rivers of Pennsylvania and New York, might, I think, be very advantageous to those concerned in it, if conducted on proper Principles and in a proper Manner. I will tell you, without Reserve, the Terms, on which I would undertake the Management and Direction of the Business. I must have a fourth Part of the Lands. The Capital appropriated for the Purchases ought to be £100,000 Sterling. It must not be under £60,000 Sterling. The whole must be deposited in Philadelphia; or be, in some other Way, at my Order, before I make any Engagements for Lands. The Money advanced for my fourth Part must be payable in seven Years: No Interest to be paid for the three first Years: An Interest of 5 per Cent per an. to be paid for the four last Years. I would not wish more than three Persons to be joined with me in the Adventure; because a Partnership composed of a great Number is often, for that Reason, inconvenient. However, as my Share and Interest is not to be affected by a greater Number than three, I do not propose that Number as a Condition.

These Terms being complied with, I will examine the Titles, make the Purchases, superintend the Conveyances, direct what shall be necessary to be done with the Lands belonging to the Company, and make Sales where I shall think it adviseable or advantageous to sell. I will keep, in regular Books, an Account of my Transactions with and for the Company: To the Inspection of any Member these Books shall be open: And any Member may have a Copy of them; provided he pay me the Expence of having it made for him. I will reserve no Purchases for my own Benefit, without the Consent of the Company: But such Engagements as I have already made, and such as I may make before the proposed Company shall be established, and its Establishment

communicated to me, must be excepted, as is reasonable, from this Stipulation. The Term of the Partnership ought to be seven Years; and, at the Expiration of it, the Lands not sold should be divided.

Perhaps it may be thought, that the Interest for three Years of at least £15,000 Sterling is a great Consideration: But it should be remembered, that the Trust is great; that the Care and Trouble will be very considerable; and that I lay myself under a Restraint, which precludes me from other Advantages. I must have a Clerk for writing the Deeds and Transactions of the Company, and keeping their Accounts. To their Business I must make some Part of my Practice in the Law subservient: This, you know, is no small Sacrifice.

If a Partnership shall be formed on the Terms and Principles I have mentioned; I hereby empower and authorise you to accede to it for me and in my Name. I do this, because, if the company is formed, it is of great Importance that it be formed soon, and that I be enabled soon to begin the Purchases. No Time should be lost in sending over the Articles of the Partnership, and placing the Money so as to be at my Order.<sup>1</sup>

I am, with much Regard, dear Sir, sincerely yours,

James Wilson

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's negotiations with Bingham at this time led to their formation of the Canaan Company in partnership with Robert Lettis Hooper, a prosperous New Jersey speculator, and Mark Bird, Wilson's brother-in-law. For Wilson's extensive speculations in western lands, which included shares in the vast claims of the Illinois-Wabash Company, see Page Smith, *James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 159-65. For Bingham's involvement with Wilson, see Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), pp. 115-16.

## James Wilson to William Bingham

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 27th May 1783

The Works belonging to Col. Bird and me on the River Delaware, and the additional Purchases which we propose to make have required and will require very large Disbursements.<sup>1</sup> We wish to borrow a Sum in Europe. I rely on your Friendship for every Assistance you can give in this Matter. You can mention the Security we can give. If Money cannot be procured on easier Terms; we will give an Interest of six per Cent for £10,000 Sterling; but hope it may be got for 5 per Cent as our Security will be unquestionable. We will take it for any Term not shorter than three nor longer than seven years. In order to save Time, it will be proper for the Lender to empower some Person

here to judge of and take the Security, and draw Bills in my Favour for the Money. I am, with much Regard, dear Sir, Sincerely yours,  
James Wilson

P.S. You will be good enough to write to me on the Subject of this Letter as soon as possible,  
J.W.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Page Smith, *James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), pp. 160-61.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir, Philadelphia, May 28th, 1783.

We have not been inattentive to the letters of instructions which we have been honored with from the General Court respecting the old paper money, but have not been able to procure a determination of Congress upon the subject; for sometime past there has been only nine States represented in Congress, when all the members in town attended, & by reason of indisposition of one Gentleman, & sometimes others not attending, that, when there has been nine states present, business of the greatest importance, press'd so hard, that it was difficult to determine, which ought to be attended to first; However, Monday last was assigned for the further consideration of the matter,<sup>1</sup> but there not having been nine States represented, in Congress, since, it still lays as the order of the day, to be taken up as soon as there is a sufficient number present; And your Excellency and the Honorable Court may be assured of our greatest attention to the same, & we hope to be able to give you further information, upon this subject, before the end of the present session of the General Court.

Agreeably to our instructions, we have the honor of inclosing, several official accounts, respecting the emissions of continental money.<sup>2</sup>

We have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient servants,

S. Holten

Nath Gorham

S. Higginson

N.B. The accounts mentioned, above can't be compleated before the post will sit out, but will be forwarded with our next.<sup>3</sup>

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Holten, and signed by Holten, Gorham, and Higginson.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:357-58.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, June 9, 1783.

## Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene

Sir,

Philadelphia May 28th. 1783.

We have to acknowledge receipt of your Excellys. Letter of the 13th Instant.<sup>1</sup> From principle as well as to comport with the sense of Our Constituents, we should not fail to embrace the first, and every favorable Opportunity to obtain the Repeal of a Resolution so repugnant in its Spirit (& Operation, if carried into effect), to those Principles, which form the Basis of Our Fœderal Constitution—and which we believe would never have existed, had the Delegates of every State pursued the Instructions, or general Wishes of their Constituents.

But the present time is unfavorable to attempt it, New Hampshire, is unrepresented—and whose Delegates, have ever been hearty in Opposition to it, Connecticut's Delegation is not yet changed—which we have reason to hope would be a change in our favor; Those States—together with New Jersey, and Rhode Island, were the only ones which ever acted against such a Measure since our being in Congress.

There have been for some time past but Eight States represented. This confines the business to a very narrow Circle, as a principal part of it which should now engage their Attention requires the voices of nine States.

We have had no late advices from Europe, our last gave encouragement of the Completing the definitive Treaty some time in April.

With the highest respect for your Excellency and the Honorable Assembly, We have the honor to be Your very humble servants,

John Collins

Jona. Arnold

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Arnold and signed by Arnold and Collins.

<sup>1</sup> In the letter to the delegates printed under a May 10 date in Staples, *Rhode Island*, p. 440, Governor Greene explained the Rhode Island Assembly's instructions directing them to seek repeal of Congress' March 22 commutation resolution allowing Continental officers "whole pay" for five years in compensation for their "half pay" for life.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir,

Philadelphia 29th May 1783

I now forward by Mr. Darrach 12 Copies of the Recommendations of Congress,<sup>1</sup> for the use of the Delaware State. An additional number are order'd to be printed, of which our proportion will be sent for-



ward when received. I also take the liberty to inclose to your Excellency the News Papers of yesterday and to-day. A ship arrived last evening in 35 days from France, but has brought no public dispatches. The Captain says he saw a fleet of Transports going into New York, to assist, as is supposed, in the evacuation of that City. He also says that he understood the Definitive Treaty was in great forwardness, and would be compleated in a very short time. On Monday last Congress came to a Resolution to give furloughs to the army, and the soldiers are permitted to take their arms with them, and are promised discharges as soon as the definitive Treaty arrives.<sup>2</sup> As this Letter is written in Congress where I am almost deafened with the noise of speakers, your Excellency will excuse its inaccuracies.

I am sir, your most obt. Servt,

E. M:Comb.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Nicholas Van Dyke Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the April 26 *Address and Recommendation to the States*, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See JCC, 24:364; and James Madison's Notes of Debates, May 26, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> McComb also wrote the following note, addressed to "Mr. Solomon Maxwell, Christiana Bridge," on May 28.

"On the 29th March last a small Box and a Demy John, directed to Dr. James Anderson, of Chester Town, was forwarded to you. The box was by mistake put down as a Keg in the freight list, which it is probable has prevented its being sent on. The demy John has arrived safe, but there is no account of the box. Be pleased to enquire into this matter, and if it is in your Store I wish it were return'd to Mr. Hollingsworth because I presume there are now no opportunities by land from Christiana to Chester Town." Levi Hollingsworth Papers, PHI.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday May 29. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

The report of the Committee concerning the Interest on British debts was committed after some discussion.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:94.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote: "Tuesday 27 May. Wednesday 28 May. No Congress."

<sup>2</sup> For the origins of this report, which was originally drafted by Samuel Osgood and recommitted to a committee consisting of John Francis Mercer, Thomas FitzSimons, and Theodorick Bland on May 20 to "Report on a letter 19 March 1783 from Super[eme] Execut[ive] of Pensylva. & resolutions of Assembly of Virginia" concerning stipulations in the preliminary peace treaty on the recovery of debts, see PCC, item 20, 2:153-56; item 186, fol. 103; and Madison's Notes, March 20, note 1, May 19, note 2. For the adoption of the report's recommendations "concerning Interest on British debts," see Madison's Notes, May 30, note 3.

## Ralph Izard to Arthur Middleton

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 30th. May 1783.

By Mr. Beresford <sup>1</sup> I was favoured with your Letter of 15th instant; & he at the same time delivered me 320 Dollars from you. Your drafts in favour of Walker, & Reedle amount to no more than 260 Dollars; so that I am at a loss to know why you have [in the language of the Chief Magistrate of a very respectable State]<sup>2</sup> *superadded* Sixty Dollars: I shall however keep them, & be ready to pay them to your order.

My House, you say, is in a very ruinous condition. And this, in spite of my Lares; those beautiful & elegant plaster-headed household Gods, who could have been posted on the outward Wall, for no other purpose, but that of affording protection. I hope it will not be inconsistent with the plan to be formed by you, and Dr. Drayton, to have them dismissed, the old bricks rubbed from the top of the House, to the bottom, & the interstices new pointed. My intention is to have a Piazza in each Front, & an Area sunk; to give light to the Offices under the House. I have written to London for a Carpenter, & Builder. If I am so fortunate as to get such a one as McKenzie, or Bernard Elliott had, he will be very serviceable, & save me a great deal of expence. I am sorry to learn that so many of your Negroes are still missing; & the more so, as I fear that it will not be an easy matter to recover them. Sr. Guy Carleton has very explicitly given it as his opinion that the Negroes within the British Lines can not be claimed by virtue of the Preliminary Treaty, as property belonging to the Citizens of the United States, because they have been declared free by Proclamations, issued by Officers acting under the authority of the King of Great Britain. This is a most impudent evasion of the Treaty; & yet we are not in a condition to help ourselves. The conduct of the States respecting Revenue, has so totally annihilated all Continental Strength, & credit, that no Enemy need be afraid of insulting us. If the most Southern States do not in the course of a few years exhibit some melancholy proofs of the truth of this observation, I shall be greatly mistaken. The Delegates from those States which are most immediately interested in Carleton's affected misconstruction of the Article in the Treaty, respecting the Negroes, have attempted everything in their power to obtain redress. A majority of Congress were afraid to make an express declaration that the British had violated it. It was said that a renewal of hostilities might be the consequence of such declaration, & the case of General Burgoyne was adduced as a proof of the danger of declaring a Treaty broken. It is most certain that without money, and without credit we are by no means in a condition to continue the War: but bad as the British Ministry are, I can hardly think it

possible that they should have the effrontery to support Carleton in the measure I have mentioned. Besides, it is very well known that though we are not at our ease, they can not be said to be on a bed of Roses: Peace was almost as desirable an event to them, as to us. We therefore urged the necessity that Congress should signify their disapprobation of Carleton's conduct, & would not consent that the Army should be furloughed, till our proposition, (which I now enclose)<sup>3</sup> was complied with. I thank you for your congratulations on the arrival of my family, but am sorry to inform you that it is a mistake. My last Letter from my Wife is dated at Paris the 10th of April. The four youngest Children had just recovered from the Measles. They were to set out for Bourdeaux on the 22d of that Month, & expected to sail from thence for Philadelphia, about the 10th of this. Miss Stead is with them, & accompanies them to America. I beg to be affectionately remembered to Mrs. Middleton, & the Children, & am with great regard Dr. Sr., Your friend & hble Servt. Ra. Izard

RC (ScHi: Middleton Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Richard Beresford had just arrived in Philadelphia and took his seat in Congress this day. *JCC*, 24:369.

<sup>2</sup> The passage within brackets appears to have been added later, in a space which Izard originally left blank.

<sup>3</sup> For the enclosed May 26 congressional resolve, concerning Britain's responsibility to evacuate the United States "without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants," see *JCC*, 24:363–64.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday May 30 [1783]

The debates on the report recommending to the States a compliance with the 4th, 5, & 6th of the provisional articles were renewed,<sup>1</sup> the report being finally committed nem. con. See Secret Journal.<sup>2</sup>

The Report including the objections to interest on British debts; was also agreed to nem. con. not very cordially by some, who were indifferent to the object; and by others who doubted the mode of seeking it, by a new stipulation.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:95.

<sup>1</sup> For these debates, see Madison's Notes, May 9, note 2, and May 14, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For this report, which was written by Alexander Hamilton for a committee (consisting of Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, Benjamin Hawkins, Ralph Izard, and Madison) appointed on May 15 "To take into consideration & report to Congress what further steps are proper to be taken by them for carrying into effect the stipulations contained in the articles" of the preliminary peace treaty, see *PCC*, item 186, fol. 102; and *JCC*, 24:369–72.

<sup>3</sup> For the origins and adoption of this report, see Madison's Notes, May 29, note 2; and *JCC*, 24:372–76.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir, Philadelphia 31st May 1783.

I do myself the honor to inclose to your Excellency a copy of an Act of the Legislature of New York for granting certain privileges to Congress, provided they fix upon the Borough of Kingston, for their place of residence.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Act of the Corporation of Kingston, whereby the Trustees of the Freeholders offer Congress a mile square of Land, and relinquish to Congress their jurisdiction in the said Borough, has been sent to Wilmington, in order to stimulate the owners of the hill, (who have all of their property in the Borough) if not to give, at least to sell, on reasonable terms. These acts have been referred to a Committee, and a Report has been made, "That if the Borough of Kingston will grant 3 miles Square, and the Legislature of New York will enlarge their privileges and grant them jurisdiction of Criminal Matters, it may be expedient to Accept of the offer." Since this Report was made advice has been received of a generous offer made by Maryland. That State offers the jurisdiction of the City of Annapolis, and ten miles round it—The use of the State House, the Governor's House, and several other public buildings, and to give Thirty thousand pounds in Specie, towards erecting other buildings for the use of Congress, or the Delagates. Delaware cannot offer so much—but, if the owners of the Hill above Wilmington will agree to it, a better situation, attended with many more advantages can be offered, and an extensive Charter of privileges granted. As it is a matter of consequence, which, once past can never be recalled, I hope it will not be neglected.

Vessels from different Ports are frequently coming in, but there is yet no advice of the definitive Treaty being concluded. A new arrangement of the Ministry of England has been made. The Duke of Portland at the head of the Treasury, and Lord North & Charles Fox joint Secretaries of State.

This City is full of Goods, and the Merchants in a Continual bustle. Several English Houses are opened, and Goods of all kinds are falling daily. I have the Honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obt. and very hble Servant,

E. McComb

RC (DLC: William Kent Gilbert Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the response to this New York offer, see Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, note.



Eleazer McComb



## Stephen Higginson? to Unknown

May [1783]

I find at Boston the Letters are playing off the Refugee Article against the Commissioners.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the French will let no man maintain his ground who stands in their way. It is however a Game I expected they would play, and yet it is the more wicked and unpardonable when we know that Vergennes caused the Insertion of that Article *himself*, and did it too for the purpose of embarrassing *us*.<sup>2</sup> That this was the motive cannot be doubted, from the use that is now made of it by his Emissaries in this Country.

Would not the Annunciation of this fact guard the public from any further Imposition? Could any Evil arise from its being known at this time? Or do you think it too soon yet to set fire to the Train? It certainly is wrong to suffer ourselves to be thrown into this Confusion by the Intrigues of Foreigners, without making one Effort to expose them. Tho' it may might be a hard Task for an Individual to perform, Yet a Club of half a Dozen well chosen Friends might accomplish it with Ease. It would be doing the public an essential Service, and would rescue some of the best Characters from unmerited abuse.<sup>3</sup>

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 110:205–10; and P.R.O. 30/55 [Carleton, or British Headquarters, Papers], No. 8492). For the authorship of this letter and its transmittal by Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North, see the document note at Higginson to Unknown, April 1783.

<sup>1</sup> That is, public opinion in Boston was critical of the American plenipotentiaries for agreeing to Article V of the peace treaty recommending restitution of loyalist property and estates.

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to support this eccentric view of French influence on the negotiation of the peace treaty, although John Adams was similarly distrustful of Vergennes. See Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 364–73.

<sup>3</sup> See also the following entry.

## Stephen Higginson? to Unknown

May [1783]

It is time that Massachusetts changed her Policy as to Refugees. Several of the States will receive any and every Body, and it will at last be found to be the Dictates of sound Policy and a regard to our own Interest to admit all who are not remarkably rancourous and active against us. But in the mean time the minds of the people should be prepared for such a measure by judicious publications on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

I have mentioned to You the large Peace Establishment, the formation of a Navy, and other favorite projects of the *Financier* and his Followers and Adherents. But these Propositions ought to be rejected by

Congress, and I think they will, tho' they will be back'd by that Influence which I have already described as being far too great. A thorough Understanding betwixt *Morris*, *Livingston*, the French Minister, the Spanish Agent, and some of the wealthier Citizens of this place, forms a Phalanx that attacks with great force, and when their whole Efforts are brought to a point, and their numerous Dependents are brought forth to action, they are almost irresistible. It is their practice to *hunt* down every man that can't be brought over to their Views, and so many Engines are set at work to depress every individual Opposer, that a man must have more than a common Share of good fortune to escape them, so that an Independent Spirit here is in a constant State of Warfare. I find it difficult to be well with these people, and at the same time act honestly; but as I am not easily discomposed I am determined they shall finally respect me in spite of themselves.

Congress have set too long in a City where every man affects the Politician, and having no System of his own, his Zeal is made subservient to the Designs of others, without his perceiving it. They must remove to some Spot where they will have a better Chance to act independently.<sup>2</sup>

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 110:205-10; and P.R.O. 30/55 [Carleton, or British Headquarters, Papers], No. 8492). For the authorship of this letter and its transmittal by Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North, see the document note at Higginson to Unknown, April 1783.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar expression of this view on the return of "refugee" loyalists, see the May 21 postscript to Higginson to Samuel Adams, May 20, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the final letter in this series of extracts sent by Carleton to North, see Higginson to Unknown, July 21, 1783.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton

Sir, Philadelphia, June 1st 1783

In my last letter <sup>1</sup> to Your Excellency I took occasion to mention that it was of great importance to the state, at this time to have a representation here as points in which by its present situation it is particularly interested are dayly and will be dayly agitated. It is also of importance at this moment to the United States (not only from general considerations but) because we have a very thin representation in Congress and are frequently unable to transact any of those matters which require nine states. I wish your Excellency would urge a couple of gentlemen to come on, as it becomes highly inconvenient to me to remain here and as I have staid the full time to be expected.<sup>2</sup>

I observe with great regret the intemperate proceedings among the people in different parts of the state in violation of a treaty the faithful observance of which so deeply interests the United States. Surely the state of New York with its capital and its frontier posts (on which its

important fur-trade depends) in the hands of the British troops ought to take care that nothing is done to furnish a pretext on the other side, even for delaying much less for refusing the execution of the treaty. We may imagine that the situation of Great Britain puts her under a necessity at all events of fulfilling her engagements and cultivating the good will of this country. This is no doubt her true policy; but when we feel that passion makes us depart from the dictates of reason, when we have seen that passion has had so much influence in the conduct of the British councils in the whole course of the war—when we recollect that those who govern them are men like ourselves and alike subject to passions & resentments—when we reflect also that all the great men in England are not United in the liberal scheme of policy with respect to this Country and that in the anarchy which prevails, there is no knowing to whom the reins of government may be committed, when we recollect how little in a condition we are to enforce a compliance with our claims—we ought certainly to be cautious in what manner we act, especially when we in particular have so much at stake, and should not openly provoke a breach of faith on the other side, by setting the example.

An important distinction is not sufficiently attended to—the 5th article is recommendatory—the sixth positive. There is no option on the part of the particular states as to any future confiscations, prosecutions or injuries of any kind to person, liberty or property on account of any thing done in the war. It is matter of discretion in the states whether they will comply with the recommendations contained in the 5th article; but no part of the 6th can be departed from by them without a direct breach of public faith and of the confederation. The power of making treaties is exclusively lodged in Congress. That power includes whatever is essential to the termination of the war and to the preservation of the general safety. Indemnity to individuals in similar cases is an *usual* stipulation in treaties of peace, of which many precedents are to be produced.

Should it be said that the associations of the people, without legal authority do not amount to breach [breach] of the public faith? The answer is if the government does not repress them and prevent them having effect, it is as much a breach, as a formal refusal to comply on its part. In the eye of a foreign nation, if our engagements are broken, it is of no moment whether it is for the want of good intention in the government or for want of power to restrain its subjects. Suppose a violence committed by an American vessel on the vessel of another nation upon the high seas and after complaint made, there is no redress given—is not that a hostility against the injured nation which will justify reprisals?

But if I am not misinformed there are violations going on in form of law. I am told that indictments continue to be brought

under the former confiscation laws; a palpable infraction if true of the 6th article of the treaty to which an immediate stop ought no doubt to be put.

It has been said by some men that the operation of this treaty is suspended 'till the definitive treaty—a plain subterfuge. Whatever is clearly expressed in the provisional or preliminary treaty is as binding from the moment it is made as the definitive treaty which in fact only developes, explains and fixes more precisely what may have been too generally expressed in the former. Suppose the British should now send away not only the negroes but all other property and all the public records in their possession belonging to us on the pretence above stated, should we not justly accuse them with breaking faith? Is this not already done in the case of the negroes, who have been carried away, though founded upon a very different principle a doubtful construction of the treaty, not a denial of its immediate operation? In fine is it our interest to advance this doctrine and to countenance the position that nothing is binding 'till the definitive treaty, when there are examples of *years* intervening between the preliminary & definitive treaties?

Sir Guy Carelton in his correspondence has appeared to consider the treaty as immediately obligatory and it has been the policy which I have persued to promote the same idea.

I am not indeed apprehensive of a renewal of the war, for peace is necessary to Great Britain; I think it also most probable her disposition to conciliate this country will outweigh the resentments which a breach of our engagements is calculated to inspire. But with a treaty which has exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine which in the articles of boundary & the fisheries is even better than we asked, circumstanced too as this Country is with respect to the means of making war, I think it the height of imprudence to run any risk. Great Britain without recommencing hostilities may evade parts of the treaty. She may keep possession of the frontier posts, she may obstruct the free enjoyment of the fisheries—she may be indisposed to such extensive concessions in matters of commerce as it is our interest to aim at; in all this she would find no opposition from any foreign power; and we are not in a condition to oblige her to any thing. If we imagine that France, obviously embarrassed herself in her Finances would renew the war to oblige Great Britain to the restoration of our frontier posts, or to a compliance with the stipulations respecting the fisheries (especially after a manifest breach of the treaty on our part) we speculate much at random. Observations might be made on the last article which would prove that it is not the policy of France to support our interests there. Are we prepared, for the mere gratification of our resentments to put those great national objects to the hazard—to leave our western frontier in a state of insecurity—to relinquish the fur trade and to abridge our pretensions to the fisheries? Do we think na-

tional character so light a thing as to be willing to sacrifice the public faith to individual animosity?

Let the case be fairly stated: Great Britain and America two independent nations at war—The former in possession of considerable posts and districts of territory belonging to the latter—and also of the means of obstructing certain commercial advantages in which it is deeply interested.

It is not uncommon in treaties of peace for the *uti possidetis* to take place. Great Britain however in the present instance stipulates to restore all our posts & territories in her possession. She even adds an extent not within our original claims more than a compensation for a small part ceded in another quarter. She agrees to readmit us to a participation in the fisheries. What equivalent do we give for this? Congress are to recommend the restoration of property to those who have adhered to her, and expressly engage that no future injury shall be done them in person, liberty or property. This is the sole condition on our part where there is not an immediate reciprocity (the recovery of debts and liberation of prisoners being mutual, the former indeed only declaring what the rights of private faith which all civilized nations hold sacred would have dictated without it) and stands as the single equivalent for all the restitutions and concessions to be made by Great Britain. Will it be honest in us to violate this condition or will it be prudent to put it in competition with all the important matters to be performed on the other side? Will foreign nations be willing to undertake any thing with us or for us, when they find that the nature of our governments will allow no dependence to be placed upon our engagements?

I have omitted saying any thing of the impolicy of inducing by our severity a great number of useful citizens, whose situations do not make them a proper object of resentment to abandon the country to form settlements that will hereafter become our rivals animated with a hatred to us which will descend to their posterity. Nothing however can be more unwise than to contribute as we are doing to people the shores and wilderness of Nova-scotia, a colony which by its position will become a competitor with us among other things in that branch of commerce on which our navigation and navy will essentially depend. I mean the fisheries, in which I have no doubt the state of New York will hereafter have a considerable share.

To your Excellency I freely deliver my sentiments because I am persuaded you cannot be a stranger to the force of these considerations. I fear not even to hazard them to the justice and good sense of those whom I have the honor to represent. I esteem it my duty to do it because the question is important to the interests of the state in its relation to the United States.



Those who consult only their passions might choose to construe what I say as too favourable to a set of men who have been the enemies of the public liberty; but those for whose esteem I am most concerned will acquit me of any personal considerations and will perceive that I only urge the cause of national honor, safety and advantage. We have assumed an independent station; we ought to feel and to act in a manner consistent with the dignity of that station.

I anxiously wish to see every prudent measure taken to prevent those combinations which will certainly disgrace us, if they do not involve us in other calamities. Whatever distinctions are judged necessary to be made in the cases of those persons who have been in opposition to the common cause, let them be made by legal authority on a fair construction of the treaty, consistent with national faith and national honor.

I have the honor to be with perfect respect, Yr. Excellency's Most Obed servant

[P.S.] Your Excellency will have been informed that Congress have instructed General Washington to garrison the frontier posts when surrendered with the three years Continental troops.<sup>3</sup> This is more for the interest of the state than to have them garrisoned at its particular expence—and I should wish that permanent provision might be made on the same principle. I wait to see whether any Continental peace establishment for garrisons &c. will take place before I engage the consent of Congress to a separate provision.

I cannot forbear adding a word on the subject of money. The only reliance we now have for redeeming a large anticipation on the public credit already made and making for the benefit of the army is on the taxes coming in. The collection hitherto is out of all proportion to the demand—it is of vast consequence at this juncture that every thing possible should be done to forward it. I forbear entering into details which would be very striking upon this subject. I will only say that unless there is a serious exertion in the states public credit must ere long receive another shock very disagreeable in its consequences. &c.

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of May 14.

<sup>2</sup> In response to Hamilton's letters and President Elias Boudinot's June 3 appeal to the states then unrepresented in Congress, Governor Clinton wrote on June 9 to New York's non-attending delegates—James Duane, Ezra L'Homedieu, and John Morin Scott—concerning their obligation to keep the state represented. Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:202–3.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 24:337–39.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia June 2d 1783.

The Bearer Dr. Waring<sup>1</sup> a Gentleman of exceeding good Connections in South Carolina, having served his Country very faithfully & honorably during the War, is about making a Voyage to Europe for his advancement in medical Science.

At his earnest request, I must beg leave to introduce him to your Excellency, and to request your Notice of him, as one who has deserved so well of his Country, as to entitle him to the respect, of all its well wishers.

I have the honor to be with every Sentiment of respect & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very Hble Sevt,

Elias Boudinot

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Thomas Waring, who graduated from the medical school of the College of Philadelphia in 1783. See David Ramsay, *Selections from His Writings*, ed. Robert L. Brunhouse, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new ser., v. 55, pt. 4 (1965): 59n.13. For the difficulties involved in identifying the various Thomas Waring of South Carolina, see *Bio. Dir. of S.C. House*, 3:746n.59.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Pennsylvania Council

2 June 1783.

The Delegates of Pennsylvania present their respectful Compliments to The Honble Council & inform them that the Secretary at War is authorized By Congress<sup>1</sup> to repair & deliver the New Prison to such Person as Council shall please to appoint to receive Possession thereof.

RC (PHarH: RG 27). In the hand of Richard Peters; the Pennsylvania delegates attending Congress at this time were Peters, Thomas FitzSimons, Thomas Mifflin, John Montgomery, and James Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> This congressional decision was not recorded in Secretary Charles Thomson's journals.

## Elias Boudinot to Certain States

Sir,

Philadelphia 3 June 1783

The great importance of the present conjuncture of affairs and the clamours of the good Citizens of these States from a want of business

being perfected which requires the consideration and assent of Nine States, have obliged Congress again to press the attention of your State immediately towards the compleating the Representation of the United States in Congress.

It is extremely humiliating to us, as well as disadvantageous to the union, that the public business is so retarded by the delinquency of many of the States in so momentous a concern. The greatest part of the business now before Congress, or which will be necessary previous to an adjournment, requires the assent of nine States; so that unless a fuller Representation can be accomplished, the most dangerous and destructive delays must unavoidably take place.

It is in consequence of the most positive instructions of Congress<sup>1</sup> that I again trouble your Excellency on this subject, the importance of which will be a sufficient excuse.

&c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "The Honorable President of the Council of New Hampshire. Note. The same verbatim was sent to the Governors of Connecticut, New-York, Maryland & Georgia."

<sup>1</sup> No such "instructions" were recorded by Secretary Thomson in the journals of Congress, but see also Boudinot to the States, May 9 and June 10, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Bernardo de Gálvez

Sir,

Philadelphia 3d June 1783

Congress having thought proper to appoint the Bearer hereof Oliver Pollock, Esq. their Commercial Agent at the Havanna, he proceeds immediately for that City in order to take upon himself the duties assigned him by that Commission.<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency will permit me to recommend him to your attention and notice in those matters of the United States in which it may be necessary for him to claim your Excellency's patronage and interposition.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect consideration &c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For Pollock's commission and election to this post, see *JCC*, 24:372, 376-77.

## Eliphalet Dyer to Thomas Shaw

Sir

New York June 3d 1783

I have at length Succeeded in the Labourious task I have had to go through in your Cause which was not finished till Thursday last when I

immediately left the City of Philadelphia on my way home tho the sun was near sitting I procured a Copy of the Decree in your favor Affirming the first Judgment or Decree given by the Court of Admiralty in the State of Rhodisland.<sup>1</sup> I should think Stanton &c would at once discharge the Execution otherwise I should Think you might obtain relief from it by an Audita Quærela<sup>2</sup> from the Superior Court, am certain you might in the State of Connect, but however Mr Helmes will be able to direct you. I have some thots of sending you the Copy of the Decree I have obtained by Mr Bradock but if not shall send it immediately after I arrive home, & hope may have the opportunity of seeing you soon after my return.

RC (CtY: Shaw Papers). In Dyer's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> For the background of the case of the *Two Brothers*, which had been before the courts since 1777, see these *Letters*, 13:427–28, 15:302–3, 16:26–28. The court case file is in RG 267, DNA.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a writ brought by a judgment defendant to obtain relief against a judgment on account of a new defense or discharge which could not be taken advantage of otherwise.

## Stephen Higginson to Elbridge Gerry

Dr Sir

Phila. June 3. 1783.

Your Letter respecting the Resolution of the general Court<sup>1</sup> I received a long time since, & you may perhaps think it very strange that I have not before made any reply. Soon after the receipt of that Letter we heard that you intended coming hither in company with Mr. Lowell in April, this was confirmed by Mr. Lowell when he wrote to me to get lodgings for him, & I expected fully to have seen you here by the first of May. When he arrived he informed me that you intended setting off soon after him, I therefore still continued to expect you & supposed that a Letter if forwarded would not meet you at home—nor had I then any Idea that you waited to hear what Congress had done or would do as to that Resolution. Your Letter to me implied that the doings of Congress or the opinions of the Delegates might affect your decision as to taking a Seat in Congress but I really believed from those Accounts that I had misconstrued it or that you had altered your mind. When I received your Letter I communicated it to Our Colleagues & we agreed to remonstrate, but Congress were then & for some time after very busily employed in matters of importance, as Finance &c, & would not attend to any other Business. We therefore thought it best to delay the matter a Little. In the mean time I conversed with such of the members now in Congress as were then here, they are only four.<sup>2</sup> Their Ideas were so very different on the Subject from Ours that we thought there was no chance of doing or obtaining any thing that would be agreeable to you or useful to the

State. The new members thought that the present Congress could not with decency or propriety decide upon the Conduct of a former House. The changes of members, the alterations of the Ru[les] & the Length of time with many other circumstances which Mr. Osgood has no doubt stated to you, We found would prevent Our doing any thing to effect & determined us to make no attempt. Of this determination I should have given you notice but for the reasons before mentioned, as soon as we found it. Be assured it was not inattention or a want of disposition to satisfy you in this matter that prevented my writing you before. Mr. Osgoods Letter recd. yesterday proposes the attempting to lodge the papers with a Remonstrance on the files, this may be done if you wish it, but I doubt whether it will be permitted.<sup>3</sup> Congress really esteem you & wish you to be here, but I suspect they will think it very improper at this distance of time to take any notice of the matter, & to fail in the attempt will give you uneasiness. We shall however be governed by your inclination & Judgement on the Subject. With real respect I am Sir your most huml Serv

S. Higginson

RC (MHi: Gerry Papers II).

<sup>1</sup> Higginson is referring to Gerry's February 28 letter asking to be informed of the congressional response to the Massachusetts General Court's November 1782 resolution for reviving Gerry's breach of privilege case, and reminding Higginson that should the subject be allowed to remain buried "it may establish a precedent for depriving States of some of the essential Rights of Representation." See Gerry to Higginson, February 28, 1783, Gerry Papers, DLC; and Austin, *Life of Gerry*, 1:322-24. For Gerry's privilege case and withdrawal from Congress in 1780, see these *Letters*, 14:430-33, 435-36, 15:3-6, 44.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Abraham Clark of New Jersey, John Collins of Rhode Island, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Samuel Holten of Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> For the remonstrance presented on June 6, see Massachusetts Delegates to Congress, June 6; and Samuel Holten to Gerry, June 7, 1783.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

Philada. June 3d. 1783.

I thank you cordially for the narrative of legislative proceedings contained in your favor of the 24th ulto.<sup>1</sup> In return for the Journal of the House of Delegates I inclose herewith a copy of the proceedings of Congs. since Novr. last. There is a chasm in the Journal you have sent arising from the miscarriage of your letter which ought to have come by the preceding mail.

The idea of protracting my service in Congs. into a part of the ensuing year does not coincide with the plans which I have in view after Novr. next.<sup>2</sup> I had rather therefore not stand in the way of another Gentleman whom it might suit better, and whose attendance would be



more certain. If a reduction of the number of Delegates should take place it will be still more essential not to include me.

I have recd. from Mr. Webb £100 refd. to in yours. The remittance of £1000 havg. been shared not equally as heretofore but according to our respective arrears, this sum will somewhat overpay me. You will therefore not apply for other warrants in my behalf. I wish you had reserved the £50 which you advanced for me sometime ago & that you wd. now draw on me for it if it be more convenient for you to receive it here, or you can readily sell a bill where you are. It will be perfectly convenient for me to pay it.<sup>3</sup>

Being somewhat indisposed in my head & also pressed for time I beg leave to refer to Mr. Jones instead of repeating what I have written to him.<sup>4</sup>

Adieu My dear sir & be assured that I am yr. sincere friend,  
J. M.

[P.S.] I have a letter from a Correspondt. of Mazzei at Nantz, which informs me that, [he] was at Paris in Feby. and wd. sail for America in March or April.<sup>5</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:107–8.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 72–74.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Thomas Jefferson, May 20, 1783, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, May 27, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Madison's June 3 letter to Joseph Jones has not been found, but for the condition from which Madison occasionally suffered, "somewhat resembling Epilepsy, and suspending the intellectual functions," see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 1:164, 8:270.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 6:243.

## Gunning Bedford, Jr. to Nicholas Van Dyke

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia June 4th. 83.

I do myself the honor to inclose you the Papers of the day, which contain all the news here.

Mr. McComb transmitts the grants of NYork & Maryland to Congress;<sup>1</sup> I wish our State may be generous, & not loose so fine an opportunity of aggrandising herself. I have mentioned to you in person my idea on the subject, I will repeat it, that we should grant in fee simple two or three hundred acres to Congress including all the Hill back of Wilmington with a jurisdiction of six or eight miles up between the christiana & Brandywine, or around include New Castle &c. I have wrote to Wilmington<sup>2</sup> inclosing the cessions of the corporations of Kingston & Annapolis, & requesting the proprietors to fix a moderate price for their respective shares, which I make no doubt (unless they are blind to their own interests) they will comply with. It is a matter of

so much consequence to the State, that I hope every exertion will be made. The disposition of Congress is favourable to Wilmington, & I hope the very superior advantages of situation will make up for the deficiency of our purse.

Present my compliments to all our gentlemen, & believe me with much respect, your obed., very Hbble Servt,

Gunning Bedford jun

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Eleazer McComb to Van Dyke, May 31, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia, June 4th, 1783.

Colo Dyer has so lately left Congress & will fully inform of the State of affairs to that time, as leaves me very little to acquaint your Excellency with.

A Packet just arrived at New York from Falmouth, it is reported, brings information that the definitive treaty was signed, & that the british are to leave this coast at farthest by the 1st of Augt. The Packet also brings a list of the new british ministry established the 2d of April, which I take the liberty to inclose.<sup>1</sup> From the strange coalition of which it is formed, there is little reason to doubt but that another change, of a partial nature, will follow as soon as the present convulsed state of that nation shall have subsided. Lord North, who is the fixed favorite of his Sovereign & a man of the most System, business & address, will easily find means to lay aside Mr Fox & his coadjutors when he can well do without them, as he has already done with regard to one set of opponents whom he let come forward to perish in the odium of executing measures which himself had rendered necessary.

A letter from Mr Dumas to the Secretary of Forreign Affairs, advises that Mr Vanbercle, Ambassador from their High-Mightinesses the States General to these United [*States*] was to sail for America the 1st of this month.<sup>2</sup> A question which has been more than once agitated in Congress on the expediency of an interchange of ministers with foreign courts, except on special occasions, is yet undecided & probably will receive no direct decision. While, on the one hand, respectability abroad, facility of acquiring & of communicating useful information, & the long established custom of all European nations, except the uncivilized Turk & the mountain barricaded Swiss, plead strongly in the affirmative, Considerations of œconomy & simplicity of manners, so necessary to be observed in republicks, & factious intrigues, so necessary for them to avoid, have much weight in the opposite scale.

Congress have appointed Oliver Pollock, Esqr, late agent of these United States at New Orleans, their agent to reside at the Havannah<sup>3</sup>—it is to be hoped we shall not ultimately fail of the valuable Trade to that island, tho' its ports are at present shut against us, owing, it is said, in some measure to abuses committed there under the American Flag by foreigners who wished to render it obnoxious.

We hear from the Assembly of Virginia that the House of Delegates, notwithstanding they so unanimously & recently voted a repeal of their Act granting to the United States the Impost first recommended by Congress, had given liberty for a bill to be brought in for complying with the requisition of the Impost as it now stands, & that there was a great probability the Act would pass. This is the only Assembly from which we have yet heard upon that subject, & from which, next to that of Rhod Island, the greatest opposition was apprehended.

A very liberal offer is made by Maryland to induce Congress to fix its residence at Annapolis. One less so had before been made by the State of New York of the Town of Kingstown. Which, or whether either of them, will be accepted is uncertain; tho' it is generally agreed that Congress should remove to a place of less expence, less avocation & less influence than are to be expected in a commercial & opulent city.<sup>4</sup>

I hope, Sir, Mr Huntington, who has long been expected & is at present much needed in Congress, will soon be here;<sup>5</sup> & that with him or very soon after, some other Gentleman of the Delegation will also come forward, that I may be at liberty soon to return home, which it will be necessary for me to do.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedt, Huml Servt.  
Oliver Ellsworth.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified; but the list of the members of the new Portland-Fox-North coalition government had been printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on May 27.

<sup>2</sup> This day Secretary Livingston delivered to Congress a March 20 letter from C. W. F. Dumas, Continental agent at The Hague, forwarding the request of the new Dutch minister, Pieter Johan van Berckel, for certain arrangements to be made in advance of his arrival—the reservation of a house and the purchase of a coach and six. "A fine large commodious house for himself & his family, which is numerous," Dumas explained, "with a coach house & stable, & situated in the most genteel part of the City. . . . [and] to have a new chariot made . . . [and] to procure six fine carriage horses, blacks or bays, but all of the same colour, & such as may please a man fond of horses." PCC, item 93, 2:291–96, item 185, 3:66.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Bernardo de Gálvez, June 3, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Congress this day set October 6 for opening debate on the proposals of New York and Maryland for selecting Kingston or Annapolis as "their permanent residence," and directed that the proposals be distributed to the states for their consideration. See JCC, 24:281–82; and Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to Samuel Huntington, who with Benjamin Huntington returned to his seat in Congress on July 29. JCC, 24:457.

## Nathaniel Gorham to Caleb Davis

Dear Sir <sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia June 4. 1783.

You have undoubtedly before this seen the resolutions of Congress relative to impost &c. in which the States are requested to cede their vacant lands to congress to establish a fund so far as they will go toward the extinction of the publick debt, it is certainly best it should be done, but it behoves Massachusetts to be very carefull in their grant if they see fit to make any or other way, then may be in danger of giving land to New York instead of giving it to the general stock—but I think no danger will arise if it is made in the same form as the cession of NYork which may be found in the Journal of Congress. March 1781—page 48. We are daily in expectation of the definitive treaty and if it arrives soon I am in hopes Congress will adjourn for three or four months which I think will answer good purposes. This place is exceedingly expensive and will undoubtedly encrease in that way—as foreign ministers increas. The Dutch minister has wrote to Mr Livingston desiring him to hire for use the best house in Town—& to buy him the most elegant carriage & six of the best carriage horses that can be bought—& if the dutchman rides with six horses the ministers of France England &c. will not chuse to ride with less. New York & Maryland have made offers of Towns for the use of Congress—you will see them as they are to be sent to the States,<sup>2</sup> in order that may all be represented, when the question is considered on the first monday of October next. I am in hopes I shall be at home before your Session ends and in the interim I remain Your friend & very humble Sert,

Nath Gorham

RC (MHi: Caleb Davis Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Caleb Davis, who has been identified in these *Letters*, 11:288n.1, was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir,

Philadelphia 4th June 1783.

A few days ago I had the honor to inclose to your Excellency <sup>1</sup> a copy of an Act of the Legislature of Newyork confirming a Grant made by the Corporation of Kingston; <sup>2</sup> since which the offer made by the State of Maryland, mentioned in my last, has been read in Congress, and I now do myself the honor to inclose a copy of it. The proceedings of the Corporation of the City of Annapolis have been transmitted to Wilmington, in hopes that with so good an example before

their eyes, the inhabitants of that Borough, especially the owners of the Land in question, will enable the Legislature to make a generous offer to Congress.

As Mr. Bedford incloses the News Papers of the day, I need not give you the trouble of another copy.

Mr. Van Berkel, minister from the United Provinces of Holland is to sail early in June, and may be expected here the last of July, or early in August. Our charge des affaires at that Court, has written to our Minister for Foreign Affairs, requesting that an elegant House, in a pleasant part of the City, may be taken, and a Coach and six Horses, provided for him.

The States of New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Maryland & Georgia are now unrepresented. An order passed yesterday, desiring the President to write to these states for an immediate Representation, and to the others to continue theirs, in order that there may be a full Congress to take up some business of importance,<sup>3</sup> (principally relating to the back Lands,) on the completion of which Congress may, and I suppose will, adjourn for several Months.

I am sir, your Excellency's most obt and very humble servant,

E. McComb

RC (DLC: William Kent Gilbert Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See McComb to Van Dyke, May 31, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Certain States, June 3, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Wednesday June 4. [1783]

The Report of the Committee for giving to the army certificates for land was taken up. After some discussion of the subject, some members being for and some agst. making the certificates transferrable it was agreed that the Report should lie on the table.<sup>1</sup>

For what passed in relation to the Cession of vacant territory by Virga. see the Journal.<sup>2</sup>

Whilst Mr. Hamiltons motion relating to Mr Livingston Secretary of For. affrs. was before the House, Mr. Peters moved, in order to detain Mr Livingston in office, that it be declared by the Seven States present that the Salary ought to be augmented. To this it was objected 1. that it would be an assumption of power in 7 States to say what 9 States ought to do, 2. that it might ensnare Mr. Livingston, 3. that it would commit the present States, who ought to be open to discussion when 9 States should be on the floor. The motion of Mr. Peters being withdrawn, that of Mr. Hamilton was agreed to.<sup>3</sup>



MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:109.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this matter in Secretary Thomson's journals, but this committee had been appointed on May 30 to implement a motion of Alexander Hamilton "to consider of the best manner of carrying into execution the engagements of the United States for certain allowances of land to the army at the conclusion of the war." PCC, item 21, fol. 354. According to Thomson's "committee book," "A Motion of Mr. Bland for setting off[*t*] a tract of land to discharge the debts &c due to the Army" had also been referred to this committee (a grand committee of ten), which this day "reported in part & ask leave to report further." See PCC, item 186, fol. 105. For its report, see PCC, item 21, fol. 353; and *JCC*, 24:383.

To this committee was also referred on July 5 a June 16 "Petition of sundry officers for grant of Lands NW of Ohio," before it was reconstituted on September 15 and finally "discharged" October 15, 1783. PCC, item 42, 6:61-71.

The reference in Hamilton's motion to "engagements of the United States for certain allowances of land" is to a congressional resolution of September 16, 1776, for which see *JCC*, 5:763.

<sup>2</sup> After debating a committee report on the cessions of western land claims by Connecticut, New York, and Virginia, Congress referred "so much thereof as relates to the cession made by the Commonwealth of Virginia" to a committee of five. See *JCC*, 24:381-82. See also Madison's Notes for June 6 and 10.

<sup>3</sup> That is, "That the thanks of Congress be presented to Mr. Livingston" for his temporary continuance in office. *JCC*, 24:382.

## Charles Thomson to Robert R. Livingston

Dear Sir,

Wednesday June 4 1783.

I am extremely sorry to find the public must be deprived of the benefits of your experience & services at the very time when I apprehend they will be most wanted. I am the more mortified, as I am persuaded from Your letter to a late committee appointed to confer with you as well as from some expressions of Mr Hamilton that you would have continued in the Office had your salary been only made equal to your necessary expenses. I wish experience may not prove this to have been an ill timed parsimony. Who your successor will be I cannot divine. Wednesday next you see is assigned for the election but no person is yet nominated.

I rejoice in the honorable testimonial Congress have given of your ability, zeal and fidelity. I wish the next who fills the office may give as much satisfaction and be equally deserving; but the choice must then fall on a different person from some within my view who I believe would wish to succeed you.

By the resolution which precedes the vote of thanks you see I am directed to receive into my care the papers of your Office till a successor can be appointed.<sup>1</sup> I wished to have avoided this and that the papers should have been left in the custody of your first under secretary or that they should be delivered over to a committee of Congress. The first I apprehended would have been most proper if it is really in-

tended to elect a successor at the time mentioned and the latter, if that is not the case.

However as the resolve only directs me to receive the papers into my care, and as I am determined to have nothing to do with the business of the Office, I must beg the favour of you to order all the papers to be packed up and Sealed with your seal and then sent to my office where they shall lie till Congress otherwise dispose of them.

I wish you all imaginable happiness and am, with sincere respect and Esteem, Your most obedient and Most humble Servant,

Cha Thomson

RC (NHi: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed June 4 resolution, see *JCC*, 24:382.

## Richard Beresford to Jean de Neufville & Son

Sir.

Philadelphia June 5, 1783

It is impossible for me to express in worthy Terms the Sense of Respect and Gratitude which your great Merit and Services to my Friends in England have impress'd upon my Heart. Having been sent hither by the State of So Carolina as one of her Representatives in Congress I shall be for some Time incapacitated to take upon me an active Part relative to the Affairs of the Family's Estate, but I shall exert myself, even at this Distance, to get replaced all former or future Disbursements; and I beg you will consider my own Estate answerable for all the Benefits render'd to Persons so dear to me.

If you wish, Sir, to form mercantile Connexions in America I beg you will command all the Powers which I possess.

I am Sir, Your most obedient Servant,

Rd Beresford

[P.S.] Be pleased to direct to me in Congress. I omitted to mention that our State has not repeal'd the Law which prohibits Suits for Debt. This Circumstance has made it inconvenient to make speedy Remittances.

RC (NN: Emmet Collection). Addressed: "Messrs. John de Neufville & Son, Merchts, Amsterdam."

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

[Hon]d Sir.

Philada. June 5. 1783.

By the post preceding the last I answered yours of the 16th addressing it to the care of Mr. Maury.<sup>1</sup> I was prevented by more necessary

writing from inclosing the papers again by the last post as I had intended. I now supply the omission by two Gentlemen going to Fredericksbg. All the news we have recd. is contained in them, and respects solely the arrangement which is at length made of a British Ministry.

Having sent several copys of the pamphlet of Congress on the subject of Revenue &c. which I suppose will be transcribed in the Virga. gazettes, I shall add nothing on that subject presuming that you will thro' some channel or other obtain a sight of these proceedings. I inclose a memorandum of the books which I wish you to select from Docr. Hamilton's Catalogue.<sup>2</sup> I shall take care not to disappoint you of the chair which I promised to bring with me. The time of my setting out is as uncertain as at the date of my last; but it will certainly take place before the fall. Remember me affecy. to my mother & all the family & be assured that I am yr. dutiful son, J. Madison Jr.

[P.S.] I have got a promise of the books for Moses Joseph & expect to bring them with me.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:115–16.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison to Madison, Sr., May 27, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but for "Docr. Hamilton's Catalogue," see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:88n.6.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday June 6. [1783]

The report as to the territorial Cession of Virga. after some uninteresting debate was adjourned.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:116.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison's Notes, June 4, note 2, and June 10. There is no entry for this date in Secretary Thomson's journals.

## Massachusetts Delegates to Congress

[June 6, 1783]<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the Honorable Elbrige Gerry esqr. a delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, has represented to the General assembly of said state, that he was on the 17th<sup>2</sup> day of February, 1780, deprived of the privilege of a member of Congress, in being denied the right of calling the yeas & nays upon a question of order, in consequence of which Mr. Gerry withdrew from Congress, and it appearing to said assembly by the Journals of Congress, & by the letters that passed between the President of Congress & Mr. Gerry, that Mr.

Gerry's complaint of a deprivation of privilege was well founded; and whereas no reparation has been made to the state of Massachusetts or Mr. Gerry for the injury aforesaid.

The undersigners, delegates in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, do in the name & by express order of the General Court of said state, remonstrate against the conduct of Congress for the year of 1780, in depriving Mr. Gerry of his right as a member of Congress; as, being injurious to the privilege of Mr. Gerry & subversive of the right and interest of the state of Massachusetts; in expectation that the present Congress will order this remonstrance to be lodged amongst their records, that the sense of the state of Massachusetts relative to the conduct of Congress, for the year 1780, in the instance referred to, the 17th of February, may at all times hereafter appear.<sup>3</sup>

S. Holten

Nath. Gorham

S. Higginson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78). Written by Holten, and signed by Holten, Gorham, and Higginson. Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Motion of the delegates of Massachusetts respecting Mr Gerry's complaint agst. the Congress of 1780. Filed June 6, 1783, with Mr. Gerry's letters of Feby 1780." The reference to Gerry's letters is actually to ones of February 19 and 22, and April 3, 1780, for which see *ibid.*, 10:205–22; and these *Letters*, 14:430–33, 435–36, 15:3–5.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary Thomson's Despatch Book indicates that this remonstrance, although undated, was submitted to Congress this date. PCC, item 185, 3:66.

<sup>2</sup> Actually February 18. See these *Letters*, 14:430–33.

<sup>3</sup> Congress ordered this remonstrance filed "without opposition," thus setting the stage for Gerry's return to Congress on August 14, 1783. See also Stephen Higginson to Gerry, June 3; and Samuel Holten to Gerry, June 7, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to Elbridge Gerry

Dear sir.

Philadelphia, 7th June, 1783

I have receiv'd the letter you did me the honor to write the 19th ultimo,<sup>1</sup> & one under cover directed to Mr. Lee; I think seal'd with your seal, the latter I forwarded, undercover, to Mr. Lee immediately.

I have the honor of inclozing a copy of the remonstrance from the delegates of Massachusetts to Congress, respecting your affairs,<sup>2</sup> which was filed in the Secry's office, with the other papers respecting said affair, without opposition; which I hope will meet your approbation.<sup>3</sup>

I have the pleasure of some acquaintance with Mr. Warren,<sup>4</sup> & had conceiv'd a favorable opinion of him, before I was honored with your recommendation, in his favor, & you may be assured that inclination, added to the respect I have for his freinds and connections will induce me to interest myself in his favor; but there is so many applica-

tions for places at this time, I fear he may not obtain an appointment to his mind.

I hope, I shall soon have the pleasure of paying you my personal respects in Philadelphia.

I have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient;

S. Holten <sup>5</sup>

RC (Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang, River Forest, Ill., 1981).

<sup>1</sup> Gerry's May 19 letter to Holten—"relative to my withdrawing from Congress," and recommending Winslow Warren's "appointment to the office of Consul"—is in the Warren-Adams Papers, MHi.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>3</sup> "I am honored with your Letter of the 7 Inst.," Gerry responded on June 23, "inclosing a Copy of the Remonstrance of my honorable Collegues, pursuant to the Resolution of the Legislature of the State. As the Business, on the Part of the Delegates, appears to have been conducted with the greatest propriety & Judgment, you will please to accept & present to the other Gentlemen, my Acknowledgment thereof. I am much obliged to you for inclosing my Letter to Mr Lee, & promise myself the Pleasure, by the middle of July, of an agreeable Interview with my Friends at Philadelphia." Elsie O. and Philip D. Sang Collection.

<sup>4</sup> For Winslow Warren's application for a consular appointment, see Holten to James Warren, July 15, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Holten also wrote the following note to his valet Jeremiah Sheldon this day. "If you incline to tarry with me 5 months longer I will give you 40 dollars, or in that proportion if you carry a shorter time, but can't pay you untill I receive the money of the state; but if you incline to return I will allow you a reasonable sum to bear your expenses, but you must carry some of my baggage with you." Holten Papers, DLC. Sheldon's response, indicating that he could stay in Philadelphia only one month longer, and Holten's acknowledgment of this stipulation, are penned on the verso of this note.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear sir

Philada. 7th June 1783.

In a short Time our Treaties with most foreign Courts will be finished and we shall proceed to appoint Consuls in the most considerable Sea Ports in Europe or Africa. A Consulate will be honourable & somewhat profitable to any Gentleman who is settled or may settle as a Mercht in the Place where he is appointed Consul. I do not wish that any Mercht of character and Abilities who is a native of our State should leave the Country to settle abroad, because I think he may serve himself and his Country better by staying at Home where I hope that Trade will Flourish and be conducted by the Sons of America. However if you know of any N Carolinian who is settled or about to settle in any foreign Port I shall be much obliged to you for the Information that when Places are disposed of we may consider how far our Claims to any of them may extend. There is no Place, in Congress nor out of it, in which I shall willingly neglect the Interest of our State. On



the above Subject you will be so good as consult your Acquaintance and let me hear from you.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Consideration, Your most  
obedt hble Servt, Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

## Elias Boudinot to William Livingston

Sir, Philadelphia 8th June 1783.

The Delegates of New-Jersey having been instructed by a former Legislature respecting the Western Lands,<sup>1</sup> I am desired by my Colleagues to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed Report of a Committee on the Virginia Cession,<sup>2</sup> (which being the order of the day will soon be taken into consideration by Congress) that the same may be laid before the Legislature for their consideration, as they will now be informed of the extent of that cession and be able to judge what line of conduct it may be necessary for their Delegates to take: it being a matter of too much importance for them to act upon without the advice of their Constituents, the former instructions not being explicit on many parts of the subject under consideration. As this business is now pushed with earnestness and a speedy decision judged necessary, it is hoped the Legislature will not delay any farther instructions they may think proper to give.

The Legislature are in possession of the former Report on this subject made in Nov. 1781, and which is printed in the Journals of Congress of May 1782.<sup>3</sup>

The States of New-York and Maryland having made propositions to Congress for their fixing their permanent residence in one of those States, I have ordered copies of those propositions to be made out, and shall as soon as possible transmit them to your Excellency for the information of the Legislature, particularly as a day is appointed for the determination; and if our State should incline to invite Congress into New-Jersey, I am rather inclined to think it would meet with the most general approbation.<sup>4</sup> I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Your Excellency's Most obedient & very humb. Servt. Elias Boudinot

RC (Nj: Autographed Manuscripts, #2516).

<sup>1</sup> For this January 3, 1781, "Representation and Remonstrance" of the New Jersey Assembly, see Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 4:116-18.

<sup>2</sup> See James Madison's Notes, June 4, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See these *Letters*, 18:485n.4.

<sup>4</sup> For New Jersey's June 19 invitation to Congress, which was "Read July 1, 1783," see PCC, item 46, fol. 35-41.

## Ralph Izard to George Washington

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 8th June 1783.

I am perfectly persuaded that the proceedings described in the enclosed Letter are such as your Excellency highly disapproves of. It is probable that complaints have been made to you respecting them, & I doubt not that everything proper has been done on the subject. I am much affected by the distresses to which Mrs. DeLancey has been exposed by the violent conduct of those persons she complains of in her Letter. My anxiety to alleviate them, & my desire that she should not think me inattentive to her happiness, will I hope appear to you sufficient reasons for my troubling you on this occasion.

I have not the honour of being acquainted with Governor Clinton, & therefore request the favour of your Excellency to make the contents of Mrs. DeLancey's Letter known to him.<sup>1</sup> I am with great regard, Dear Sir, Your most obt. hble Servant

Ra. Izard.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Washington immediately forwarded the enclosed letter to Gov. George Clinton, but in his June 14 response to Izard he explained that "The Acts complained of were committed at a Time when neither civil or military Government existed in that part of the Country [Westchester County, N.Y.]." See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:9–10. Elizabeth Colden De Lancey, wife of Peter De Lancey, and the mother of Izard's wife Alice, was related to a number of the most active New York loyalist military officers.

Although Mrs. De Lancey's letter has not been found, a similar one of August 5th, sent to Clinton by James Duane at Izard's behest, is in Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:233–34, for which see Duane to Clinton, August 12; and Ezra L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 3, 1783.

Izard also wrote the following letter of thanks to Washington on June 23 in response to the general's assistance.

"I have been favoured with your Letters of the 14th & 19th instant; the latter enclosing an extract of a Letter from Govr. Clinton. You will be pleased to accept of my thanks for your early attention to the contents of my Letter respecting Mrs. Delancey." Noyes Collection, NIC.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

(private)

Philadelphia 9th June 1783.

Since my last private letter to your Excellency nothing has turned up worthy of your notice but what you have received official advice of, from the proper Departments. Indeed unaccountable as it may seem, our Ministers at Paris have not suffered us to hear from them since the 24th of Jany. last, till the day before yesterday, when I received two letters from Mr. Laurence, one of the 15th of March the other of the 5th of April last.

Altho' these contain but little information, yet I think proper to enclose the substance of them,<sup>1</sup> in confidence, as it is unknown but that the knowlege of the most trifling circumstances in important negotiations may, by accident, prove highly advantageous to one in your Excellency's situation.

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's private letter enclosing one to Mr. Pintard, to which the greatest attention was paid.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Boudinot and Miss Susan join me in reciprocating the most affectionate wishes and respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, in which your Excellency is most warmly included.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and most sincere esteem, Your Excellency's, Most obedient & very humb Ser

Elias Boudinot

PS. Your Excellency's Letter by the Secretary of War, was duly recd this Morning & laid before Congress: June 11th. 1783.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> These enclosures, labelled "Substance of Letters from the Honorable John [*i.e.* Henry] Laurens, dated—London 15 March 1783—London 5 April 1783," are in the Washington Papers, DLC. Laurens' letters, which were written to the secretary for foreign affairs, are in PCC, item 89, fols. 253–59; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:303–5, 360–61.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's May 21 letter to Lewis Pintard, concerning his wine orders, is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:448, but the "private letter" enclosing it has not been found.

<sup>3</sup> Washington's letter of June 7 enclosing an "Address" from the officers of the army concerning the delay of their pay and settlement of their accounts is in PCC, item 152, 11:295–96; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:478–79. It was read in Congress June 10 and referred the following day to a committee, consisting of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and Theodorick Bland, which reported on June 19. See *JCC*, 24:402–3, PCC, item 185, 3:67, item 186, fol. 107. See also Boudinot to the States, June 20, 1783, note 1.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Monday June 9th. [1783]

Not States enough assembled to make a Congress.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clarke signified to those present, that the Delegates of N. Jersey being instructed on the subject of the Back lands, he should communicate the Report thereon to his Constituents.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:124.

<sup>1</sup> For Congress' frustration over this problem, see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, and to Certain States, June 3, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For this report on the Virginia cession, see Madison's Notes, June 4, note 2. For New Jersey's response to Ahraham Clark's communication of this report to the assembly, a

"representation and remonstrance" of June 14 that was laid before Congress on June 20, see *JCC*, 24:407-9; and Madison's Notes for June 20.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir,

Philadelphia June 9t. 1783.

We have the honor to inclose the official accounts mentioned in our last respecting the emissions of continental money.<sup>1</sup>

There has not been such a representation as is necessary on a question of money since our last—consiquently nothing has been done relative to the old emission, but Congress have wrote to the delinquent States to compleat their representation<sup>2</sup>—as soon as nine States are represented this business will emediately be attended to—and we shall embrace the first opportunity to give the necessary information on the subject—and remain with great respect your Excelleys most Obedient & huml servant,

S. Holten

Nathl. Gorham

Stephen Higginson

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Gorham, and signed by Gorham, Higginson, and Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Hancock, May 28, and Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams, June 10, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Certain States, June 3, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir,

Circular.

Philadelphia 10 June 1783

The States of New-York and Maryland having made seperate propositions to Congress, on the subject of their permanent residence in one of those States, I have the honor to enclose copies thereof for the information of your State; and am instructed to inform your Excellency that the first Monday in October next is assigned for the determination on those propositions, when it is expected that each State will be careful to have a full Representation in Congress.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, &c.

Elias Boudinot

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> The propositions of "The States of New-York and Maryland" accompanying this resolve were copies of memorials received April 1 and June 2 inviting Congress to locate permanently at Kingston, N.Y., or Annapolis, Md., respectively. See PCC, item 46, fols. 1-33.

The Kingston offer had originated in a January 29, 1783, decision of the trustees of the corporation to investigate the feasibility of such an invitation, which came to

fruition on March 7, was endorsed by the New York Assembly on March 14, and transmitted to Congress by Gov. George Clinton on March 20. It was referred to a committee consisting of John Rutledge, William Hemsley, and Stephen Higginson on April 4, which reported on May 30 that the offer of one square mile was "too limited" but might be acceptable if a larger tract were to be granted. In the opinion of Robert R. Livingston, who had long been interested in the removal of Congress to a site on the Hudson and had been advising the Kingston trustees on their proposal, the offer was also flawed because the New York Assembly had been "too sparing" in its offer of "immunities" to Congress within the proposed federal district. See *JCC*, 24:229n.2, 376; Marius Schoonmaker, *The History of Kingston, New York* (New York: Burr Printing House, 1888), pp. 369–72; and Livingston to Christopher Tappen, April 2, 1783, *Livingston Papers* microfilm, NHi.

Almost immediately thereafter, Congress also received a similar offer from the city of Annapolis and the Maryland Assembly, which was referred on June 2 to a committee consisting of Nathaniel Gorham, Welcome Arnold, Oliver Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, and Ralph Izard, which recommended on June 4 that copies of the proposals from both Maryland and New York be distributed to the states in preparation for congressional consideration of them in October. See *PCC*, item 20, 1:389; and *JCC*, 24:381–82.

In the interval, however, the issue facing Congress was fundamentally transformed by the delegates' sudden adjournment from Philadelphia in the aftermath of a hostile demonstration of Pennsylvania troops at the State House on June 21 which the Pennsylvania Council refused to suppress. The incident served the interests of those who had long sought the removal of Congress to another location, and gave new hope to promoters from a number of jurisdictions—such as Williamsburg, Va., and Elizabethtown, Newark, New Brunswick, and Nottingham Township, N.J.—who submitted invitations to Congress during the following weeks. Not since March 1780, when the delegates indefinitely postponed a final decision on their December 3, 1779, resolution to adjourn from Philadelphia to a location to be determined upon, had the movement for relocating the Continental government been accorded serious attention. For the context and development of this story, see Kenneth R. Bowling, "'A Place to Which Tribute Is Brought': The Contest for the Federal Capital in 1783," *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* 8 (1976): 129–39; Kenneth R. Bowling, *The Creation of Washington, D.C. The Idea and Location of The American Capital* (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991), chaps. 1–2; and these *Letters*, 14:247n.4, 449n.4. See also Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, April 10, 1783, note 3.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Fitzgerald

Dr. Sir <sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia, June 10. 1783

The inclosed letter is for Mr. Bowman who married Mrs. Cattle.<sup>2</sup> I am told he is at Alexandria which make me trouble you with the letter. Should he have left that place for South Carolina, I will thank you to forward it to him.

No definitive treaty yet arrived nor any thing else of importance new. I write in Congress & have only time to add that I am, Yr. sincere & affectionate friend,

A Hamilton

Reprinted from Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:375.

<sup>1</sup> John Fitzgerald (d. 1800), a native of Ireland and merchant in Alexandria, Va., had served with Hamilton as an aide-de-camp to General Washington.



<sup>2</sup> John Bowman had married Sabina Lynch Cattell, daughter of former South Carolina delegate Thomas Lynch and widow of William Cattell. *Ibid.*, p. 375n.2.

## Alexander Hamilton to Nathanael Greene

Dr. General,

Philadelphia, June 10. 1783

I inclose you a couple of letters from Mr. Carter<sup>1</sup> one for yourself, the other for Mr. Kenlock.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing for me to add, except that I wish you when the business shall be transacted to transmit the bond to me under cover to General Schuyler at Albany. I expect to leave this shortly for that place and to remain there 'till New York is evacuated; on which event I shall set down there seriously on the business of making my fortune. It has been hinted to me that you have some thoughts of making our state the place of your residence. You will easily believe me sincere when I express my wishes that this may be the case—and when I add that I shall consider it as a valuable acquisition to the state.

There is so little disposition either in or out of Congress to give solidity to our national system that there is no motive to a man to lose his time in the public service; who has no other view than to promote its welfare. Experience must convince us that our present establishments are Utopian before we shall be ready to part with them for better.

I write in Congress and therefore cannot enlarge; but I need not assure you that no one will at all times have more pleasure in hearing from you than myself as no one is more warmly & sincerely Your friend, than Dr Sir, Yr. Obed serv,

A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton-McLane Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> John Barker Church, alias John Carter, a former congressional army auditor, had eloped with Gen. Philip Schuyler's daughter Angelica in 1777. He was a business partner of Jeremiah Wadsworth, and after the war moved to England where he served in parliament, 1790–96. Don R. Gerlach, *Proud Patriot. Philip Schuyler and the War of Independence, 1775–1783* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pp. 233, 249–51, 508–09.

<sup>2</sup> Former South Carolina delegate Francis Kinloch.

## Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams

Sir

Phila. June 10th 1783

In my last<sup>1</sup> I mentioned the Ideas of Congress as to half pay, the Refugee Articles, & Finances—since then Congress have been considering those Articles again, when a diversity of Sentiments appeared as to the fifth Article. Some consider it as wholly recomendatory, others think that clause which says that “persons of every other description

should have free liberty &c", & the last clause, are absolute & obligatory. Seven States were not then in favour of passing any resolution respecting those Articles, & no recommendations will probably be made by Congress to the States till the definitive Treaty arrives. In the mean time the States will not I hope proceed in the confiscation of refugee Estates in opposition to the sixth Article, nor take any measures that may hereafter be Barrs to the admission of certain descriptions of the Refugees. I can not but think that some of them may be admitted not only with safety but with advantage to the States—it surely then must be good policy to do that which will be beneficial in an interested View to Ourselves, & which will greatly conciliate & perhaps excuse a departure in some other point from the Treaty. We can in such cases with a good grace comply with the Treaty without any danger.

Should the sixth Article not be complied with, may we not lose all those important advantages secured to us by the Treaty, & will it not reflect great dishonour upon Our Comissioners who have really performed Wonders in obtaining such a Treaty? Will any man say that the Treaty is not a good one & highly honorable to us? Is not Our interest in the most important & essential points compleatly established? Could We reasonably or did the most sanguine man expect that nothing disagreeable to Us would be inserted into the Treaty? Could We presume that in a Revolution like this We should have succeeded in every possible point, that no interest, no Views should be attended to but Ours?, surely not. Should the sixth Article be violated by us Britain may perhaps declare the Treaty void in all its parts. She may tell us that She shall still consider us as a separate independant Nation, but that She will not allow us to fish on the Banks & She will renew her claim to a great extent of Territory ceded to us by the Treaty. Our situation would in such case be very disagreeable. We should then be again involved in a War with her without any Ally, any prospect of assistance, or We might tamely give up those two great points—we should then be precisely in the situation which France & Spain wish to see us. Every important Object almost would be lost to the eastern States beyond all hope of recovery. We know that the extent of Territory & the right to the Fishery confirmed to us by Treaty was by no means agreeable to France or Spain, Our being an independent Nation satisfies them, the poorer & more confined we are in Our limits & means of growing powerful, the more agreeable to them. When We consider the characters that compose the new ministry We may reasonably expect that any opening We may give them to set aside the Treaty will be eagerly embraced. If therefore the Treaty is upon the whole a good one for us & secures to us Our most important interests, We ought to be very careful that we do nothing which can endanger its efficacy or involve us in a new dispute with Brittain. I have no relation, no friend among the Refugees, whose return I am anxious to

bring about or whose Estate I wish to save from confiscation—I feel no interest operating in my mind but that of the public, this only I am at present anxious about, it is this I wish to secure. I see no object of sufficient importance, to induce us to run any hazard of losing the benefit of the Treaty—the Estates of the refugees surely can not be One. The expence of a small Army for one Season only will infinitely almost overbalance all those that yet remain unconfiscated.

We have sent to the Governor, the States of the old money, the April & May emissions & the new emission<sup>2</sup>—by them you will see that a very great proportion of the old money is yet outstanding. They give you all the information required in your Letter of last October. I have no expectation that Congress will come to any resolution as to the old money—many gentlemen think that it would be very improper & dangerous for Congress to do any thing, it ought rather say they to be received from individuals by the State & charged by the State to the Continent, but will they not dispute hereafter that charge as being wholly wrong or because it was called in by the State at an improper rate? Congress should in that case at least determine they will allow the charge & the rate of redemption. Others think that it ought to die in the hands of the possessors; their States are greatly or wholly delinquent & their Citizens have little of it by them, it is natural therefore for them to think thus. We have been prepared ever since I have been here to bring the matter forward, but we have never had an oppy of doing it with success, there has been no period that the States have been all represented or when more than six States could have been expected to vote for the redemption of it at any rate. We have therefore delayed making any motion for a decission in hope that other States might be represented or that something might turn up to favour the motion & give greater prospect of Success—but as the Court is now sitting & it is time they should know the sense of Congress on that Subject, we have determined to push for a decission as soon as nine States are represented—for some time past we have had only eight States.

The alteration in the rule proposed by Congress for determining Quotas is I think a good One,<sup>3</sup> it is much more simple & easy to practice upon than the former rule, but the allowance made for the Blacks is much too great—the same number of Souls in the Southern States support themselves, & furnish an excess for exportation by their labour much greater, than the Inhabitants in the northern States can possibly do, & in proportion to that excess is their Ability to pay Taxes. A comparative View of the northern & southern States, their Soil, climates, produce &c will easily account for the difference. It is a common thing for a man in So. Carolina to make from 20 to 30 guineas a head by the labour of his Negroes in a year, & that clear of all expences including their subsistance. I have this information from

southern gentlemen, & it is a matter of great notoriety that their exports produced from their Lands & labour vastly exceeds Ours or any of the northern States. It may however be a question whether it is not best to adopt the [rule?] proposed, since it is certain that the other can never be practised upon & by this Rule we shall stand rather lower than we have heretofore. This proves by the way that we have stood too high by much in all former expenditures.

The cession of western Lands by all the States is much to be wished, especially if the Cession was to include all the Lands which are claimed by different States—the extent of the States would then be abundantly great for Jurisdiction, their Laws will never have force nor their governments be effective by and what will then be their limits. Our great Source of contest & uneasiness between the States would then be done away, & a large property would then be vested in the united States for public use, it would go a great way toward extinguishing the public Debt. But the Cession of New York as accepted by Congress is by far too limited, they cede a part only of those Lands which We claim & to which I am informed Our Title is much better than theirs. Mr. Osgood has all the papers relative to those Claims & can give every necessary information to the Court respecting them. New York has also granted to Companies & Individuals very large Tracts within the limits of their Cession, to which Our Claim is as good as to that which they have ceded & much better than theirs. The Cession of Virginia is not yet accepted. Congress do not like it as it now stands, several attempts have been made to crowd it through Congress, they have endeavoured to model it so as to hide the exceptionable parts, but no such Cession will be made by Virginia as ought to be satisfactory. This intention of Virginia & New York is clearly to cede that only which they could never expect to hold & to which they have no right, in order to secure to themselves the residues part of which is claimed by other States. They mean in fact to acquire & secure to themselves property by their Cessions, which they might otherwise perhaps have no chance of holding. Massachusetts must therefore be careful making her Cession—it may be best to make a Cession of the same Lands & in the same words with New York, & then bring forward Our Claim to the other Lands yet possessed by N. York. The Cession of N. York as accepted you will find in the Journals March 1, 1781 & the acceptance in Octr. the same year<sup>4</sup> in the Journals.

Mr. Livingston has with great reluctance given up the Office of foreign Affairs,<sup>5</sup> the particulars which induced this I will give you my next, the event I think a very agreeable One—who will succeed or whether any Successor will soon be appointed is uncertain at present. I wish for one other removal & then I think Congress would be free of dangerous influence & might with much more safety be intrusted with



the power of assessing & collecting moneys in the States, or of imposing & collecting Duties, [but] this I fear is yet at a distance.

With respect I am Sir, your most huml. Servt.

S. Higginson

P.S. Mr. Carter is just setting off that I can not add to nor copy this. The Statements of the emissions of money you can get from the Secretary<sup>6</sup> if they should not be sent to you before this reaches you.

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Higginson to Adams, May 20, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, June 9, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 24:214–16; and James Madison's Notes of Debates, March 28, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Actually October 29–30, 1782. See *JCC*, 19:208–13, 23:693–96.

<sup>5</sup> See Charles Thomson to Robert R. Livingston, June 4, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> That is, John Avery, secretary of the Massachusetts Senate.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Tuesday June 10. [1783]

The Report on the Cession of Virga. was taken up.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Elseworth urged the expediency of deciding immediately on the Cession. Mr. Hamilton joined him, asserting at the same time the right of the U. States. He moved an amendment in favor of private claims. Mr. Clarke was strenuous for the right of the U. S. and agst. waiting longer. (this had reference to the absence of Maryland which had always taken a deep interest in the question). Mr. Gorham supported the policy of acceding to the report. Mr. Fitzimmons recommended a postponement of the question, observing that he had sent a copy of the Report to the Maryland Delegates. The President was for a postponement till the sense of N. Jersey be known. The Delaware Delegates expecting instructions were for postponing till Monday next. It was agreed at length that a final vote should not be taken till that day Mr. M. yielding to the sense of the House, but warning that the opportunity might be lost by the rising of the Legislature of Virga.

Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Peters with permission moved for a recommitment of the Report, in order to provide for Crown titles within the territory reserved to the State. Mr. Madison objected to the motion, since an amendment might be prepared during the week & proposed on Monday next. This was acquiesced in. It was agreed that the President might informally notify private Companies & others as well as the Maryland Delegates of the time at which the Report would be taken into consideration.



The Order of the day for appointing a Secretary of For. Affairs, was called for, & none having been put in nomination, the order was postponed. Mr. Bland then nominated Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. Gorham, nominated Mr. Jefferson, but being told he would not accept, then named Mr. Tilghman. Mr. Higginson nominated Mr. Jonathan Trumbull. Mr. Montgomery nominated Mr. George Clymer. It was understood that Genl. Schuyler remained in nomination.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:125–26.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this debate in Secretary Thomson's journals, but see Madison's Notes for June 4, note 2, and June 6.

<sup>2</sup> Although this information is not found in the journals, Thomson recorded the following information on nominees for secretary for foreign affairs in his "committee book" this day. PCC, item 186, fol. 1.

"{Mr P Schuyler by Mr Boudinot} withdrawn.

"{Mr A Lee by Mr Bland} struck out at Mr Lee's request Aug. 26. 1783.

"{Mr Jefferson by Mr Gorham}.

"Mr T. Tilghman by Gorham.

"Mr Jon. Trumbull jun by Mr Higginson.

"{Mr Geo. Clymer by Mr Montgomery} withdrawn."

This record also indicates that on June 18 Silas Condict nominated William Churchill Houston and Elias Boudinot nominated Philip Schuyler, and that other nominations were made in February before John Jay was elected Livingston's successor May 7, 1784.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

My dear Sir

Philada. 10 June 1783

Congress have recd. two letters from Mr. {Laurens}<sup>1</sup> dated {London}, one the {fiveteenth of March} the {other fiveth of April}.<sup>2</sup> In the former he {persists in} the {jealousy} expressed in {his letter of} the {thirtieth of December<sup>3</sup> of} the {British Councils. He says} that {Shelburne} had {boasted of his success} in {gaining the provisional treaty without the concurrence of France and of the good effects he expected to draw from that advantage}. Mr. {Ls remark was} that {admitting} the {fact which he did not} altho' it {might disgrace} and even {prove fatal to the American Ministers}, it {could have no such effects on the United States}. His {second letter} expresses more {confidence in the D. of Portland and Mr. Fox}. These {ministers} have withdrawn the subject of commerce with the U. S. from Parliamt. and mean to open negociations for a Treaty with their ministers in Europe. Mr. Fox asked Mr. L. whether these had powers for that purpose: his answer was that he believed so, that he had seen a revocation of Mr. Adams' commission noticed in the Gazettes but that he considered the paragraph as spurious. From this it would seem that {Mr A had never com-

municated this} diminution of {his powers to his colleagues}. These letters leave us in the suspense in which they found us as to the definitive Treaty. Mr. L. thinks that no such event could have been relied on under Shelburnes administration. He was on the 5th of Apl. setting out for Paris with Mr. David Hartley, successor to Mr. Oswald, from whence he sd. proceed to America unless a definitive Treaty was near being concluded. Notwithstanding the daily arrivals from every quarter we get not a line on the subject from our Ministers at Versailles.

Mr. Dumas has inclosed to Congs. sundry papers <sup>4</sup> from which it appears that the {Dutch indulge a} violent animosity {against the French court} for {abandoning their interests and the} liberty of {navigation by a premature concluding of the preliminaries}. Complaints on this head are {made through Dumas to Mr. Adams} with {enquiries whether the American ministers had powers to} concert engagements {with the United Provinces, his M C Majy, and his Cat Majy for maintaining the rights asserted by the neutral confederation} or if the two last {decline with United Provinces alone the answer of Mr A} is not {included but references to it import} that {it was satisfactory and} that {negociations were to be opened accordingly}. It is certain notwithstanding that no {powers equal to such a transaction} were {ever given generally to the ministers} and that as far as they were given they were {superceded by the commission to Mr. Dana}. This correspondence commenced in Jany. & is brought down to late in March and yet no {intimation whatever} concerning it has been {received from the ministers themselves}.

Congress have lately sent instructions to the Ministers in Europe to {contend} in {the final treaty for such} amendment of the {article relating to British debts} as will {suspend payment for three years after the war and expressly exclude interest during the war}.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Livingston has taken his final leave of the department of Foreign affairs. He wd. have remained if such an augmentation of his Salary had been made as wd. have secured him agst. future expence. But besides the disinclination of several members to augment salaries, there was no prospect of a competent number of States for an appropriation of money until he must have lost the option of the Chancellorship of N.Y. No successor has been yet nominated, altho' the delay for a choice has passed. I am utterly at a loss to guess on whom the choice will ultimate[ly] fall. {A L} will be {started} if the {defection of a} respectable {competitor} shd. be {likely to force votes upon him}.<sup>6</sup> No such has yet {been made a subject of conversation in my presence}.

The general arrangement of the foreign System has been suspended by the thinness of Congs. in part, and partly by the desire of further information from Europe. I fear much the delay will be exceedingly protracted. Nothing but final resignation of the Ministers

abroad & the arrival of Foreign Ministers here, will effectually stimulate Congs. into activity & decision on the subject. How far & at what time the first cause will operate is precarious. The secd. seems less so. Mr. Van Berkel has sent directions for proper provisions for his reception in the next month.<sup>7</sup> A Sweedish Gentleman recommended by Dr. Franklin as a Philosopher, and by the Ct. de Vergennes as an intended Minister has been here for some time.<sup>8</sup> From the temper of Spain, a mission from that Court also is not improbable.

The Treaty of Commerce with G. B. is another business suspended by the same cause. The Assembly have instructed us to reserve to Congs. a revisal after it shall have been settled in Europe.<sup>9</sup> This will give force to the doctrine of caution hitherto maintained by us. The time of my setting out for Virga continues to be uncertain, but cannot now be very distant. The prospect of seeing you, I need not assure you, enters much into the pleasure I promise myself from the visit. Mrs. House & Mrs. Trist char[ge] me with their very sincere & respectful compliments to you & beg that they may be remembered very affectionately to Miss Patsy.

I am Dear Sir your sincere friend,

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:127–29.

<sup>1</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Madison in a variation of the official Virginia cipher.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, June 9, 1783, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Henry Laurens' letter of December 24, 1782, for which see Madison's Notes of Debates, March 12–15, 1783, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> With his March 20 letter to Robert R. Livingston, Charles W. F. Dumas had enclosed copies of his European correspondence from January 24 to March 14, which included a January 28 letter informing John Adams that government officials of the United Provinces accused France of "abandoning, sacrificing & trifling with them" in negotiating a preliminary treaty with Great Britain which was an "enormous & unpardonable fault." Livingston conveyed the contents of Dumas' correspondence to Congress on June 2. On June 6 it was referred to a committee of three chaired by Madison which reported this day. Coincidentally, Dumas' March 27 letter concerning serious internal disputes in the Netherlands was also read this day. Neither action is mentioned in the journals. See PCC, item 93, 2:220–66, 291–301, item 185, 3:66, item 186, fol. 106. Some of Dumas' letters to Adams and his March 27 letter to Livingston are in Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:229–30, 232–36, 255–56, 272–73, 347–48.

<sup>5</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, May 29 and 30, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> For the nomination of Arthur Lee and others to the post of secretary for foreign affairs, see the preceding entry, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> See Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, June 4, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> It is not known when baron de Kermelin arrived in America, but Benjamin Franklin's November 7, 1782, letter of introduction indicates that the baron intended to travel extensively throughout the United States. He did not arrive in Philadelphia to present his credentials until a year later. See PCC, item 82, 2:285–86; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:861–62; and Samuel Hardy to Benjamin Harrison, June 24, 1784. See also Virginia Delegates to Harrison, March 12, 1783, note 3.

<sup>9</sup> For the Virginia assembly's instructions, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:69.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

Philada. June 10th. 1783

Yesterday's mail brought me two letters from you one of the 15<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>.<sup>1</sup> inclosing the intervening sheet of the Journals which ought to have come two weeks ago, the other of the 29<sup>th</sup> from Williamsbg.<sup>2</sup> inclosing Mrs. Randolph's letter to Mrs. Trist. I have recd. no copy of the Journal from your assistant.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Jones will have informed you that the Mission of Payne to R. Island by Congs. was a fiction of malice. If the trip was not a spontaneous measure of his own, I am a stranger to its origin.<sup>4</sup>

I am told by one of the Judges of appeal<sup>5</sup> that no case has yet required from them a construction of the epochs which are to limit captures. The 3<sup>d</sup> of March was generally applied at first to the American seas, but that opinion has rather lost ground. In N. York it is said that the 3<sup>d</sup> of Apl. is adhered to.<sup>6</sup> As the like phraseology is said to have been used in former Treaties, the true construction might be found I sd. suppose in Admiralty precedents.

We have recd. the instruction relative to Commercial Treaties.<sup>7</sup> The principle on which it is founded corresponds precisely with my idea. But I know not how far the giving an opportunity to the States of exercising their judgments on proposed Treaties, will correspond in all cases with the doctrine of the Confederation which provides for secrecy in some such cases. The deviation how ever if there be any is trivial, and not being an intended one can have no ill consequences. No progress has been made towards a Treaty with G. B. owing partly to a desire of hearing further from Europe & partly to the paucity of States represented in Congs. It would seem that the plan of regulating the Trade with America by a Parliamentary Act has been exchanged by the present Ministry for an intended Treaty for that purpose. Mr. Laurens was asked by Mr. Fox whether the American Ministers had powers for a commercial Treaty. His answer was that he believed so; that a revocation of Mr. Adam's powers had appeared some time ago in print, but he considered the publication as Spurious. From this it wd. seem that this act of Congs. had never been communicated by the latter to his colleagues. He lately complained of this revocation in a very singular letter to Congs.<sup>8</sup> I consider it as a very fortunate circumstance that this business is still within our controul, especially as the policy of authorizing *conditional* Treatys only in Europe is so fully espoused by Virga.

Mr. Livingston has taken his final leave of the departmt. of F. Affairs. No nomination for a successor has yet been made though the time assigned for the election has passed, nor does the conversation center on any individual. I have forborne on various accts. to hold forth our friend McLurg.<sup>9</sup> I can form no conjecture on whom the choice will ultimately fall.

The offers of N. Y. & Maryld. of a seat for Congs. are postponed till Ocr. next in order to give time for other offers & for knowing the sense of the States on the subject. Copies of those acts are to be sent to the Executives of each State.<sup>10</sup>

I have forgot the request of Mr. Mercer for several weeks to make his apology for failing to open a correspondence with you. The regular one maintained between yourself & me, he supposes, would leave little but repetition to him, and his other correspondents, I suppose give him competent employment.

Congress have resumed at length the Cession of Virga. The old obnoxious report was committed, and a new report has been made which I think a fit basis for a compromise. A copy of it is inclosed for the Govr. I have also transcribed it in my letter to Mr. Jones.<sup>11</sup> As it tacitly excludes the pretensions of the Companies, I fear obstacles may arise in Congs. from that quarter. Clarke from N. Jersey informed Congs. that the Delegates from that State being fettered by instructions, must communicate the plan to their constituents. If no other causes of delay should rise the thinness of Congs. at present will prove a material one. I am at some loss for the policy of the Companies in opposing a compromise with Virga. They can never hope for a specific restitution of their claims, they can never even hope for a cession of the Country between the Alleghany & the Ohio by Virga. as little can they hope for an extension of a jurisdiction of Congs. over it by force. I should suppose therefore that it wd. be their truest interest to promote a general cession of the vacant Country to Congress, and in case the titles of which they have been stript sd. be deemed by them reasonable, and Congs. sd. be disposed to make any equitable compensation, Virga. wd. be no more interested in opposing it than other States.

I inclose different papers to you & to Mr. Jones, & recommend an interchange.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:133–35.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 44–46.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 74n.12, 112.

<sup>4</sup> For explanations of Thomas Paine's December 1782 "Mission" to Rhode Island to combat anti-impost sentiment in that state, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:78–93; and Irwin H. Polishook, *Rhode Island and the Union, 1774–1795* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), pp. 76–78.

<sup>5</sup> Cyrus Griffin, John Lowell, or George Read.

<sup>6</sup> On April 11 Congress had adopted a proclamation establishing the cessation of hostilities in American waters as occurring one month after the February 3 ratification of the provisional treaties of peace by France and England, although a two month "epoch" was observed by the British navy in America. See *JCC*, 24:238–40. See also Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, March 25, 1783, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> See the preceding entry, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> See the preceding entry, notes 1–3.



<sup>9</sup> Madison later struck out this sentence, though leaving it clearly legible. For "our friend McLurg," see Madison to Randolph, December 2, 1782, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, this date.

<sup>11</sup> Neither the enclosure nor the letter to Joseph Jones has been found. For the "new report," see Madison's Notes of Debates, June 4, note 2.

## Elias Boudinot to John Hancock

Sir,

Philadelphia 11th June 1783

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency copies of divers Letters and others papers, agreeably to an Act of Congress of the 10th instant<sup>1</sup> and am, with great respect and esteem, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble Servant,

Elias Boudinot

Tr (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed "Act" concerning the capture in the Gulf of Mexico of the *San Antonio*, owned by Antonio de Argote, and the court of appeals' May 28 decree against her Massachusetts privateer captors, Edward Church and William Haydon, see JCC, 24:386-87; and Boudinot to Hancock, April 8, 1783, note.

## Elias Boudinot to Lewis Pintard

My Dr Sir,

Philadelphia June 11th. 1783

As the Capt. goes early in the Morning I sit down to write on the Subject of your favour of the 7th but I confess, I scarce know what to say, or how to advise.

I have no great desire of having my furniture &c at Elizabeth Town, in preference to Baskinridge, as it would be as much exposed at the one Place as the other—and if Harry should undertake a Jaunt to the Ridge in this hot weather, I see no valuable End to be answered by it, and a considerable Expence incurred. On the whole therefore, unless you can advise to something better, I must beg you to have every Thing carefully locked up in the office & new Room & Pantry, and get Mr Southard if possible to live in the old part of the House. The Wagons, Plough, Harrow &c &c may be secured in the Barn—All the Boards, put up in the Chamber of the Waggon House. The Cows must be put out, and the two Horses either Sold for what they will bring (unless you may want them or either of them at New Rochell) or let out for their Service. The young Colt I think you said you would take with you. All this is on supposition that it will not be proper for the Capt. to remain there till you are settled at Home, which he has in Contemplation. I confess I think you are risquing a great deal to be so

much in a hurry, as I fear you will be much exposed. Mr Laurens writes doubtfully abt. the speedy signature of the definitive Treaty.<sup>1</sup>

If you think this Plan will not do Harry will set off, on the first Notice from you. Susan is at Græme Park; she is not well after the Measles.

As to the Land, I wish that over the Road to be rented if possible. The Homestead, Mr Southard will take Care of for the Pasture, securing what Hay he can off of it for me, but I would not have any part of it ploughed. I wish you also to enquire about the Logs at the Mill—there were near 30 of them.

Mrs. B joins me in kind Love to Mrs. P. and wishes her Joy on the recovery of her Old Habitation. Patty desires also her Duty—she is not quite so well as usual but seems rather to be threatened with a Fever.

Am My Dr. Sir, Yours Affty,

E B.

RC (NjHi: Ely Autograph Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to Washington, June 9, note 1.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton

Sir

Philadelphia, June 11th. 1783

In two or three letters, which I have had the honor of writing to Your Excellency lately—I mentioned the necessity of a representation of the state here and at the same time of my returning to my private occupations. I am obliged to inform Your Excellency that I cannot remain here above ten days longer.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, Yr. Excellency's Most Obed ser,

Alex Hamilton

RC (DLC: George and James Clinton Papers, photostat).

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton to Clinton, May 14 and June 1; and Elias Boudinot to Certain States, June 3, 1783. Hamilton remained in Congress through July. See Hamilton to Clinton, July 27, 1783, note 6.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia, 11th June, 1783.

The last Boston newspapers which I have receiv'd, announced your Excellency's being again chosen Governor, which gave me sensible pleasure, & please to accept my sincere congratulations.

We have had a number of late arrivals here from Europe, but they bring us little more, than that the British king has at length form'd a new administration.

Some time since, I was in hopes that Congress wou'd have a recess from June to November but the definitive treaty having not yet come to hand, I have *now* no expectation of that pleasure.

I have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient Servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir.

Philadelphia, 11th June, 1783.

The delegates of Massachusetts have the honor of inclosing a letter they have recd. from the minister of France, covering a letter from M. de Fresne, respecting Mr. John Gardiner,<sup>1</sup> in order that your Excellency may be acquainted with Mr. Gardiners character, & that he may reap the advantage thereof in Masstts.; Mr. Gardiner we understand is on his Journey to Boston, but expects to make some tarry at Connecticut.

In the name of my Colleagues, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

S. Holten

RC (MH-BA: Hancock Papers). Written and signed by Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> John Gardiner (1737–93), son of Dr. Silvester Gardiner a Boston loyalist, was on his way to Boston to reclaim family properties and establish his residence. Gardiner had been educated in England and after practicing as a barrister in Wales for several years, he had been appointed attorney general of St. Christopher. Forced to resign because of his Whig sympathies, he had remained on the island during the war. After his return to Boston, he entered legal practice, was admitted as a citizen by legislative act in 1784, and in 1786 moved to Gardiner, Maine, where he practiced law and served as a member of the General Court, 1789–93. *DAB*.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday June 12. [1783]<sup>1</sup>

The Instruction in the *Secret Journal* touching the principles &c of the Neutral Confederacy, passed unanimously.<sup>2</sup>

The Resolution as reported by the Committee being in a *positive* style, and *eight* States only being present, the question occurred whether nine States were not necessary. To avoid the difficulty a negative form was given the Resolution; by which the preamble became somewhat unsuitable. It was suffered to pass however, rather than risk the experiment of further alteration.<sup>3</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:140.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote "Wednesday June 11. See journals, secret and public."

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:392–94.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this "difficulty" nor of the number of states in attendance in Secretary Thomson's journals.

## Charles Thomson to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir,

[June 12, 1783]

I have the honor to enclose to your excellency the resolutions of Congress relative to the complaint against Church and Hayden and the decree of the Court of Appeals in the Case of the Brig *San Antonio*.<sup>1</sup> I hope that it meets with your full satisfaction and that it convinces you of the sincere disposition of Congress not only to procure justice for the injured parties but also to avenge the honor of the flag of His Catholic Majesty and to establish the strictest harmony between his subjects and those of the United States.

I have the honor &c.

(signed) Charles Thomson

Tr (Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Correspondance politique, États-Unis, 23:388). A retranslation of the French translation of Thomson's letter enclosed in La Luzerne's letter to the comte de Vergennes of June 19, 1783, No. 334. *Ibid.*, 24:363–65.

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed April 4 and June 10 resolutions, see *JCC*, 24:227–28, 386–87; and Elias Boudinot to John Hancock, June 11, 1783.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday June 13. [1783]

The mutinous memorial from the Sergeants was recd. & read. It excited much indignation & was sent to the Secretary at war.<sup>1</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:141.

<sup>1</sup> This memorial, which has not survived, was a response to Congress' May 26 resolves for furloughing and discharging Continental troops. Although furloughed troops were to be "allowed to take their arms with them," the resolves were silent on the point of the arrears of their pay, and aroused fears that demobilization would destroy their prospects for a just settlement of their accounts. As John Armstrong, Jr., secretary of the Pennsylvania Council, explained to Gen. Horatio Gates on June 16: "The late unqualified resolve of Congress [*i.e.*, of May 26], discharging or furloughing as they are pleased to call it, all those men who have been engaged for the war, without even a *Settlement of Accounts*, was taken up very spiritedly by the little Corps at this place, consisting of but 300 Men. They Addressed themselves to Congress upon the occasion in language very intelligible—'We will not accept your furloughs & demand a Settlement.' Accomoda-

tion was the word & an order immediately issued, leaving it in their choice, to take or reject this 'most *gracious indulgence*.' To add to their confusion & alarm a detachment of 200 fine fellows from So. Carolina, landed yesterday, on Market-Street Wharf. They will be followed by three other divisions of the same number. To avoid the reproaches, which the poverty & the scars of this small but brave Corps, would daily inhibit—& to avoid ———— Whatever you please besides—an Order is issued to move the 3d Regmt., now at Lancaster, to Carlisle—the Artillery with the 2d Regmt. from this place, to Lancaster. The 1st only, is left here. Things at the Army, remain in statu quo." Emmet Collection, NN (Horatio Gates Papers microfilm).

Armstrong was anything but a disinterested observer of these events, however, and may have played a significant role in the campaign of these troops to obtain a just settlement of their demands. He was the author of the Newburgh "addresses" that precipitated the crisis at the main encampment of the army in mid-March, and after his appointment as secretary to the Pennsylvania Council on March 25 he was strategically located to gauge the responses of the government to the soldier's demands. It is probably significant that a key petition from the Philadelphia troops to the council of June 21 was an "anonymous paper" presented to Armstrong. *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:540, 605. See also C. Edward Skeen, *John Armstrong, Jr., 1758–1843: A Biography* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981), pp. 12–21.

For the response of another group of Continental troops to "The measure of furloughing," those under the command of Col. Richard Butler at Lancaster, see also Madison to Edmund Randolph, June 17; and Madison's Notes, June 19, note 3. The "indignation" incited by this response was undoubtedly heightened by the fact that Congress had just received a report on June 10 that a body of Virginia dragoons under the command of Col. George Baylor and assigned to the southern department had recently mutinied and were in North Carolina enroute to Virginia. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:96–98; *JCC*, 24:389n, 400–1; and *PCC*, item 78, 17:357–59.

## Elias Boudinot to the Comte de Grasse

Sir, Philadelphia. 14th June 1783.

I had the honor of writing your Excellency by a late opportunity, when I informed you how greatly mortified I had been by being under the necessity of delaying the embarkation of the Field-pieces, which I had thought myself perfectly assured would have taken place by the Ship *Duc de Lauzun*.<sup>1</sup> The reason of this disappointment arose from the inattention of the Quarter-Master, who did not discover till it was too late, that the Cannon were not of the number taken at York Town, which I conceived essential in this case. Those being all at West Point, I have given express orders for having them immediately engraved and forwarded with all convenient dispatch.

I hope your excellency will be assured that this delay has been on my part unavoidable.

I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to de Grasse, April 23, 1783; and the following entry.



## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Sir, Philadelphia 14 June 1783

Mons. le Compte de Grasse having requested me to have the two pieces of Artillery presented him by Congress forwarded to him without delay, I endeavoured to urge the engraving and getting them ready to be shipped by the Duc de Lauzun,<sup>1</sup> who sailed from hence about three weeks ago. I was led to believe by the Quarter-Master that they should certainly be ready in time, and I accordingly wrote the Compte that he might certainly expect them by that Vessel. However when it was too late it was discovered that the pieces pitched upon were not of those taken at York-Town and therefore were improper to be sent. This disappointment mortified me greatly on account of my having pledged my word for their embarkation. The Secretary at War informs me that directions are given for their being engraved and forwarded from West-Point. Shall I beg the favour of your Excellency to urge the compleating and sending them to the proper place of embarkation as speedily as possible; as the present delicate situation of the Count de Grasse makes me more attentive to his earnest request.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be, with highest respect and esteem Your Excellency's Most obedt. & very humb. Serv Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> See also Boudinot to Washington, August 21, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to the Ministers Plenipotentiary at Paris

Gentlemen, Philadelphia 16th June 1783.

I am sorry to inform you, that by the resignation of Mr. Livingston, as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, it has become necessary, that you should receive the Resolutions of Congress, relative to your mission, through my hands. The disadvantage arising from this necessity, until a Successor to that worthy Gentleman is appointed, will be your's, as it will be impossible for me to do more than barely transmit the Acts of Congress necessary for your information.<sup>1</sup>

Enclosed you have one of the 1st of May last, and another of the 12th instant, which, I hope will get to hand time enough for your government.<sup>2</sup>

The commission and instructions referred to in the first not being ready, it was thought best to forward the resolution without delay, that

you might know what was intended in the present important period of your negotiation.

We have been much surprised that we have not received any communication from you since the account of the cessation of hostilities, except a letter of the 5th of April from Mr. Laurence.<sup>3</sup>

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For the resignation of Robert R. Livingston, see James Madison's Notes of Debates, and Charles Thomson to Livingston, June 4, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The enclosed May 1 "Act" authorized John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay to negotiate a commercial treaty with Britain and directed the secretary for foreign affairs to prepare "a plan of a treaty of commerce and instructions" for transmittal to the commissioners. That of June 12 was a directive to avoid entering into any stipulations in the definitive peace treaty that would require the United States to support "the rights of neutral nations . . . by arms." See *JCC*, 24:321, 392-94; and James Madison's Notes of Debates, June 12, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Boudinot to Washington, June 9, note 1.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Osgood

Dear sir.

Philadelphia, 16th. June, 1783.

The delegates from Massachusetts have recd. the letter you was pleased to write them the 19th ulto. respecting Mr. Gerry's affairs,<sup>1</sup> but this address of mine, is not to be considered as an answer to the same, for my principal motive is personal respect & a desire of giving you information upon that matter, which I shall do by inclosing a copy of the remonstrance presented to Congress,<sup>2</sup> which was filed with the other papers upon the subject in the secys office without opposition, & I hope it will be satisfactory to Mr. Gerry; I have lately wrote to him inclosing a copy of sd. remonstrance.<sup>3</sup>

We are here much in the state you left us; there has not been nine states represented in Congress since Colo. Dyer took his departure near three weeks since but Congress has directed letters to be wrote to the several states that were unrepresented to keep up their representation.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after you left us, we called the attention of Congress to the state of the old paper money & had a day assigned for the farther consideration of the matter, but when the day came there was not nine states present, neither has there been since.<sup>5</sup> The soldiers engaged for the war are upon their return home, having recd. furloughs & to be discharged when the definitive treaty is concluded.

I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Osgood's May 19 letter to the Massachusetts delegates reported Elbridge

Gerry's determination to receive some satisfaction "upon the subject of his difficulties with Congress in the year 1780" before he would return to Congress. Osgood's letter outlined three optional courses that might serve this purpose:

"I mentioned to him freely the difficulties which occur'd, such as, that the present Congress are a new body. That the Confederation had since been ratified by all the States which occasioned a considerable Change in the Rules & Practice of the House. That two or three Members only were present now, who belong to Congress at that time. But these Observations did not operate in his Mind at all. I therefore desired him to point out what would be satisfactory—mentioning that I conceived there were several Modes of attempting a Remedy. 1st. By having the Resolution of our Legislature entered on the Journals of Congress. 2d. By drawing up a Remonstrance & praying leave to file it with the other Papers relative thereto in the Secretary's Office. 3d. By endeavoring to procure a direct Resolution against the arbitrary Decision of Congress.

"To the first & the third Way there so many Objections easily started that Mr. Gerry seem'd to think that he should be fully satisfied with the other. If you should be of Opinion that Congress will consent to have a Remonstrance fil'd, the only Point you will have to remonstrate against, is that Congress did on the 18th of Feby. 1780 deny Mr. Gerry the Privilege of the Yeas & Nays upon a Question of Order contrary to the Practice of House as will appear from the printed Journals of Congress of the year 1779 where the Yeas & Nays have been taken on Questions of Order as follows—April 22d, May 14th & 24th, June 8th, July 30th, Octor 30th & December 18th. I conceive the Decision of Congress in this Respect to have been arbitrary & unprecedented.

"I have tho't it necessary to submit these observations to you, as Mr. Gerry will go forward in Case you get a Remonstrance filed (or take such other Measures as may seem to you most likely to succeed) otherwise he will not.

"That there was such an arbitrary Decision will appear only from Mr. Gerry's Letters in the Secretary's Office." James S. Copley Library, La Jolla, Cal.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts Delegates to Congress, June 6, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Holten to Gerry, June 7, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Certain States, June 3, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, May 28 and June 9, 1783.

## Theodorick Bland to St. George Tucker

Dear Tucker

Philada. June 17th 1783 <sup>1</sup>

I have but Just time to acknowledge the Rect. of yr. Favor of the 3d Inst. and to Congratulate myself on the Prospect of seeing you about the middle of Octr. as I have just receivd information that new delegates are elected to supply our place.

I am much pleased with the feelings you express on reading the address <sup>2</sup>—they are those of an honest Man I hope that quality will cover our Country as the Water covers the Sea. I shall want my Horses about August. I have written to Mr. Banister to that effect.<sup>3</sup> I shall depend on you and him to Contrive them to me in the best manner some time early in that month. Excuse the Brevity of this. Tell Fanny I love her and Kiss the Children for yr affecte. Friend &c &c,

Theok. Bland

[P.S.] I forgot to Mention to You that a Gentn. of the Name of Cabot will soon be in yr. Neighbourhood. He was of the Council of Massachusetts—a Man every way worthy yr acquaintance.<sup>4</sup> I shall rely on yr. shewing him every Civility and introducing him to the Circle of our acquaintance—and shall esteem every Civility shewn to him as an instance of their & your regard for me. You will find him an enlightend & Polishd Man—if I have time before he goes I shall give him a particular letter to you if not let this serve.

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Bland also wrote the following brief letter on June 16 to an unidentified correspondent, perhaps the widow of one of his former “brother” officers in Bland’s Continental Dragoons.

“It gives me much pleasure to inform you that, after many vain attempts to secure the money due from the Qur. Master to my late Worthy Friend & Brother—which I was in hopes could have been done time enough to have been sent by Genl. Spotswood, Mr. Lacoste or Majr. Forsyth—I have at length succeeded and there is now in my hands one hundred and Sixty one dollars and two thirds—for which sum I beg you will be pleased to draw a Bill on me, which you may be assured shall be paid at Sight. This is the surest means I can devise of your receiving the money without risque—as I know at present of no good and safe opportunity of conveying that Sum to you in Specie.” Tucker-Coleman Papers, ViW.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the April 26 “Address to the States,” for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly George Cabot (1752–1823) whose term in the Massachusetts Senate had ended the preceding month. See Henry Cabot Lodge, *Life and Letters of George Cabot* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1877), p. 23.

## Samuel Holten to Robert Morris

Tuesday morn. [June 17, 1783]

Dr. Holten presents his compliments to the Honorable Mr. Morris & requests his attention to the papers Dr. Holten left with him, & as the post sits out tomorrow, Dr. Holten will do himself the honor of personally waiting upon Mr. Morris, about 12 o Clock tomorrow.<sup>1</sup>

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten and endorsed by him: “Billet to the Honorable Mr. Morris, June 17th 1783.”

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of such a visit in the superintendent of finance’s office diary for June 18, but in the entry for June 11 Morris recorded that Holten had called “respecting the Bonds of a Privateer belonging to Boston which he wants to put in Suit. I promise to do this business against next Post day.” Robert Morris Papers, DLC.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Tuesday June 17. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

The day was employed chiefly in considering the Report on the Journal relative to the Department of Finance. Some thought it ought to lie on the files: some that it ought to receive a vote of approbation, and that the Superintendant, should, for the period examined, be acquitted of further responsibility. Mr. Gorham particularly was of that opinion. Finally the Report was entered on the Journal without any act of Congress thereon, by a unanimous concurrence.<sup>2</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:154.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote "Monday June 16. No Congress."

<sup>2</sup> This report, the product of a committee appointed on January 6, 1783, "To enquire fully into the proceedings of the department of finance," and renewed March 31, had been submitted and read on June 10. See *JCC*, 24:396–99; and *PCC*, item 19, 4:405–8, item 186, fols. 78, 91. For the work of this and other congressional "oversight" committees appointed to investigate Morris' administration of Continental finances, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 5:386–89, 578–79, 7:664–65, 668–69, 721.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend,

Philada. 17 June 1783.

Your favor of the 4th, the second from Williamsburg,<sup>1</sup> was recd. yesterday. I have recd. nothing from Mr. Hay during your absence from Richmond, but omission has been supplied by Mr. Ambler whose letter by yesterday's mail inclosed the Journals from the beginning.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this supply was known to Mr. H.

The definitive Treaty is not yet on this side the wa[te]r; nor do we yet hear what stage it is in on the other side. Mr. Dana informs us in a letter of the 17 Feby. that in consequence of proper encouragement he had finally announced himself at the Court of Petersburg. but does not gratify us with a single circumstance that ensued.<sup>3</sup> The gazette of this morning inclosed contains the latest intelligence from the British Parliamt. which I have seen.<sup>4</sup>

The measure of furloughing the troops enlisted for the war has been carried into effect with the main army, and will save a great expence to the public. The prospect which it presented to the officers who were to retire from their subsistence with out receivg. the means of subsistence elsewhere produced a very pathetic representation to the Commander in chief. His answer by rectifying some errors on which it dwelt, and explicitly giving it as his opinion that Congress had now done every thing wch. could be expected from them towards fulfilling the engagements



of their Country, had the effect to which it was entitled.<sup>5</sup> The troops in the barracks at this place, emboldened by the arrival of a furloughed Regt. returning to Maryland, Sent in a very mutinous remonstrance to Congress, signed by the non-commissioned officers in behalf of the whole. It painted the hardships which they had suffered in the defence of their country & the duty of their Country to reward them, demanding a satisfactory answer the afternoon on which it was sent in, with a threat of otherwise taking such measures as would right themselves. The prudent & soothing measures taken by the Secy. at war & Gl. Sinclair have I believe obviated the embarrassment.<sup>6</sup>

Another embarrassment, and that not a small one will soon be laid before them by a Committee.<sup>7</sup> Genl. Washington, the Secy. at war and all the professional men who have been consulted, report, that at least 3 or 4 Regts. will be essential as a peace establishmt. for the U States, & that this establishmt. ought to be a Continental one. West point, the fronteir forts to the Westward, and a few garrisons on the Sea Shore, are conceived by them to be indispensable. Some Naval force is deemed at least equally so, with a few docks & protections for them. On looking into the articles of Confederation, the military power of Congress in time of peace, appears to be at least subject to be called in question. If Congress put a construction on them favorable to their own power, or even if they ask the States to sanction the exercise of the power, the present paroxism of jealousy may not only disappoint them, but may exert itself with more fatal effect on the Revenue propositions. On the other side to renounce such a construction, and refer the establishment to the separate & internal provision of the States will not only render the plan of defence either defective in a general view or oppressive to particular states, but may hereafter when the tide of prejudice may be flowing in a contrary direction, expose them to the reproach of unnecessarily t[hrowing] away a power necessary for the good of the Union, and leaving the whole at the mercy of a single State. The only expedient for this dilemma seems to be delay; but even that is pregnant with difficulties equally great; since on the arrival of the definitive Treaty Congs must in pursuance of such a neutral plan suffer the whole military establishmt. to be dissolved, every garrisoned-post to be evacuated, and every strong hold to be dismantled. The remaining ships of war too must be sold, and no preparatory steps taken for future emergences on that side.

I am exceedingly pleased to find Mr. Jefferson's name at the head of the new Delegation. I hope it has been placed there with his knowledge and acquiescence.<sup>8</sup>

The order of the day for electing a Secy. of F. Affairs was called for on Teusday last, but no nominations having been then made, the business was put off till the present day. The nominations since made are Mr. A. Lee by Mr. Bland—Mr. Jonathan Trumbell Junr. by Mr. Higgenson—Col. Tilghman by Mr. Ghorum—Mr. George Cly-

mer by Mr. Montgomery. Genl. Schyler has remained on the list since the fall, but was withdrawn by the Delegates of N. Jersey at the instance of Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Jefferson was nominated by Mr. Ghorum, but withdrawn also on intimation that he would not undertake the service.<sup>9</sup>

If Mr. Jones sd. have quitted Richmond forward if you please of his letter, It is addressed to you in his absence. It contains little which is omitted in this, but you may open it. If he sd. not be gone you will let him see this, as it is somewhat fuller than his.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:158–60.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph's June 4 letter is in *ibid.*, p. 112; his earlier letter from Williamsburg has not been found.

<sup>2</sup> For Virginia treasurer Jacquelin Ambler's letter of June 7, see *ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> For Francis Dana's dispatches of February 11, 25, March 7 and 12, 1783, which had been received this day, see PCC, item 89, fols. 695–712, item 185, 3:67; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 7:248–50, 263–64, 275–76, 286–87. Dana had reported in his March 7 dispatch that he had "announced himself at the Court of Petersburg."

<sup>4</sup> That is, the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

<sup>5</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, June 9, note 3; and Boudinot to the States, June 20, 1783, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, June 13, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> The committee appointed April 4 to consider "the arrangents. proper to be taken in case of a general Peace" had reported April 21 on Indian affairs and would report June 18 "on military Arrangements," although the latter report, written by Alexander Hamilton, was not entered on the journals until October 23, 1783. See PCC, item 186, fol. 92; JCC, 25:722–44; and Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:378–97. See also Madison's Notes of Debates, April 2–5, note 6; Committee of Congress to Washington, April 9; and Richard Peters to Baron Steuben, April 23, 1783. For an explanation of why the report was delayed in its consideration, see Charles Thomson to Elias Boudinot, August 11, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:27n.19, 119n.10.

<sup>9</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, June 10, 1783, note 2. Neither the journals nor Madison's Notes for June 17 indicate that nominations were taken up this day.

## North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin

Sir,

Philadelphia June 17th. 1783

We have delayed answering that part of your Excellencys letter of the 26th of March respecting the seizure of Captain Spicers Flag-vessel until we should receive an answer from the British General, and Admiral Digby at New York to the Letter with its enclosures from the Secretary for foreign affairs on the subject as ordered by Congress.<sup>1</sup>

This day we received the answer which tho' not so satisfactory as we could wish, is such a one as we might expect. The reasons for delaying the demand of satisfaction, 'til this late hour, are unknown to us; but the impropriety of it is obvious. Our Memorial No 1, the order of Congress No. 2 and Guy Carletons Letter No. 3 are all herewith enclosed,<sup>2</sup>

and we hope that the part which has fallen to us, has been executed in a manner, agreeably to the desire of your Excellency. Whenever it may be necessary to do any thing further, we shall be particularly attentive thereto.

We are with the greatest respect, Sir, &ca.

Benjamin Hawkins

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> In response to a memorial from the North Carolina delegates, Congress had directed Secretary Robert R. Livingston to "forward to the British general and admiral commanding at New York" the papers respecting the illegal seizure of Capt. James Spicer's schooner *Endeavour*, "that justice may be done." See *JCC*, 24:318; and North Carolina Delegates to Congress, April 16, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> These enclosures—the delegates' April 15 "Memorial" to Congress, Congress' May 1 directive to Secretary Livingston, and Sir Guy Carleton's May 31 reply to Livingston—are in *NCSR*, 16:825–26. Carleton had reported to Livingston that "the circumstances of the transaction complained of are, at present out of my power to ascertain," and explained that he was transmitting the papers relating to the case to England for investigation and a decision.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Philadelphia June 17th. 1783

Since our last to Yr. Excellency,<sup>1</sup> little has occur'd worthy of communication. A Letter from General Washington encloses a very feeling address from the Officers of that part of the Army, comprehended in the late Resolution of Congress hertofore transmitted to Yr Excellcy. Their minds too much agitated by the contemplation of prospects, cruel & dispiriting, gave way to suspicions (founded on the indefinite terms of the furlough) that this mode was adopted to disperse them, & to avoid a compliance with that part of their request which, related to paym't on their discharge. They lamented but in strong & manly terms that they were to end their toils & hardships by returning to inevitable distress, without any alleviation of their present wants. They implor'd his interference as their General & as their friend. The Commander in Chief then explained to them—That this measure was calculated to promote their interest, without endangering the safety of the States. That by this means the money which must otherwise be expended in their subsistence, woud now be appropriated to the paymt. of part of their dues. He said, that in justice to Congress, he could not but declare his sentiments. That they had made every exertion within their Power to obviate the present distresses of & to procure final justice to the Army. By this prudent, wise & noble conduct of General Washington gathered discontents, which now seemed again ready to

burst forth, were on[c]e more happily assuaged—& the Resolution of Congress were quietly complied with.<sup>2</sup>

A Spirit of Mutiny discovered itself in the Troops immediately in Phila. that at first wore an alarming aspect, but by timely exertion it terminated without any ill consequences.<sup>3</sup>

Yr. Excellency will receive the Pamphlett you require.<sup>4</sup>

We have the honor to be &c. Yr. Excellency's most obt. humble  
Servants

J. Madison Jr.

John F. Mercer

RC (NNPM: Signers of the Constitution). Written by Mercer and signed by Mercer and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:154–55.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a missing letter of June 10, for which see *ibid.*, p. 155n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, June 9, note 3; and Boudinot to the States, June 20, 1783, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison's Notes of Debates, June 13, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison had requested another copy of the *Address and Recommendations to the States*, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783, note 1; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:118.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, Philadelphia 18th June 1783

Enclosed you have an official letter, directed to our Ministers Plenipotentiary at Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The resignation of the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs (occasioned by his preference of the Chancellorship of New York, which he could not hold longer and retain his Secretaryship) has cast this business on me till a Successor is elected, which I hope will speedily take place.

As part of the Resolution of Congress of the 12th instant, enclosed in the above letter is of a secret nature, I have wrote it in Cyphers; and not having Mr. Livingston's, I thought it best to use Mr. Morris's to you, which he has obligingly supplied me with, so that the Commissioners must be indebted to you for the deciphering of it.<sup>2</sup>

Your letter to Mr. Livingston of the 15th of April, enclosing the two Medals, came to hand this morning.<sup>3</sup> I am sorry to find that you make similar complaints to those we have been making for two months past, on the subject of want of intelligence. We have not heard from any of our Commissioners since February, tho' our anxiety and expectations have been wound up to the highest pitch.

I feel myself much indebted for your polite compliment of the Medal. It is very elegant indeed; and the device and workmanship much admired. You will please to accept of my acknowledgments on this occasion. As I doubt not but the Copper one was designed for Mr.

Livingston personally, I shall transmit it to him. He is a very worthy deserving Character, and the United States will suffer greatly by his resignation, tho' I really think him justified in attending to the calls of his private affairs.

I enclose you a number of late Newspapers, in which you will see a number of Resolves, Associations &c. from all parts of the Country, which, I wish had been kept out of sight; but the truth is, that the cruelties, ravages and barbarisms of many of the Refugees and Loyalists have left the people so sore, that it is not the time for them yet to exercise their cooler Judgment; and it cannot take place while the Citizens of New-York are kept out of their habitations and despoiled daily of their property by sending off Negroes &c. It has been an ill judged scheme in the British to retain New-York so long and send off the Negroes, as it has roused the spirit of the Citizens of the several States greatly.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to the Ministers Plenipotentiary, June 16, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the cipher used by Franklin and Robert Morris, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:285-86n.16.

<sup>3</sup> Franklin's April 15 letter to Secretary Robert R. Livingston, which was read and referred to committee this day, is in PCC, item 82, 2:365-76; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:377-80.

"I have caused to be struck here the medal, which I formerly mentioned to you, the design of which you, seemed to approve," Franklin had explained. "I enclose one of them in silver, for the President of Congress, and one in copper for yourself; the impression on copper is thought to appear best, and you will soon receive a number for the members. I have presented one to the King, and another to the Queen, both in gold, and one in silver to each of the ministers, as a monumental acknowledgment, which may go down to future ages, of the obligations we are under to this nation. . . . If the Congress approve of it, as I hope they will, I may add something on the die (for those to be struck hereafter) to show that it was done by their order."

Franklin had originally outlined his ideas for this commemorative medal in his March 4, 1782, letter to Livingston. The United States would be represented "by the figure of an infant Hercules, in his cradle, strangling the two serpents; and France by that of Minerva, sitting by as nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few *fleurs de lis*. The extinguishing of two entire armies in one war [*i.e. at Saratoga and Yorktown*] is what has rarely happened, and it gives presage of the future force of our growing empire." Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 5:214, 656, 6:379. See also Joseph F. Loubat, *The Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776-1876* (1878; reprint ed., New Milford, Conn.: N. Flayderman, 1967), pp. x, 86-92 and plate xiv; and Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston, September 16, 1783.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Philadelphia, June 18th, 1783.

I take the liberty of enclosing for your Excellency's perusal several of the last papers published here.



Nothing official has been received here from Europe since I had the honor of addressing your Excellency by Messenger Brown,<sup>1</sup> except a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Lawrence of the 5<sup>th</sup> of April at London, mentioning the appointment of David Hartley, Esq<sup>r</sup>, in the room of M<sup>r</sup> Oswald, to finish the American negociations, & that from conversing with several of the new Ministry, particularly the Duke of Portland & M<sup>r</sup> Fox, he was satisfied with their disposition that they should proceed with liberality & dispatch. Another letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of April from Doct. Franklin's Secretary, mentioning the arrival of Mr. Hartley in France & that the Doct. was then gone in company with him from Passe to Versailles, and a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Dana at Petersburg of the last of Feb<sup>y</sup>, mentioning that he expected it would be two months, according to the dilatory course of such business at that Court, before the commercial treaty with them which he was upon would be finished.

The furlow'd part of the army are on their way home. Some are arrived here from the Southward. They receive three months' pay, but all in M<sup>r</sup> Morris's notes which run six months.

I do not learn, Sir, that any of the Ligislatures this way or to the Southward have yet passed upon the plan of revenue proposed by Congress, except those of New Jersey & Maryland, neither of which have as yet adopted it fully. The first having granted the impost as requested but the other funds only for one year—the latter having granted the Impost & postponed the rest to another session.

M<sup>r</sup> Huntington is not yet arrived. I hope he is near at hand & that he has at least one Colleague in company with him.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect, & consideration,  
Your Excellency's obedt, huml. Servt.                      Oliver Ellsworth.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Ellsworth to Trumbull, June 4, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to Israel Hutchinson

Dear Colonel.

Philadelphia, 18th June 1783.

The newspapers from Boston announce your being again returned to represent the Town of Danvers,<sup>1</sup> which gave me sensible pleasure, & please to accept my sincere congratulations.

To what cause shall I impute it that I have not been favored with a line from you since I left home.

I understand by my correspondence, that the commutation made with the officers of the army is not agreeable to the good people in our State, which I am sorry for, but altho' they mean well, it is very difficult for them to form a right judgement upon the matter, unless they were made more acquainted with the subject; but it should be re-

membered that some years since Congress promised the officers half-pay for life, & tho' I was not in Congress at that time, yet, I considered myself bound in Honor & justice to make good the promise, & after great deliberation, I was of opinion, & still am, that we had better give them five years full pay, than half pay for life. This Congress has agreed to & the officers have also agreed to accept the same; the exchange made with the officers will be much in favor of Massachusetts for we shall now pay only our part of the sum, which if it had not been done by Congress, but referred to the states to pay their own officers, such states as did not comply, their officers, no doubt, wou'd have been paid out of the continental Treasury, & it wou'd have been very difficult to have got such accounts adjusted & settled hereafter, as the states that are most forward to make grants are not always the first to pay.

Have I, my dear sir, ever made you my congratulations on acct. of peace being restored to our country; if I have not please to accept it at this time. What adds to this agreeable event is peace upon such honorable terms. I am, with sincere respect, your most obedient

FC (PPln). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> That is, in the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts General Court. Hutchinson is identified in these *Letters*, 15:68.

## Samuel Holten to James Sullivan

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia, 18th. June, 1783.

Some time since, I recd. a letter from you requesting my attention in procuring a power of attorney to put in suit the bonds of the Captains or commanders of two private armed Vessels; I immediately waited on Mr. Hillegas, & he informed me there had been but one such application, & that produced a Special resolution of Congress, & therefore he did not consider himself at liberty to comply with your request without their permission; Accordingly I prepared a resolution that wou'd have answered your purposes & moved it in Congress, 'tho I was of opinion at that time that a Genl. resolution was most proper & mentiond. it; a Committee was appointed to take into consideration my motion, & at length I got a resolution passed, a Copy of which I inclose;<sup>1</sup> together with a power of attorney, & the copies of the bonds you sent forward; & I wish you to consider the length of time it takes to get business done in such a body as Congress, & afterwards attended to in the great offices of State, & then I think you will not be of opinion that I have neglected your business, by not giting it compleated before.

I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Holten enclosed a copy of the June 2 resolution authorizing the agent of marine to assist in obtaining redress for "public abuses or private injuries committed by the captains or commanders of any privateers or armed vessels sailing under the authority of the United States."

Holten had earlier introduced a resolution seeking congressional authority for James Sullivan to sue William Perkins, captain of the privateer *Spitfire*, and James Pickman, captain of the privateer *Cato*. See *JCC*, 24:368–69, 377–78. Sullivan has been identified in these *Letters*, 4:75n.

## Samuel Holten to Aaron Wood

Dear sir:<sup>1</sup>

Philadelphia, 18 June, 1783

The Boston newspapers announce your being elected into the Council of Massts. and as I perceive there is no other alteration from the last year, you will permit me to consider you as my successor. Therefore, I take this first opportunity of paying you my *sincere* congratulations, & you may be assured that I know not the person, whose Election to that office would have given me more pleasure.

I also present you my congratulations on peace being restored to our Country, but what adds to this happy & glorious event is peace upon such honorable terms.

Congress are greatly embarrassed with our national debt, & if the several states do not comply with their late important recommendations respecting our finances, I fear we shall suffer greatly in our national character for I am fully convinced that it is not within the power of those states to pay the national debt or do justice to the public creditors by, what is con[sidere]d, the common mode of taxation.

The soldiers that engaged for the war are upon their return home; they have served their Country with faithfulness & fidelity, & deserve the attention of the good people, particularly so, as it is not in the power of Congress to pay them the whole of what is their due at this time.

I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Aaron Wood is identified in these *Letters*, 15:21n.1.

## Elias Boudinot to William Jackson

Thursday 2 oClock P.M. [June 19, 1783]

The President of Congress presents his Compliments to the assistant Secretary at War, and informs him that it is ordered by Congress

that He do immediately send an Express to Major General St Clair, directing him to repair to this City without delay.<sup>1</sup> The assistant Secretary will not communicate this measure to any Person whatever.

RC (O: Arthur St. Clair Papers). In Boudinot's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of this order in the journals of Congress, but for the context of this directive, see James Madison's Notes of Debate, this day, notes 3–5.

## Committee of Congress to William Jackson

Sir, Philadelphia, June 19. 1783

Information having been received, that a detachment of about Eighty mutineers are on their way from Lancaster to this place, you will please to proceed to meet them and to endeavour by every prudent method to engage them to return to the post they have left. You will inform them of the orders that have been given permitting them to remain in service 'till their account shall have been settled, if they prefer it to being furloughed—and of the allowance of pay which has been made to the army at large & in which they are to be included. You will represent to them, that their accounts cannot be settled without their officers whom they have left behind them at Lancaster. You will represent to them with coolness but energy the impropriety of such irregular proceedings, and the danger they will run by persisting in an improper conduct. You will assure them of the best intentions in Congress to do them justice; and of the absurdity of their expecting to procure it more effectually by intemperate proceedings. You will point out to them the tendency which such proceedings may have to raise the resentments of their country and to indispose it to take effectual measures for their relief. In short you will urge every consideration in your power to induce them to return; at the same time avoiding whatever may tend to irritate. If they persist in coming to town, you will give the earliest notice to us of their progress and disposition. Should they want provisions, you will assure them of a supply, if they will remain where they are, which you are to endeavour to persuade them to do in preference to coming to town.

I am Sir, Yr. most Obed serv.

A Hamilton

In behalf of the Committee <sup>1</sup>

FC (DNA: PCC, item 38). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton. *JCC*, 24:415–16.

<sup>1</sup> This committee, consisting of Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, and Richard Peters, was appointed this day "to confer with the Executive Council of Pennsylvania and to take such measures as they shall judge and find necessary," in response to intelligence received from Richard Butler and William Henry on the march of mutineers from Lancaster to Philadelphia, for which see *JCC*, 24:405n; and the following entry, note 3.

For the committee's conference with the superintendent of finance the following day, and the superintendent's own account of his response to the crisis precipitated by the mutineers from Lancaster, see Elias Boudinot to Robert Morris, June 30, note 2.

The fullest narrative account of the mutiny is found in Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 1–40. For a critical analysis of the mutiny and Congress' response to it, emphasizing the Pennsylvania focus of the mutineers' grievances and the manipulation of the crisis by persons desiring Congress' removal from Philadelphia, see Kenneth R. Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," *PMHB* 101 (Oct. 1977): 419–50.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Thursday June 19. [1783] <sup>1</sup>

A motion was made by Mr. Williamson seconded by Mr. Bland, to recommend to the States to make it a part of the Confederation, that whenever a *fourteenth* state should be added to the Union, *ten* votes be required in cases now requiring nine. It was committed to Mr. Williamson, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Madison.<sup>2</sup> The motion had reference to the foreseen erection of the western part of N. Carolina into a separate State.

Information was recd. by Congress from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, that 80 Soldiers, who would probably be followed by the discharged Soldiers of Armand's Legion were on the way from Lancaster to Philadelpa. in spite of the expostulations of their officers, declaring that they would proceed to the seat of Congress and demand justice, and intimating designs agst. the Bank. This information was committed to Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Ellsworth for the purpose of conferring with the Executive of Pennsylvania and taking such measures as they should find necessary.<sup>3</sup> The Committee after so conferring informed Congress, that it was the opinion of the Executive that the militia of Philadelpa. would probably not be willing to take arms before their resentments should be provoked by some actual outrage; that it would hazard the authority of Govt. to make the attempt, & that [it] would be necessary to let the soldiers come into the City, if the officers who had gone out to meet them, could not stop them.<sup>4</sup>

At this information Mr. Izard, Mr. Mercer & others being much displeased, signified that if the City would not support Congress, it was high time to remove to some other place. Mr Wilson remarked that no part of the U. States was better disposed towards Congs than Pennsylvania, where the prevailing sentiment was that <sup>5</sup> done every thing that depended on them. After some conversation and directing Genl. St. Clair, who had gone out of Town, to be sent for, and it appearing that nothing further could be done at present, Congress adjourned. The Secy. at War had set out for Virginia yesterday. It was proposed to



send for him, but declined as he had probably gone too great a distance, and Genl. St. Clair, it was supposed would answer.<sup>6</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:164–65.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately preceding this entry Madison wrote “Wednesday June 18. Nothing done.”

<sup>2</sup> Williamson’s motion is in PCC, item 24, fols. 141–44; and JCC, 24:403–4. The committee was reconstituted on August 5, with Stephen Higginson and Samuel Huntington replacing Hamilton and Madison, and delivered a report on September 15, for which see JCC, 25:570–71; and PCC, item 24, fols. 137–40.

<sup>3</sup> This information was received by the Pennsylvania Council in letters of June 17 written by Col. Richard Butler and William Henry at Lancaster, copies of which are in PCC, item 38, fols. 37–39, 123–24. The Pennsylvania troops at Lancaster had been notified the previous day of Congress’ May 26 resolve authorizing the furloughing of Continental troops, which renewed fears that they would not receive the pay due them, although Butler had simultaneously informed them that their January pay would soon be disbursed in cash and that “taking or refusing furloughs is at their own option.”

“This morning,” Butler wrote Pres. John Dickinson at “10 oClock A.M.” the 17th, “the Serjeants call’d on me at my Quarters and informed me the Men were determined to go to Philadelphia in order to obtain *Justice*. I made use of every Argument to shew the impropriety of the measure & they went away as I thought content, but soon after I was informed, they were getting ready to go off in a Body. I went to the Parade with a number of Officers & Colonel Samuel Atlee who happened to be in Town form’d a Circle and talk’d to them as before but to no purpose, the principal part of them went from their Quarters about ½ past 8 oClock A.M. I gave them every assurance of an immediate settlement and their being kept together till their settlement is compleated also of their paymasters Lieuts. Beaty & Lytle being sent to Carlisle for the necessary papers of the old 4th & 7th Regiments who I expected back to Day, but the ill timed heat had taken too great a hold of their minds for Argument to alter them indeed I am of opinion it has originated in your City & that the flame is supported by inimical or inconsiderate people. I have call’d the Officers together who are of opinion that one should follow and make one more effort to bring them back. If this fails I give it as my opinion that no settlement be made with them till they return to the Post as it will be too great a condescension & encouragement to similar licentious & mutinous conduct at a future day to Troops that may hereafter be raised as well as too humiliating a measure for the Officers to be obliged to follow them & attend to the settlement of business *there*, already offered & insolently refused here, & which the Officers are much Averse to.”

And Henry reported to Dickinson: “Eighty armed soldiers set off this morning for Philadelphia to cooperate with those now in the City in such measures as may appear to them the most likely to procure their pay (or perhaps to possess themselves of money at any rate). I have thought it my duty to give the most timely information possible that the City may not be surprized. I am informed that part of Genl. Armand’s Corps will be here to morrow on their way to Philadelphia & am of opinion from what has transpired from some of the men who are still here, that they will follow the others to the City & share the same fate, they have thrown out several threats, that they will rob the Bank, the Treasury &c. &c.”

<sup>4</sup> The report of this committee was entered on the journals on July 1, after Congress’ confrontation with the Pennsylvania mutineers led the delegates to adjourn from Philadelphia to Princeton, N.J., and a number of documents related to this incident were made public. See JCC, 24:413–21. The following version of this conference was recorded in the minutes of the Pennsylvania Council by council secretary John Armstrong, Jr. “In this conference the idea of reducing the party by force, or of preventing them from crossing the Schuylkill (the next desirable object) was suggested, and the probability that their confidence would increase with their numbers, and that under the influence of their uncorrected example, the remaining part of Butler’s and all Armand’s corps, would take the same steps. Maturely considered, the result of which was,

that the Committee and Council concurred in opinion that from the good order observed in their march, the tranquil temper of the troops already here, and the measures pursued by government to make them all easy and contented, the language of invitation, and good humour became more advisable than any immediate exertion of authority." *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:603.

<sup>5</sup> At this point Madison later inserted "Congress had" above the line, but it seems clear that Wilson was actually referring to Philadelphia or Pennsylvania, and Madison's insertion distorted that meaning.

<sup>6</sup> See the two preceding entries. For additional information on the grievances of these Continental troops and the "mutinous" spirit manifested at the prospect that they were to be disbanded before obtaining a settlement of their pay and demands, see also Madison's Notes, June 13, note.

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir, Philadelphia 20th June 1783.

I am honored with the commands of Congress to enclose to your Excellency copies of two letters from the Commander in Chief, and of an Address to him from the Officers of the Northern Army.<sup>1</sup>

The design of Congress in this measure is to call the attention of your Legislature to the Resolution of Congress of the 2d of May last,<sup>2</sup> as a subject of great and important consequence to our brave and worthy Fellow Citizens, who have suffered so much and so patiently for the common Good of our Country, during seven or eight tedious and dangerous campaigns. Their sufferings deserve the careful attention of the States, who I doubt not will rejoice in an opportunity of rewarding their Toils by a strict fulfilment of all the public engagements.

I have the honor to be &c,

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> These enclosures consisted of a letter from Washington to President Boudinot of June 7 and an "Address" to him from "the Generals and Officers Commandg Regts. & Corps in the Cantonment of Hudson's River" signed by Gen. William Heath with Washington's June 6 reply to Heath. The address of the officers expressed their "astonishment & chagrin" at the prospect of being "discharged," without a previous settlement of their pay and accounts, "as soon as the definitive treaty of peace is concluded," in accordance with the congressional resolve of May 26 announced in Washington's general orders of June 2. See PCC, item 152, 11:295–305; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:463–64, 472–75, 478–79. For the receipt of these documents, see Boudinot to Washington, June 9, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:325–26, 402–3.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Friday June 20. [1783]

The Soldiers from Lancaster came into the City under the guidance of Sergeants. They professed to have no other object than to obtain a

settlement of accounts, which they supposed they had a better chance for at Philadelphia than at Lancaster. [see the Report of the Committee on that subject] <sup>1</sup>

The Report of the Committee [see the Journal] on the territorial Cession of Virga. being taken up, & the amendment on the Journal proposed by Mr. McHenry & Mr Clarke, being lost,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bedford proposed that the second condition of the Cession be so altered as to read "that in order to comply with the said Condition, so far as the same is comprized within the Resolution of Oct. 10, 1780, on that subject," Commissioners as proposed by the Committee, be appointed &c. and that instead of "for the purposes mentioned in the said Condition," be substituted "Agreeable to that Resolution." In support of this alteration, it was urged by Mr. McHenry, Mr. Bedford & Mr Clarke that the terms used by Virga. were too comprehensive & indefinite. In favor of the Report of the Committee, it was contended by Mr. Ellsworth that the alteration was unreasonable inasmuch as *Civil* expences were on the same footing of Equity as Military and that a compromise was the object of the Committee. Sundry members were of opinion that Civil expences were comprized in the Resolution of Oct. 10, 1780. Mr. Bland & Mr. Mercer acceded to the alteration proposed. Mr. Madison alone dissented, and therefore did not insist on a Call for the votes of the States. Mr. McHenry moved, but without being seconded "that the Commissioners instead of deciding finally should be authorized to report to Congress only.

In the course of debate Mr. Clarke laid before Congress the Remonstrance of New Jersey as entered on the Journal.<sup>3</sup>

As the Report had been postponed at the instance of the President & other Delegates of N. Jersey, in order to obtain this answer from their Constituents, and as the Remonstrance was dated on the 14th of June, and was confessed privately by Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ to have been in possession of the Delegates on Monday last,<sup>4</sup> an unfairness was complained of. They supposed that if it had been laid before Congress sooner the copy which would have been sent by the Virga. Delegates, might hasten the opening of the Land Office of that State. Mr. Clarke said there were still good prospects, and he did not doubt that the time would yet come when Congress would draw a line limiting the States to the westward & say thus far shall ye go & no farther. Mr. Bedford moved that with respect to the 4th & 5th Conditions of the Cession "it be declared, that Clark & his men, & the Virginia Line, be allowed the same bounty beyond the Ohio as was allowed by the U. S. to the same Ranks."<sup>5</sup> This Motion was seconded by \_\_\_\_\_ Congress adjourned without debating it; there being seven States only present and the spirit of compromise decreasing.

From several circumstances there was reason to believe that R. Island, N. Jersey, Pennsylvania & Delaware, if not Maryland also retained latent views of confining Virginia to the Alegheny Mountains.

Notice was taken by Mr. Madison of the Error in the Remonstrance, which recites "that Congress had declared the Cession of Virginia to be a partial one."<sup>6</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:167–69.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:413–15. For the background of the report, see Madison's Notes, June 19, notes 3 and 4. Brackets by Madison here and below.

<sup>2</sup> For the report and this vote, see *JCC*, 24:406–7.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 24:407–9.

<sup>4</sup> That is, June 16. In addition to Pres. Elias Boudinot, the other New Jersey delegates in attendance this day were Abraham Clark and Silas Condict.

<sup>5</sup> For "the 4th & 5th Conditions of the [*Virginia*] Cession," see Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 4:387, where the full text of the January 2, 1781, cession of the Virginia House of Delegates has been printed.

<sup>6</sup> For the recent congressional proceedings on the Virginia cession, see also Madison's Notes, April 18, June 4, 6, 9, and 10, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 21 June 1783, 4 O'Clock P.M.

I am greatly mortified that our circumstances here oblige me to trouble your Excellency with a detail highly disagreeable and perplexing. I presume your Excellency has recd. copies of letters from Colo. Butler and Mr. Henry, forwarded a few days ago.<sup>1</sup> All endeavours to oblige the Men to return to Lancaster proved ineffectual. They entered this City yesterday morning in a very orderly manner, and took possession of the Barracks, and with those Troops then quartered there make up about 500 men. Genl. St. Clair was sent for, and matters seemed tolerably easy till this morning, when they positively refused all obedience to their Officers and seemed forming a design to be troublesome by evening. Congress being adjourned till Monday, I thought proper to call them together at one O'Clock. Six States had got together, when the Mutineers, joined by those at the Barracks before their arrival, to the amount of 4 or 500, very unexpectedly appeared before, and surrounded, the State House, with fixed Bayonets, the Supreme Executive Council sitting also in the same House. The Mutineers sent in a paper, demanding of the President & Council to authorize them to choose their own Officers (being deserted by their former Officers as they alledged) in order to represent their grievances—That they should wait twenty minutes, and if nothing was then done, they would turn in an enraged Soldiery on the Council, who would do themselves Justice, and the Council must abide the consequences, or words to that effect.<sup>2</sup> Genl. St. Clair was present at the request of Congress, and but very few other officers attended. Neither Congress or the Council, would take any measures while they were so menaced, and matters continued thus till half past 3 O'Clock this af-



ternoon, when the Mutineers were prevailed on, for the present, to march back to the Barracks. They have secured the public Magazine, and I am of opinion that the worst is not yet come. Tho' no Congress was regularly formed, for want of one Member, yet the Members present, unanimously directed me to inform your Excellency of this unjustifiable movement. The Militia of the City I suppose will be called out, but there are some suspicions, that the Mutineers value themselves on their interest with the Inhabitants. It is therefore the wish of the Members who were assembled,<sup>3</sup> that your Excellency would direct a movement of some of your best troops, on whom you can depend; under these circumstances, towards this City; as it will be of the most dangerous consequence, if a measure of the Kind is to be put up with, and no one can tell when it will end. Your Excellency shall hear from me again on this subject without delay.

I forgot to inform your Excellency that the Month's pay for January, has been ordered to these Men and three Month's pay &c. in Notes. They complain heavily of their Accounts yet remaining unsettled. It is to be wished the Pay-Master could arrange matters so as to close the Accounts of the Soldiery with more expedition.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most obedt. & very humb. Serv.

Elias Boudinot

P.S. Since writing the within I have recd. the letters of Colonels Butler & Henry alluded to, which I do myself the honor to inclose.<sup>4</sup>

E. B.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For Boudinot's confusion on this point, see his postscript to this letter.

<sup>2</sup> The following sentence appears at this point in the LB: "This was handed to the Members of Congress by the President of the State."

<sup>3</sup> As Congress lacked a quorum at this afternoon session, this directive did not take the form of a congressional resolution, although in his "11 O'Clock P.M." letter of this date to Washington, Boudinot did enclose three resolves adopted during a subsequently convened evening session, from which it may be inferred that seven or more states were represented at that time. However, Secretary Thomson made no entry in his journals of Congress for this date, and left four pages blank before resuming his official record on Monday, June 30 at Princeton. At some point he directed deputy secretary George Bond to copy the three resolutions adopted in the evening onto the first two pages of this space, for which see PCC, item 1, vol. 35; *JCC*, 24:410; and the following entry note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Copies of these June 17 letters of Richard Butler and William Henry to Pennsylvania president John Dickinson are in the Washington Papers, DLC. See also James Madison's Notes, June 19, note 3.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 21 June 1783, 11 O'Clock P.M.

This Afternoon I dispatched an Express to your Excellency (a copy of whose dispatches is enclosed) informing of the mutinous conduct



of the Troops in the Barracks in this City, part of whom lately came in a mutinous manner from Lancaster.

I thought proper to call Congress together this evening since writing by the Express, in order to deliberate on the proper steps to be taken in consequence of the impardonable insult of the day.

I have the honor to enclose your Excellency the result of our deliberations on the subject.<sup>1</sup> These Resolutions are to be kept a secret till we see what the issue of the conference with the Supreme Executive Council will produce. By the last Resolve your Excellency will perceive, that the request of the members present this morning is confirmed, as it has become absolutely necessary that this<sup>2</sup> wound to the dignity of the Fœderal Government should not go unpunished.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, Sir, Your Excellency's Obdt. and very humb. Serv. Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). FC (DLC: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:410; and the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> In his draft of this letter in the Boudinot Papers, DLC, Boudinot wrote and lined out "Insult" at this point.

## James Madison's Notes of Debates

Saturday June 21. 1783<sup>1</sup>

The mutinous soldiers presented themselves, drawn up in the Street before the State House where Congress had first assembled. The Executive Council of the State sitting under the same roof, was called on for the proper interposition. President Dickinson came in, and explained the difficulty under actual circumstances, of bringing out the militia of the place for the suppression of the mutiny. He thought that without some outrages on persons or property the temper of the militia could not be relied on. Genl. St. Clair then in Philadelphia. was sent for; and desired to use his interposition, in order to prevail on the troops to return to the Barracks. His report gave no encouragement.

In this posture of things, It was proposed by Mr. Izard that Congs. shd. adjourn.<sup>2</sup> It was proposed by Mr. Hamilton that Genl. St. Clair in concert with the Executive Council of State should take order for terminating the mutiny. Mr. Reed moved that the Genl. shd. endeavor to withdraw the troops by assuring them of the disposition of Congs. to do them justice. It was finally agreed that Congs. shd. remain till the usual hour of adjournment, but without taking any step in relation to the alledged grievances of the Soldiers, or any other business whatever. In the mean time the Soldiers remained in their position, without offering any violence, individuals only occasionally uttering offensive words and wantonly pointing their muskets to the Windows of the

Hall of Congress. No danger *(of actual)* from premeditated violence was apprehended, But it was observed that spirituous drink from the tipling houses adjoining began to be liberally served out to the Soldiers, & might lead to hasty excesses. None were committed however, and about 3 oC. the usual hour, Congs. adjourned; the Soldiers, tho' in some instances offering a mock obstruction, permitting the members to pass thro' their ranks. They soon after retired themselves to the Barracks.

In the Evening Congress re-assembled and passed the Resolutions on the Journal, authorizing a Committee to confer anew with the Executive of the State and in case no satisfactory grounds shd. appear for expecting prompt & adequate exertions for suppressing the mutiny & supporting the public authority, authorizing the President with the advice of the Committee, to summon the members to meet at Trenton or Princeton in New Jersey.

The Conference with the Executive produced nothing but a repetition of doubts concerning the disposition of the militia to act, unless some actual outrage were offered to persons or property. It was even doubted whether a repetition of the insult to Congress would be a sufficient provocation.

During the deliberations of the Executive, and the suspense of the Committee, Reports from the Barracks were in constant vibration. At one moment the Mutineers were penitent & preparing submissions. The next they were meditating more violent measures. Sometimes the Bank was their object; then the seizure of the members of Congress with whom they imagined an indemnity for their offence might be stipulated. On Tuesday about 2 oClock the efforts of the State authority being despaired of, & the Reports from the Barracks being unfavorable, the Committee advised the President to summon Congress to meet at Princeton which he did verbally as to the members present, leaving behind him a general Proclamation for the Press.<sup>3</sup>

After the departure of Congs. the Mutineers submitted, and most of them accepted furloughs under the Resolution of Congress, on that subject. At the time of submission they betrayed their leaders, the chief of whom proved to be a Mr. Carberry a deranged officer, and a Mr. Sullivan a lieutenant of Horse; both of whom made their escape. Some of the most active of the Sergeants also ran off.<sup>4</sup>

MS (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:176–78.

<sup>1</sup> Although Madison dated this entry the 21st, it is clearly a composite of events that occurred through the 26th. The last three paragraphs are nearly identical to wording in his June 30 letter to Edmund Randolph. This is Madison's final entry in his notes on congressional deliberations begun November 4, 1782, although he attended Congress sporadically until his term expired in October.

<sup>2</sup> The implication seems to be that Congress was actually in session, with proposals and motions being offered during a debate on adjournment, although no quorum had been achieved. Kenneth Bowling has insisted that Madison's account of this day's events

has therefore fundamentally distorted historians' perception of the target of the mutineer's demands and the roles played by Congress and the Pennsylvania Council during the crisis. For discussion of Madison's notes as "the prime source of that misinformation," see Kenneth R. Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," *PMHB* 101 (Oct. 1977): 431-34.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot's Proclamation, June 24, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Boudinot to Washington, June 26, 1783.

## Hugh Williamson to Thomas Ruston

Dear sir,<sup>1</sup>

Philada. 21st June 1783

Some days ago I was informed by Dr. Ewing that he had recd a Letter from you dated at Bath, intended to've been sent by Mr Lawrence in which you mention your being settled at Exeter. A younger Brother wrote me near two Years ago that he had seen or heard of you but I did not know, till the arrival of the Latter above refer'd to, that you continued to be numbered among the living.

To you who was born an American and are now a british Subject tis hard to conjecture what feelings the approach of American Peace with Independence must excite. You cannot fail to be pleased with the Event, but I suspect you must envy the men who have ventured their Lives in establishing this fair Empire. The Poet was not mistaken when he said that the remembrance of past Labour (and of past Danger) is plesant. Through the course of Life I have in general intended to deserve well of the public, but there has been no part of my Life in which I am persuaded that I have so fully answered the End of my Existence as since the Beginning of the late Revolution. Having heartily wished and endeavoured to prevent the war, when it became necessary on our Side I have as heartily taken my share in it. You know that in 1779 the War was carry'd to the southward where it raged with additional fury. It was my fate to serve in the Carolinas and Virga. and to witness a War of carnage & desolation. In some Part of the Time I acted as an Aid to the Genl with whom I served, but in most of the Time I was Surgeon Genl. Tho I have seen the Enemy hang up our People in Dozens, tho I have seen them destroy with the Bayonet multitudes of cripled men & men who had surrendered, and have, when my duty has taken me among them with a flag, seen them treat hundreds of Prisoners in such a manner as to secure their Death, I now reflect with Pleasure that in no Part of my Conduct as an Officer in the Line nor in any advice that I ever was provoked to give have I ever done or advised to an Action that could put Humanity to the Blush. After sleeping Every month of the Year, Summer and Winter in the field you will probably be surprised when I tell you that I never before enjoyd such good Health. Nor can I say that I have always been very

careful of myself. For I confess, though I never despaird of the State, there has been a Time when disasters crowded so thick upon us, that I held Life very cheap; but the bullets pass'd by & a brighter Sun dispell'd the Clouds. How strangely has the Storm thundered through every State in the Union, & the whole is succeeded by a fine Horizon. After the Capture of Cornwallis's Army & the pretty general Expulsion of the enemy from the Southern States, & returning to civil Life, I took my Seat in the general Assembly & on May last was a Year I was chosen one of the Delegates in Congress of the State of No. Carolina. On the last Month I was re-elected and tho I have wished that with the War my Attention to public Business might cease, I have entered on the second Year of the Delegation.

You I think was one of two or three to whom I confided the Secret that I was coming immediately for America when I left London. You know that I happened to fall among Thieves on my Way or what is as bad, among Traitors & Scoundrels. One of the Junto has since given me personal Satisfaction and the others have fully satisfyd the world that they are what I have just styled them. I confess I have found that more fortitude was required, coolly to despise an unjust charge than to face an Enemy, It was the exercise of practical Philosophy & the severest Tryal of Patriotism I ever experienced.

I think I committed to your Care a small Packet of Papers sealed up. They were, some of them, of value. And having no particular Attention to the rest of the Articles I left in London, I flattered myself those Papers would be safe in your Hands. Be so good as cover them as a Packet of Letters and direct them to this Place for me. As I have not for a considerable Time seen my family and may probably be absent from this three or four months, towards the beginning of Winter, in order to pay some attention to my private Affairs. You will be so good as inclose the whole Packet under another Cover directed to the Delegates in Congress for the State of North Carolina. If I should be out of Town when it arrives, my Collegues will receive it and retain or forward it as they may judge proper.

I suspect Dr Ewing is not a very punctual Correspondent; however I shall drop a Line to your father & to yr Sister & try to secure an Answer to your Letters of which I shall assure them care shall be taken. You it seems have been unfortunate; for I cannot suppose you have neglected your duty, you have but two children. I hope Mrs. Ruston is in good Health. I hope she retains her Enthusiasm for America. I wish she could come to it & had a Dozen boys to bring with her. Be pleased present her wth my Respects. I have the Honor to be, with the utmost Consideration, yr obdt hble Serv,

Hu Williamson

P.S. The Spirit of Emigration we have Reason to believe will again prevail in diff't. Parts of Europe in which Case I presume that Pennsylv

will not as formerly be the only Place of Resort. It is certainly more easy to live in a southern Climate, for Planters especially, where the Winter is more moderate. N. Carolina is generally accounted sickly and it has some Claim to that Character along the sea Shore in the flat Country, but the rest of the State is second to no Part of America in Point of Health. I have not ventured on this Assertion from strong prejudices in favour of that State, to which I am strongly attached nor from the Desire of improving my own Property which is considerable in that State, but from attentive observation in the Course of several Years. And by the way unless I am mistaken & unless I shall be greatly disappointed N Carolina will in the Course of a few Years be a Place of great Trade.

RC (PHi: Coxé Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Thomas Ruston (1739?–1804) of Chester Co., Pa., had graduated from the College of New Jersey (1762) and the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh (1765) where Williamson and Benjamin Rush were fellow students. He remained in Great Britain for the next twenty years during which he married Mary Fisher, daughter of William Fisher and niece of John Fisher, a governor of the Bank of England. He entered his father-in-law's brokerage business in London before the war, but resumed the practice of medicine at the Devon and Exeter Hospital, 1777–84. Ruston returned to Philadelphia in 1785 where he practiced and published several works on medicine and plunged into speculative bank and land schemes that eventually led to personal disaster. See the Ruston Collection, DLC; and Lyman Butterfield, "The Milliner's Mission in 1775; or, The British Seize a Treasonable Letter from Dr. Benjamin Rush," *WMQ* 8 (April 1951): 198–201.

## Theodorick Bland to James Madison

Dear Sr.

[June 23–25? 1783] <sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the determination of Congress on Saturday,<sup>2</sup> I took the necessary measures, to put myself in a Situation, to fulfill their intentions as far as concernd myself & Family. I wrote to the President, and to Mercer<sup>3</sup>—from the former I have got no decisive answer, from the latter none at all. I shall look on it as inglorious, and shamefull to quit my station whilst the majority of Congress shall maintain theirs in Philadelphia—and however imprudent, I as an Individual may deem it that Congress or the members shd. trust their persons in the hands of a Mutinous army—without support—if they determine so to do—I on my part shall without hesitation share their fate.<sup>4</sup> It is my wish therefore that you wd as soon as possible let me know their final determination on this point—and particularly how matters stand respecting the determination of the Exe. Council &c. that I may either return or send for my family accordingly—it being personally perfectly indifferent to me which I do—and you'll oblige



RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Signature clipped. Madison later wrote "Theodk. Bland" at the close of this letter and endorsed it "Bland Theodk. June 22. 1783." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:187.

<sup>1</sup> Although Madison may have docketed this letter "June 22" at a later date, it appears to have been written between the 23rd and 25th before Bland had received word of Elias Boudinot's June 24 proclamation summoning Congress to meet in Princeton. Since Bland preferred living in the countryside and had rented a plantation near Philadelphia called Fairy Hill in 1781, it is reasonable to conjecture that he was residing at an estate some distance from the city. See these *Letters*, 17:573-74.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:410.

<sup>3</sup> Bland's letters to Pres. Boudinot and John Francis Mercer have not been found.

<sup>4</sup> For a contrary opinion on Bland's response to the mutiny, see Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, July 4, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Elisha Boudinot

My dear Brother

Philada. 23 June 1783

I have only a moment to inform you, that there has been a most dangerous insurrection and mutiny among a few Soldiers in the Barracks here. About 3 or 400 surrounded Congress and the Supreme Executive Council, and kept us Prisoners in a manner near 3 hours, tho' they offered no insult personally. To my great mortification, not a Citizen came to our assistance. The President and Council have not firmness enough to call out the Militia, and allege as the reason that they would not obey them. In short the political Manœuvres here, previous to that important election of next October, entirely unhinges Government. This handful of Mutineers continue still with Arms in their hands and are privately supported, and it is well if we are not all Prisoners in a short time. Congress will not meet here, but has authorized me to change their place of residence. I mean to adjourn to Princeton if the Inhabitants of Jersey will protect us. I have wrote to the Governor particularly. I wish you could get your Troop of Horse to offer them aid and be ready, if necessary, to meet us at Princeton on Saturday or Sunday next, if required.

I would not wish any thing to be made more public than is necessary for the above purpose.

I wish Jersey to shew her readiness on this occasion, as it may fix Congress as to their permanent residence.

The Express will call for an Answer. Am in great Haste with Love to all, Yours Afftly.

Elias Boudinot

RC (NjP: Thorne Boudinot Collection).

## Elias Boudinot to William Livingston

Dear Sir,

Philadelphia 23d June 1783

It gives me great concern to inform your Excellency of the detail of our affairs here, that will be extremely mortifying to every friend to his Country.

On Thursday last we received information that the Troops at Lancaster to the number of about 60 had mutinied and marched for this City. Congress immediately by a Committee applied to the executive of this State to call out the Militia to stop their progress in order to prevent their junction with the troops in the Barracks, who were also uneasy on account of not receiving every thing they chose to ask. It soon appeared that the State of politicks here, prevented the President and Council from shewing any spirit of decision on this alarming subject; and we recd. for answer that it was thought that the Militia would not turn out for this purpose. The Mutineers arrived on Thursday morning and marched to the Barracks in decent order. On Friday hearing of no disturbance and that the Soldiers generally obeyed their Officers, Congress adjourned till Monday, continuing the Committee to apply to the State for aid. On Saturday morning one of the Committee reported to me that the whole of the Troops (about 500) had got into a very ill temper and that he believed they had a design of attacking and plundering the Bank during the following night. I summoned Congress to meet in half an hour. About one O'Clock on Saturday the Members had convened (except one) sufficient to make a House, when, without the least previous notice, we were surrounded by about 400 men with fixed Bayonets under the command of 6 or 7 Serjeants, having cast off all their Officers—The President and Supreme Executive Council sitting in the same House. The Members present immediately determined not to proceed to any deliberations whatever, if a full Congress should attend, while they were thus menaced.

The Rioters sent in to the President of the State, a very threatening and insulting letter, threatening to let in an enraged Soldiery on him and the Council, if an answer was not recd. in 20 minutes.

Thus we continued till near 4 O'Clock. The Executive of the State made no efforts to raise any force to repel them and no offers from the City (to their everlasting reproach) worth noting were made to relieve either their Executive Authority or Congress from this humiliating and dishonorable situation. Congress not thinking it prudent to attempt to leave the House till the usual time of adjourning remained Spectators of this insult to the dignity and honor of the federal Government, having called on Genl St. Clair and ordered him to take measures for *(ordering)* obliging the Mutineers to return to the Barracks. Congress then broke up and left the House and were suffered

by the Rioters to pass unmolested, Genl. St Clair having persuaded them to return to their Barracks.

Congress met in the evening and came to some proper Resolutions on the subject, among which one was authorizing me, in case the Executive Council should not draw out an efficient force for the protection of Congress to summon a meeting in New Jersey. This force is refused us, at least the Council do not choose to call it out, altho' I think their City in great danger. A large number of Members of Congress have just met at my House, to consider the propriety of leaving the City. One objection to it has been made, that as we have met with no protection from the Citizens of Philada. how can we be assured that the Citizens of New-Jersey will be more respectful to Congress, if an insult should be offered to them in that State; and it will be absolutely necessary that Congress (wherever they adjourn to) should be enabled to return and quell the mutiny, to heal the wounded honor of the States. I propose, if nothing more dignified shall be done on the part of Congress, to adjourn them to Princeton, as I doubt not of the fullest protection of my fellow Citizens of New-Jersey. But by the advice of some Members I have thought proper to write to your Excellency this detail, and to request by the return of the Express that Congress may know your sentiments on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and I wish for my own part that such orders may be issued to the Militia (especially the troops of Horse) of Somerset, Hunterdon &c. as may enable Congress to call on them immediately on their arrival in Jersey, as may appear absolutely necessary.

The honor and dignity of the United States are at stake and the benefits to New-Jersey will not be lessened.

In case we move, Congress have ordered me to inform your Excellency of the movement<sup>2</sup> and doubt not but it will be agreeable to the Government.

The Mutineers still continue in the Barracks in possession of the Arsenal and Magazine, and nothing but force can bring them to obedience. There are no higher Officers with them than Serjeants.

I forgot to inform your Excellency that many of the Mutineers have not been enlisted above 4 or 5 Months.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency's Most obedt. & very humb. Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

P.S. I have wrote this in so great a hurry & so many round me, that I must beg your Exclty not to make it publick, or to alarm the People more than is necessary.

I have wrote to Genl. Washington.

<sup>1</sup> In his June 24 response, Livingston asserted that if Congress "shall think proper to honour this State with their presence I make not the least doubt that the Citizens of New Jersey will chearfully turn out to repel any violence that may be attempted against them." See PCC, item 68, fols. 613–16; and Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:28.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a reference to the second resolution adopted by Congress on June 21, for which see *JCC*, 24:410.

## Committee of Congress to John Dickinson

Sir, Philadelphia, June 23d. 1783

We have the honor to inclose for Your Excellency and the Council a copy of the resolutions<sup>1</sup> communicated in our conference yesterday. Having then fully entered into all the explanations<sup>2</sup> which were necessary on the subject, we shall not trouble your Excellency with a recapitulation. But as the object is of a delicate and important nature, we think it our duty to request the determination of the council in writing.<sup>3</sup>

We have the honor to be with perfect respect, Yr. Excellency's Most Obed Servts<sup>4</sup>

FC (DNA: PCC, item 38). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the resolves adopted by Congress during their evening session of Saturday June 21, which the editors of Hamilton's papers suggest were also drafted by him. See *JCC*, 24:410; *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:608; and Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:401–2.

<sup>2</sup> The following "explanation . . . by the committee" of the enclosed resolutions, offered during "our conference yesterday," was recorded in the Pennsylvania Council's minutes for June 22.

"By effectual measures, Congress mean that the militia of the State be called forth in sufficient force to reduce the soldiers to obedience. That from motives of prudence, it will be highly proper that this step should be taken with the most profound secrecy, and that Council, before they determine upon it, shall take some measures to ascertain the temper of the city, and what degree of assurance is to be placed in its exertions; that if, upon making all the inquiry which may be consistent with the secrecy with which this business is to be conducted, Council should not think it practicable to draw forth an adequate force immediately, it would be most advisable, and intirely the sense of Congress, that none should be called for.

"In a conference which followed these communications, Council observed, that in this business much precaution was necessary, and that next to the dispositions of the city, it became necessary for Council to acquaint themselves with the degree of preparation in which it stood. That as the State Magazine had been siezed by the soldiery, no fixed ammunition was to be procured.

"Colonel Hamilton, in reply to this objection, assured Council that any quantity of musquet and cannon catridge might be commanded in fifteen minutes; that his inquiries had been pointed to this subject, and his information derived from one whose business it was to know. The conference closed, with the assurances of Council that no effort in their power to fulfill the desires of Congress should be wanting." *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:606–7.

<sup>3</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's response to this letter, which included the following resolution adopted the same day, see *ibid.*, pp. 608–9. "As to the request of the committee that this determination should be given in writing, it was *Resolved*, That as it is made, not by Congress assembled, but by their committee, as it seems to be at variance with

the meaning and spirit of conference in general, and as in this particular instance the usual necessity for the intervention of writing is done away by the perspicuity and candour with which the whole conference has been conducted, the request of the committee cannot be granted."

<sup>4</sup> Although both Oliver Ellsworth and Alexander Hamilton had met with the Pennsylvania Council on the 22d, the RC of this letter was signed only by Hamilton. See *ibid.*, pp. 606, 608; and *Pa. Archives*, 4th ser., 3:911.

## Elias Boudinot's Proclamation

[June 24, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

By His Excellency Elias Boudinot, Esqr.

President of the United States in Congress Assembled.

A Proclamation.

Whereas a Body of armed Soldiers in the service of the United States, and quartered in the Barracks of this City, having mutinously renounced their obedience to their Officers, did, on Saturday the twenty first day of this instant, proceed under the direction of their Sergeants, in a hostile and threatening manner, to the place in which Congress were assembled, and did surround the same with Guards: And Whereas Congress, in consequence thereof, did, on the same day, resolve "That the President and Supreme Executive Council of this State, should be informed, that the authority of the United States, having been that day grossly insulted by the disorderly and menacing appearance of a Body of armed Soldiers about the place within which Congress were assembled; and that the peace of this City being endangered by the muntinous disposition of the said Troops then in the Barracks; it was, in the opinion of Congress, necessary, that effectual measures should be immediately taken for supporting the public authority:" And also whereas Congress did, at the same time, appoint a Committee to confer with the said President and Supreme Executive Council, on the practicability of carrying the said Resolution into due effect: And also Whereas the said Committee have reported to me, that they have not received satisfactory assurances for expecting adequate and prompt exertions of this State for supporting the dignity of the Fœderal Government: And also whereas the said Soldiers still continue in a state of open mutiny and revolt, so that the dignity and authority of the United States would be constantly exposed to a repetition of insult, while Congress shall continue to sit in this City: I do therefore, by and with the advice of the said Committee, and according to the powers and authorities in me vested for this purpose, hereby Summon the honorable The Delegates composing the Congress of The United States, and every of



them, to meet in Congress, on Thursday the twenty sixth day of June instant, at Princeton, in the State of New-Jersey in order that further and more effectual measures may be taken for suppressing the present revolt, & maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States; of which all Officers of the United States, civil & military, and all others whom it may concern, are desired to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand and seal at Philadephia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this twenty fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord One thousand, seven hundred and eighty three, and of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States, the seventh.

Elias Boudinot.

Attest. Samuel Sterett, Private Sec.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). In the hand of Samuel Sterett.

<sup>1</sup> For the broadside of this proclamation printed by David C. Claypoole, see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,229; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, p. 28. For Alexander Hamilton's role in drafting it, see the following entry.

## Alexander Hamilton's Draft Proclamation

[June 24, 1783]

Whereas a body of armed Soldiers in the service of the United States quartered in the barracks of this city, having mutinously renounced their obedience to their officers did on Saturday the twenty first instant proceed under the command of their sergeants in a hostile and threatening manner to the place in which Congress were assembled and did surround the same with guards, and Whereas Congress in consequence thereof did immediately resolve <sup>1</sup>

insert the resolution

And whereas Congress did at the same time appoint a Committee to confer with the said Supreme Executive council on the practicability of carrying the said resolution into due effect, *(declaring that in case it should appear to The Committee that there was not a satisfactory ground &c. to the end of the second par.)*

And whereas the said Committee have reported to me that they have not received satisfactory assurances of prompt & vigorous exertions for the purposes above mentioned—*(Now therefore, & Whereas the said)*

MS (DLC: Elias Boudinot Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton. Endorsed by Boudinot: "Rough Draught of Proclamation after the Mutiny & Papers relating thereto."

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:410; and the preceding entry. Hamilton drafted this document as chairman of the committee appointed "to confer with the Executive Council of Pennsylvania" on the march of mutineers from Lancaster to Philadelphia, for which see Committee of Congress to William Jackson, June 19.

## Committee of Congress to Elias Boudinot

Philadelphia, June 24th 1783

The Committee appointed to confer with the Supreme Executive Council of this state, respecting the practicability of taking effectual measures for supporting the public authority, violated by the mutinous behaviour of a body of armed soldiers, who surrounded the place where Congress and the Executive Council of this state were assembled on Saturday last in a hostile and menacing manner—not having received satisfactory assurances of prompt and vigorous exertions for the purpose above mentioned—advise His Excellency the President conformable to the intentions of Congress in that case to summon the members to meet on Thursday next at Trenton or Princeton in the state of New Jersey.

Alex Hamilton Chairman  
(*Oliver Ellsworth*)

RC (DLC: Boudinot Papers). Written by Hamilton and signed by Hamilton and Ellsworth.

<sup>1</sup> Ellsworth's signature has been lined out, perhaps by Boudinot in preparing documents for a report on Congress' adjournment from Philadelphia.

## Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin

Sir. Philadelphia June the 24th. 1783

We have long since wished to be able to give your Excellency some certain information respecting the definitive Treaty; and the more so, as it has never been in our power to explain the provisional one, which we observed in a former Letter. Congress were some time in uncertainty whether to ratify or not, but that finally they did ratify it and sent it to be exchanged if necessary.<sup>1</sup> Since which 'til this week we have not had any dispatches from our Ministers, and now we have not any assurances that the definitive Treaty will be speedily completed or that the Posts in the United States will be evacuated sooner than "with all convenient speed" of which the British seem to be the judges. In April Mr. Fox told Mr. Lawrance who complained of their



Benjamin Hawkins

tardiness that orders should be sent immediately to Sir Guy Carleton to evacuate New York and he would furnish him a Copy of the order to our ministers at Paris.

Congress have received a Copy of the Treaty of amity and Commerce entered into on the 3d Day of April with the King of Sweden, it is in French, and as far as I could judge at first-reading agreeably to our Instructions in every point, a perfect equality and reciprocity. Assoon as it is ratified a Copy will be sent on to you.<sup>2</sup> On Saturday about 12 oClock two hundred and eighty armed Soldiers led by Ser jeants marched to & surrounded the State House while six States were there, and several other members, and the President & Council of this State. They sent in a very indecent letter to the latter, demanding an answer in fifteen minutes or they would let in an enraged Soldiery on them, about 3 oClock the Members of Congress returned to their respective Houses without meeting any personal insult, and a short time after the soldiers returned to the Barracks. Congress have expressed their sense of this mutiny and insult to the Executive who are either too timid or undecisive to quell the mutiny & bring the heads of the mutineers to punishment, and what is more surprising and perhaps fatal to the Union, it is said that there could not be a force collected in this City to effect it. In this State of things what can Congress do, without the means of paying those debts they Constitutionally contracted for the safety of the United States, respo[n]sible for every thing, and unable to do any thing, hated by the Public creditors, insulted by the Soldery and unsupported by the Citizens?

There are but seven States in Congress now and altho' we have repeatedly written to the States to send up Delegates, yet we cannot get enough to ratify the Treaty of Commerce with Sweden, and to fix the peace establishment, or in short to do any business pending before Congress.

I am now living on credit and if it should not be in the power of your Excellency to furnish money for us, I shall be in a very disagreeable as well as disgraceful situation in a short time.

I have the honor to be &c,

Benjamin Hawkins

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 15, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the Swedish treaty had been enclosed in Benjamin Franklin's letters to Robert R. Livingston of April 7 and 15, but the former, misdated March 7, was not received and read in Congress until July 16. The latter, which was read on June 18, was referred to a committee consisting of James Madison, Stephen Higginson, and Alexander Hamilton which reported on July 24. Because there was no quorum that day, the treaty was not ratified until the 29th. The delegates forwarded a copy to Gov. Martin with their letter of October 24, 1783. See *JCC*, 24:444, 457-77; *PCC*, item 82, 2:361-76, item 186, fol. 108; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:276, 377-80.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. June 24. 1783

I cannot break in upon my punctuality so far as to omit acknowledging your favor by yesterday's post,<sup>1</sup> though I can scarce do more than refer you to the official letter to the Govr.<sup>2</sup> and mine to Mr. Jones, which you will see, whether he be absent or present, having addressed it to you on the first contingency.<sup>3</sup> In the former letter Mr. Mercer has related the Several circumstances which have resulted from a revolt of the Soldiery at this place, who have recurred to that irregular mode of making redress. Their grievances all terminate as you may [sup]pose in the want of their pay which Congs. are unable to give them; and the information we receive from the States is far from opening any fresh sources for that purpose. Indeed the prospect on the side of the latter compared with the symptoms beginning to appear on the side of the army is to the last degree afflicting to those who love thier Country and aim at its prosperity. If I had leisure to use a Cypher, I could dilate much on the present State of our Affairs, which as it is I must defer to another occasion.

I was prepared by Mr. Jones late letters for the fate to which the Budget of Congs. has been consigned,<sup>4</sup> but the circumstances under which it arrived here gave peculiar pungency to the information. I wish that those who abuse Congs. and baffle their measures, may as much promote the public good as they profess to intend. I am sure they will not do it more effectually than is intended by some at least of those who promote the measures of Congs.

Adieu.

J. M.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:191–92.

<sup>1</sup> For Randolph's June 14 letter, see *ibid.*, pp. 147–48.

<sup>2</sup> See the following entry.

<sup>3</sup> Madison's letter to Joseph Jones has not been found.

<sup>4</sup> For Jones' letters of June 8 and 14 from Richmond, see *ibid.*, pp. 118–21, 143–45.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Phila. June 24. 1783

In our last to yr Excellen[c]y we convey'd information that a {mutiny}<sup>1</sup> amongst the {troops in Philadelphia} had happily {subsided}.<sup>2</sup> The {event has proved that} appearances were {fallacious. On Friday<sup>3</sup> we received} thro the {executive of this state transmitted} by the {commanding officer at Lancaster} that part {of the troops there} had {set out for this place headed by} their {sergeants. Congress imme-



diately appointed a committee} to {confer with the executive council} & {concert} measures for {preventing a junction. The committee reported} from {the executive} that they were {indisposed to call on the militia as they were doubtful whether a call would be obeyed. The troops arrived, formed a junction} when their {officers were obliged to retire}. On {Saturday the state house} whilst {Congress were sitting} was surrounded by a mutinous and menacing force to the amount of three hundred while detachments took possession of the arsenal and magazine.<sup>4</sup> They sent in a written demand} to {be allowed to appoint officers to redress their grievances} requiring a favorable answer {in twenty minutes} or they {would let in enraged soldiery}. This altho' directed to the {executive council was certainly meant} ultimately {for Congress to whom a memorial had} been previously {presented} signed by {sergeants of so insolent} a {nature as to forbid any answer}. In this situation {Congress thought it most becoming their character} to take no public {notice of the insult} but to forbear any official {act whatever. By the exertions of General Sinclair and of} individual {members} of {Congress} they were gradually {diverted from their purpose}, altho' inflamed by misrepresentation & {intoxicated with liquor} furnished by {the rabble present}. This {scene continued about twelve to three oclock} when {Congress} retired thro {the soldiers} who themselves shortly after {retired to their barracks}.

At {six oclock Congress reassembled and resolved that the committee} should again wait on {the executives} & {demand a categorical answer} whether they would make exertions to {support government} & to {inform that unless satisfactory measures should be taken to restore the authority to government} (of which {the committee and president were to be judges in the recess of Congress} that then business} shou'd be {summoned to meet at Princetown} or {Trentown in New Jersey. Of} these {steps General Washington was informed and} directed to {detach a select force for the purpose of quelling the mutiny. The committee found the executive} wholly {indecisive} & at their request, gave 'em a {day to deliberate} at the end of which they remained, either {incapable or indisposed to exert the necessary force}. In this state {things now remain the temper and views of mutineers are not yet ascertained} as little are known [of] {the root or extent of the evil}.

J. Madison

J F Mercer

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Mercer and signed by Mercer and Madison. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:189–90.

<sup>1</sup> Words printed in braces in this text were written by Mercer in the official Virginia cipher.

<sup>2</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Harrison, June 17, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Mercer mistakenly encoded Friday rather than Thursday. See James Madison's Notes of Debates, June 19, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison's Notes, June 21, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot's Draft Statement on the Mutiny

Philadelphia. [ca. June 26, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

On Saturday the 21 June, being informed by Coll Hamilton, that there was reason to believe that the Soldiers in the Barracks who had mutinied & cast off the Command of their Officers, was premeditating a Scheme for plundering the Bank the following Evening, and that it would be prudent to summon the Members to meet in Congress—at 12 oClock I issued Summons's to meet in half an hour. Attended Congress, when 6 States with several individual Members being present upwards of 300 Armed Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line appeared before the State House & surrounded the same.

Congress sent for Genl St Clair & requested to know the meaning of so hostile an Appearance round the House. He informed, that the Soldiers at the Barracks had cast off all authority of their Officers & had marched under the direction of a number of Sergeants to the State House in a mutinous & menacing manner.

The President of the Sup. Ex. Council of the State came in & presented a Paper he had recd from the sd Sergeants purporting that they requested to be authorized to appoint Officers from their own Body in the room of those who had deserted them,<sup>2</sup> that they would wait 20 Minutes for an Answer, and if not recd they would turn in an enraged Soldiery on them & they must abide the Consequence.

On reading this, Congress determined that they would not deliberate on or determine any Business while Surrounded in so menacing a Manner—but directed Gen St. Clair by such Means as were in his Power, to remove the mutineers to the Barracks immediately. Genl. St. Clair soon after returned & informed Congress that he hoped they would return to their quarters quietly. Congress left the House & passed thro' the ranks of Mutineers without opposition. When the President had got half way home—6 or 7 of the Men followed him with their Arms & requested his return, but on his way one of the Sergeants met him & desired him not to regard the Men who had gone without order.

The Mutineers returned to their Barracks with Drums beating & fifes playing. Before the Members left the room they directed The President to send an Express to the Comr in Chief, informing him it was their request that he should advance a Body of Troops towards Philadelphia for the purpose of supporting the dignity of the Government. The President wrote accordingly. Saturday Afternoon—Summoned Congress to meet at 6 oClock. Met accordingly & came to several resolutions.<sup>3</sup> print resolutions.

Sunday Morning forwarded resolutions by Express to the Comr in Chief.<sup>4</sup>

It being reported that the Mutineers had it in Contemplation to seize the Members of Congress at their Lodgings the next night, the Presid gave Notice to the Members of the report.

Genl St. Clair reported that the Mutineers had taken Possession of the Powder House & public Magazines by placing Centinels over them. Monday Morning wrote by Express to Gov Livingston<sup>5</sup> & vice Presid of New Jersey informing of the Transaction of Saturday & the design of Congress in Case of the Contingency mentioned in resolution of removing into Jersey.

Monday Evening—Coll. Humpton, Coll Porter, Coll Robinson & officers of the Penns. Line called on the Presidt. & informed him that they were appointed a Committee by the Body of Officers of that Line to wait on him and to assure him of their utter Abhorrence of every part of the Conduct of their men (the Mutineers) That they were determined at all Events & risques; never to take the Command of them again on any Terms without the approbation of Congress. That they were ready to act under the direction of Congress in any way and in any Manner Congress should think Proper and therefore were instructed to wait the Presid orders which they would strictly obey. That their not offering their Services sooner arose from the Suddenness of the Emergency & the Confusion that ensued.

Tuesday Morning—Coll Robinson reported in Presence of Genl St. Clair that the Evening before the Sergeants had presented a Comission to &c.<sup>6</sup> print.

That the officer refused, & it was sent a 2d Time but again refused, when they threatned instant Death if he did not accept it, which he did.

That this Morning the Troops were getting Drunk very fast it being issuing day, and made a very riotous appearance. Tho it was said by the Sergeants that they were designing Submission by a Paper then drawing up.

Tuesday 2 oClock The Committee reported.<sup>7</sup> print

The Presid immediately summoned the Members to meet at Princeton on Thursday next agreeable to resolution. He also issued a Proclamation,<sup>8</sup> print, & had it put in all the Papers & set off for Princeton.

Wednesday Noon, recd. the address of the People of Trenton by the Hands of the Vice Presid of the State to Congress assuring them of their Support, print—and a Certificate of Lodging provided for about 60 Persons.<sup>9</sup>

MS (DLC: Boudinot Papers). In the hand of Elias Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Although no printed copy of this statement has been found, Boudinot obviously wrote it for publication as he inserted instructions to "print" various documents mentioned therein at five points in his draft. Because the last event noted occurred on June 25—"Wednesday Noon"—it seems probable that he drafted this explanation of Congress' response to the Philadelphia mutiny soon thereafter.

<sup>2</sup> This document is in PCC, item 38, fol. 27; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:655.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 24:410.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Boudinot's June 21 letter to Washington written at "11 O'Clock P.M."

<sup>5</sup> That is, Boudinot to William Livingston, June 23, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> This "Commission" from the "Board" of non-commissioned officers to Capt. James Chrystie of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment is in PCC, item 38, fol. 26; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:663.

<sup>7</sup> See Committee of Congress to Boudinot, June 24, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> That is, Boudinot's Proclamation of June 24.

<sup>9</sup> These two documents, dated June 24 and June 25, respectively, are in PCC, item 46, fols. 83–88. See also Boudinot to John Cox, July 3, note 1.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Princeton June 26t. 1783

9 °Clock in the Evening

Dear Sir,

I take the first Moment of Leisure since our Arrival here, to inform your Excellency that Congress have removed to this Place. The reasons of our Conduct, I cannot delay the Post to give you in full. They are in short contained in the enclosed Proclamation.<sup>1</sup> I think my last was on Monday,<sup>2</sup> the Committee appointed to Confer with the President & Council of the State, could not prevail to have the Militia called out to suppress the Rioters. They delayed till Tuesday 2 °Clock in hopes of the good Sense of the Council finally prevailing, but finding all ineffectual & being told by the President as the Opinion of Council, that unless the Mutineers should go farther than they had done (viz. the making Congress & Council Prisoners) the Militia would not turn out, the Committee advised me to summon Congress agreeable to the resolution of Saturday. I accordingly issued the enclosed Proclamation & left the City. This Measure roused & alarmed the Council & Citizens and they began to see their own danger. On being informed that a Plan was in Contemplation to attack the Bank, the Militia to the amount of 100 were called out & kept under Arms all Tuesday Night.

In the Morning the Proclamation getting among the Soldiers they also were alarmed, and began a Negotiation and many of them have laid down their Arms and it is said have impeached 5 of their Officers as at the Bottom of the Business. I wish some Citizens of Note may not be among the Number—two of the former viz Capt. Carberry & Lt. Sullivan made off as soon as they heard of the Submission. I am in hopes the Mutiny will be crushed. However at all Events the Members of Congress here, wish to see the detachment called for by Congress, come on.

I write this as an Individual that your Excy. may be duly informed of what has passed. I should be glad to see your Excly with the detachment if consistant with your other Duties.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard & Esteem, Your Ex-  
cels Most Obed & Hble  
Elias Boudinot<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot's Proclamation, June 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Boudinot also added the following note on the cover of this letter:

"The Post Rider is desired, if he hears that His Excelsy Genl Washington has passed him this way to hire a Rider and send this after him.  
E B."

## Richard Peters to Arthur St. Clair

My dear Sir Belmont Thursday evening [June 26, 1783]<sup>1</sup>

I have been detained here by a violent Fit of the Cholic (not a political one I do assure you) I could not proceed to join my Corps.<sup>2</sup> I shall go tomorrow by Day Light. I wish to have the true State of the Affairs respecting the Soldiery & Therefore beg you will give me every Information you can as I shall be in Princeton tomorrow Evening. I hear many Stories but know not how the Matter really is. It is said the State has made some Compromise & it is said they have not. Be this as it may after the Movement of Congress it is impossible they can make any Compromise as to Ringleaders, Instigators &c. Their own Justification necessarily involves a thorough Examination & decided Conduct. Much Animadversion will be exercised as to the Deportment of the State. The Executive could assure Congress, it will be said, of no Support while they were present & yet as soon as they had left the City of which due Notice was given the Militia were turned out & Efforts used to quell the Mutineers. I shall act a Part consistent with my Duty [to the] State but shall not forget I am a Representative of the United States & therefore wish to have every Information necessary for [...] Colleagues & cannot better obtain it than thro' your confid[ence &] Friendship. You percieve I write to you in a Stile that would [not] suit every body. You must write to me as well as you can. I had some Specimens of your being able to write when you were in a Disposition to let me know you could write. I expect you will now convince me you can write tho' you employ an Amanuensis & let what will be said in your Letter. I can truly believe you had no *Hand in it*. Excuse this Levity & let me sincerely ask you for such Information as you know I want & you can give.

Yours very affectionately,

Richard Peters

[P.S.] We hear the Lancaster Soldiers are on their way to join the first Detachment from that Place. But this I scarcely believe.



RC (O: St. Clair Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Internal evidence indicates that this Thursday evening could only have been June 26, just shortly after Congress' decision to remove to Princeton and before the intentions of "the Lancaster Soldiers" were known.

Belmont (modern Fairmont Park) was the Peters estate located on the west bank of the Schuylkill approximately a mile and one half below the Falls.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Peters' company of Philadelphia militia. *PMHB* 23 (October 1899): 394.

## John Rutledge to Jacob Read

Sir,<sup>1</sup> Philada. Thursday Eveng [June 26, 1783] <sup>2</sup>

I would have been at Princeton, before this will reach you, but, one of my Feet is much swelled, & very painful—some people wd. call it a Touch of the Gout. Therefore, &, as I think it doubtful, whether a sufficient Number of Members will meet to form a Congress, or, whether they will stay at Princeton, above a few days, (for, it seem'd to be the opinion of the Members whom We saw at the President's on Tuesday, that Congress wd. return when a proper Force was procured to suppress the Revolt, & preserve the Peace,) &, as travelling in such hot Weather, is very disagreeable, I shall deter setting off, till I hear from you.

Be pleased to inform me, *by To Morrow's Stage*, what States have met, & whether they purpose to remain at Princeton, & for how long a Time—that I may make my Arrangements, accordingly. If you should want only one Member, & will send to Bristol, for Mr. Beresford, I suppose he will attend, till I get up.<sup>3</sup> Pray give your Letter, for me, to Major Jackson. I have directed him how to forward it. Sir, yr. most obedt. servt,

J. Rutledge

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Folders).

<sup>1</sup> Read, a South Carolina delegate, had first attended Congress on June 17. See *JCC*, 24:396.

<sup>2</sup> Rutledge clearly wrote this letter two days after Pres. Elias Boudinot issued his June 24 proclamation summoning Congress to Princeton, N.J.

<sup>3</sup> South Carolina delegate Richard Beresford had gone to nearby Bucks Co., Pa., for reasons of health and did not attend Congress until the end of July. See Beresford to Read, July 6, 1783.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir, Princeton 27th. June 1783

The news of the removal of Congress from Philada. to this place will no doubt have reached you before now. It is a step they were obliged to take by the scandalous neglect of the Executive of Pennsylvania, to

whom they applied for protection; and however some may assure them of precipitancy, they have no doubt of being able to justify their conduct to the world.

Yesterday they assembled in this place, agreeable to the inclosed Proclamation,<sup>1</sup> and wanted but one member to make a House, who it is expected will appear to-day.

The night before last the Minister of France left Philadelphia at 12 o'Clock, and arrived here at 8 yesterday Morning. He brought a Letter from the President of that State to the President of Congress<sup>2</sup> giving an account that the Soldiers in the Mutiny had laid down their arms, and submitted, except about 60 which arrived from Lancaster—that these had 24 hours to consider of it, and if they refused the others had promised to reduce them to submission. This good effect was certainly produced by the step we took, which was communicated to the soldiers by the President's Proclamation, a number of which were thrown into the Barrack yard on tuesday night. They have impeached two of their officers, Lieut Sullivan, and Lieut Carberry, who are not to be found. Three more are said to be guilty, and perhaps in the investigation of this business others may be drawn forth. An express was sent to General Washington on Saturday evening informing him of the Mutiny, and that it was the wish of Congress that a body of trusty troops might be put in motion towards the City; and notwithstanding present appearances it was the opinion of the Gentlemen who met yesterday that the orders ought not to be countermanded but that the troops should proceed to Philadelphia, and the commanding officer enter upon a full enquiry into the affair.

The Governour of this State has written a Letter to the President of Congress assuring him of protection,<sup>3</sup> and addresses have been received from the governours of the College, and the inhabitants of Trenton & Princeton, assuring Congress of their firmest support, and expressing the high sense they have of the honor done them by their coming to reside in the State, and wishing their residence may be permanent. The inhabitants of Trenton and its vicinity had some few days before signed a Paper expressing their desire that Congress would fix upon a place, about a mile and an half below Trenton, for their permanent Residence,<sup>4</sup> and submitting themselves to their jurisdiction and the Legislature of the State offer them £30,000 specie to purchase Land wherever they may choose, and engage to give Congress an exclusive jurisdiction over 20 square miles. Pray what has Delaware done? We have certainly the best situation in the united States, and if a generous offer was made, (I do not mean of money, but territory and jurisdiction,) I still think we would have a good chance of its being accepted.

It would give me great pleasure to see Dr. Tilton and Colo. Bedford. The latter I suppose is on his way here, therefore I need not press the

necessity of his coming. Congress wish to have a full representation from the states at this time, that the measures they may take for doing justice upon offenders, and thereby repairing the injuries done to their wounded honor, may have the greater weight.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servts.  
E. McComb

RC (DLC: Nicholas Van Dyke Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot's Proclamation, June 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> John Dickinson's June 25 letter to President Boudinot is in PCC, item 38, fols. 127–32; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:60–61.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to William Livingston, June 23, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Elias Boudinot to John Cox, July 3, note 1.

## John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

Prince Town 27th June 1783

Congrass has been well Recived at this Pleace and Evry Exertion made by the good Pepole for thire Comfortable accomadation. The inhabatants presented a Polite address to Congrass and Evry mark of respect has been paid to us. Lodgings were Ready for all the Delagats on thire arrivel notwithstanding that the notice was so Very short I am much pleased the pepole and Satuation.

I have waited on Mrs. Stockdone. The family is will and your son hearty, he has got the Little Bundle Sent by me.

I find that peace and tranquility is again restord to the City and all is Quite again. I hop it will Continue. Our government has Recived a Severe Shock and our good friend is offen Censured.<sup>1</sup> I hop he will be able in some measure to wip it off. Shall I here from you? I long much to have a particular acct of Evrything that passed since I See you.

I am Dear Sir your Huml Servt,  
John Montgomery

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Pennsylvania president John Dickinson.

## James McHenry to Thomas Sim Lee

My dear Sir

Princetown 28th June 1783

The account of the removal of Congress to this place will have preceeded this letter.<sup>1</sup> At first you would be surprised, but you would soon discover its propriety. The only thing at which you would not be surprised, would be the insufficiency of the Pennsylvania government to guard the honor and dignity of the United States, or preserve the

peace of their own citizens. Under these circumstances it was unlucky for Annapolis that a detachment of our line in passing through Philadelphia exhibited the same mutinous disposition as the Pennsylvania troops.<sup>2</sup> But for this, perhaps, a favorite scheme might have been carried into effect. But a removal to Annapolis would not have secured Congress from the soldiery, and this alone was enough to prevent it. Taking up the event however in a general view, I hope it will be favorable to our affairs; shew to all men the weakness of our confederation, and the absurdity of keeping men in a responsible situation without doing all in their power to furnish them with means to execute their trusts.

I find that we shall have a tryal of heads to restore us to Philadelphia. The influence of the City will be exerted. Let me pray you to come forward on this occasion. You will be able to render essential service. If we can be kept from Philadelphia, the want of the necessary buildings and personal conveniencies will soon drive us from this place. You know that Maryland is without a vote.

The definitive treaty has not arrived, the cession of Virginia is still unsettled, and we are yet without a peace arrangement.

Give my most cordial respects to Mrs. Lee and beleive me always and affectionately yours,

James McHenry

RC (MdAN: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly a reference to Pres. Elias Boudinot's July 24 proclamation.

<sup>2</sup> McHenry was referring to a detachment of Maryland's 3rd Regiment under Maj. Thomas Lansdale which had left camp June 5 and had arrived in Philadelphia June 12 on their march to Baltimore. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:470; and North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin, August 1, 1783.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton

Sir,

Princeton, June 29th. 1783

It is proper I should inform Your Excellency that Congress have lately removed to this place. I cannot enter into a detail of the causes; but I imagine they will shortly be published for the information of the United States. You will have heard of a mutiny among the soldiers stationed in the barracks of Philadelphia, and of their having surrounded the state house where Congress was sitting. Fortunately no mischief ensued. There was an insolent message sent to the Council. It was at once determined that should any propositions be made to Congress they would not take them into consideration whatever extremities might ensue, while they were surrounded by an armed force.

General St Clair with the advice of some members of Congress and of the Council permitted the mutineers to appoint some commis-

sioned officers to represent their grievances and they were at last glad of a pretext for going away.

Congress judged it proper to use coercion upon the occasion & having sent an order to the Commander in Chief for a detachment of troops, at the same time called for the assistance of the militia. The conduct of the executive of this state was to the last degree weak & disgusting. In short they pretended it was out of their power to bring out the militia, without making the experiment.

This feebleness on their part determined the removal of Congress from a place where they could receive no support; and I believe they will not easily be induced to return.

The removal and a proclamation by the President announcing to the mutineers that extremities would be persued against them have intimidated them into a submission. They have impeached two of their officers Carbury & Sullivan, who immediately fled. A few others are suspected.

It is to be lamented that the offers from our state have not been upon a more acceptable plan;<sup>1</sup> it is probable if they had been, the scales would incline in our favour. I wish the Legislature were sitting and would enlarge them. To your Excellency I need not urge the advantages that will accrue to a state from being the residence of Congress.

I have the honor to be Yr. Excellency's Most Obed serv  
A Hamilton

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:407–8.

<sup>1</sup> For New York's invitation to Congress to locate the Continental government at Kingston, see Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, note.

## Alexander Hamilton to James Madison

Dear Sir

Princeton June 29th. 178[3]

I am informed that among other disagreeable things said about the removal of Congress from Philadelphia it is insinuated that it was a contrivance of some members to get them out of the state of Pensylvania into one of those to which they belonged—and I am told that this insinuation has been pointed at me in particular.

Though I am persuaded that all distinterested persons will justify Congress in quitting a place where they were told they were not to expect support (for the conduct of the Council amounted to that) yet I am unwilling to be held up as having had an extraordinary agency in the measure for interested purposes when the fact is directly the reverse. As you were a witness to my conduct and opinions through the whole of the transaction, I am induced to trouble you for your testimony upon the occasion. I do not mean to make a public use of it;



but through my friends to vindicate myself from the imputations I have mentioned.

I will therefore request your answers to the following questions: Did that part of the resolutions which related to the removal of Congress originate with me or not?

Did I as a member of the Committee appear to press the departure; or did I not rather manifest a strong disposition to postpone that event as long as possible, even against the general current of opinion?

I wish you to be as particular & full in your answer as your memory will permit. I think you will recollect that my idea was clearly this: that the mutiny ought not to be terminated by negotiation—that Congress were justifiable in leaving a place where they did not receive the support which they had a right to expect; but as their removal was a measure of a critical and delicate nature—might have an ill appearance in Europe—and might from events be susceptible of an unfavourable interpretation in this country—it was prudent to delay it 'till its necessity became apparent, not only 'till it was manifest there would be no change in the spirit which seemed to activate the council, but 'till it was evident complete submission was not to be expected from the troops—that to give full time for this, it would be proper to delay the departure of Congress 'till the latest period which would be compatible with the idea of meeting at Trenton or Princeton on Thursday—perhaps even 'till Thursday morning.

I am Sir, Yr. most Obed serv<sup>l</sup>

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In Hamilton's hand, signature clipped.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton apparently did not send this letter, but upon returning to Philadelphia the following week sent a considerably revised version instead, for which see Hamilton to Madison, July 6, 1783.

## John Rutledge to Jacob Read

Dr. Sir,

Philada. Sunday Evening [June 29, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

I have, just now, recd. your Letter of Friday. I am sorry to tell you, that the Pain & Swelling, of which, in my Letter by Major Jackson, I complained, have produced a regular & severe Fit of the Gout, which has prevented my getting out of Bed to day, nor can the doctor give me any Assurances when I may expect to be rid of this Complaint. However, as soon as I can travel to Princeton I certainly will be pleased to tell this to Mr. Izard. I am much concerned that my Illness makes it necessary for him to stay there, in order to have the State represented—but, it cannot be expected, that he shd. remain after the Arrival of his Family, tho' the State shd. by his Absence, be, for a short Time, unrepresented. This Afternoon, a Mr. Crowley arrived here

from Charles-Town, & brought the inclosed Letter & Gazettes—no Letter for either you, Mr. Izard or myself. The publick Papers are at my House, & shall be delivd. to Crowley, whenever he is ready to take 'em. Mr. Readhead will sail for Chas. Town, in 4 or 5 days. I wish you & Mr. Izard wd. write to the Governor by him. If you will send your Letter to me, I will deliver it to Mr Readhead. I write this in Bed & in great Pain. My Complimts. to Mr. Izard. I am, Sir, yr. most obedt. Servt,

J. Rutledge

RC (NN: Emmet Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the dating and context of this letter, see Rutledge to Read, June 26, 1783. Rutledge did not attend Congress again until September.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert Morris

Sir, Princeton 30th June 1783

I have the honor of informing you, that I laid your letter of this morning before Congress,<sup>1</sup> and as there was no entry on our Journals relating to your leaving the City they thought it sufficient to direct me to inform you, that they had no objections to your returning to Philadelphia and resuming the business of your department. On this information I doubt not but that you will immediately proceed to the City accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

I shall be glad of a line now and then, if any thing turns up worth communicating.

I have the honor &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Morris' letter to Boudinot of this date is in PCC, item 137, 2:593–94; and Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), volume 8, forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> Morris' activities and meetings with various officials and members of Congress during and following the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops are recorded in the following revealing entries from the official diary of the superintendent of finance.

"June 20th. The Honble. Mr. Peters, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Elsworth committee of Congress respecting the Mutineers from Landcaster, we had a long Conference and I agreed that such as have not received the Months Pay for January shall be paid in Specie and the three Months Pay shall be delivered in Notes—but the Mutineers to be paid in Landcaster only. . . .

"Various other applications and a great deal of Time consumed in Consultations respecting the Mutineers. . . .

"June 21st. His Excellency The President of Pennsylvania & Colo. Humpton called to communicate the intelligence they had received of the designs formed by the mutinous Souldiers. I advised as I have constantly done from the first information on this Subject a general call on the Militia. . . .

"I sent for Thomas Willing Esqr. President of the Bank and informed him of the dangerous Temper of the Soldiery in order that such precautions might be taken as the Directors should judge proper, just as Mr. Willing was going from the Office Word was brought that the Soldiers are under Arms and Marching for the State House.

"The Honble. Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Fitzsimmons called at different Times this day to confer on the present state of Things.

"Major Genl. St. Clair, Major Jackson, Mr. Gorham and others on the same business. When the Soldiers marched up Market Street I went over to my own House to apprise my family and prevent improper alarms, from thence I went to a Friends House to wait the Event and after the Soldiers departed from the State House I returned to this Office, sent to the President of the Congress to know if Congress had any Commands, there being none I went agreeable to engagement to Club, returned in the Evening waited on the President of the State and Strongly urged the calling out of the Militia to quell the Riot &c.

"June 23d. His Excy. The Minister of France, Honble. Colo. Hamilton, Charles Thompson Esqr., Trench Francis Esqr. at different Times to consult respecting the revolted Soldiers. . . .

"June 24th. . . . The Honble. Mr. Fitzsimmons, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hamilton & Mr. Peters, on the business of the revolted Soldiers, these Gentlemen gave me notice to prepare myself for departure from this City with Congress as it appeared probable that they will remove this afternoon, no steps being taken or promised by the Executive of the State to protect them from a repetition of Insult.

"Charles Thompson Esqr. came to consult on the business of removing and to apply for Cash.

"Major Jackson on the same Subject.

"Colo. Hamilton called to inform me that the Committee had reported to his Excellency the President of Congress that it is necessary for Congress to adjourn to Prince Town. His Excellency the President of Congress also called at my House to give me notice and wrote to me likewise. Colo. Hamilton observed that this movement must be kept secret as the Soldiers if it came to their knowledge might be tempted to Seize either members of Congress or myself as Hostages to Treat for their Pardon &c. in obedience to these Sentiments Mr. G. Morris and myself departed in the Evening for Prince Town—first Committing my Office and all the Papers therein to the care of Mr. Samuel Lyon the Secy. with Orders to keep constantly in the Office during my absence and in Case the Soldiers came with Mischievous intent to inform them that the whole Army are interested in those Papers and indeed all America and that they must expect the resentment of the whole if any distruction is Committed. I also desired Mr. Lyon to inform Mr. Milledge and the other Officers of my Department that the President of Congress and myself are of opinion that the public Business shall stop untill further Orders.

"June 25th. This day we arrived at Tren Town and took our Quarters There—and by the Secretary's Register it appears there were sundry applications at the Office.

"June 26th. Went from Trenton to Prince Town but Congress did not make a House so we returned to Trenton and remained there Friday, Saturday & Sunday.

"June 30th. Paid another Visit to Congress at Prince Town and wrote to His Excellency the President for leave to return to Philadelphia and resume my Official Business, after which returned to Trenton, and on Tuesday July the first Received a Letter from his Excellency the President with leave to return, then set out and arrived on Wednesday." Robert Morris Papers, DLC.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir

Princeton 30th June 1783.

I had the honor of addressing a long Letter to your Excellency from this place a few days ago,<sup>1</sup> which I hope you will receive. The events which have taken place since are easily recounted. I informed you that

the mutineers had begun to give way. The whole of them have since laid down their Arms, but have been suffered to resume them. The Party from Lancaster have been Marched back again under their officers, and the rest, (as we are informed,) are dismissed on furlough. This is a new way of settling such business. How the officers will account for it I am at a loss to know.

Eleven hundred men from head Quarters will be here this evening, on their way to Philadelphia, under the command of Major General Howe, to enquire into this Business. Some Gentlemen want Congress to follow them, but others are extremely averse to return to Philadelphia again. This Town is too small for our Accommodation, tho' the People are very obliging. I wish to know whether the inhabitants of Wilmington would be pleased with such guests, and whether the Academy might be had for them to sit in. If good Accommodations could be had I would move that we should adjourn to that place. If the hill above the Town has been, or is to be, offered for their permanent residence, perhaps such a motion, on such information, might be carried. Several flattering addresses have been read in Congress to-day,<sup>2</sup> (the first day of our doing business here,) from the Governors of the College, the Inhabitants of Trenton & Princeton, and the Governor of the State. I am told the Battallions in the State, or at least in the neighbourhood, are preparing addresses, and I submit it to your Excellency whether such a Measure, if pretty generally adopted, would not have a happy effect both at home and abroad. The dignity and authority of the United States have been grossly insulted. It is natural therefore for those who are favourers of the fœderal Government to declare their readiness to support and maintain it. If this had been done in Philadelphia, and accompanied with corresponding exertions, we would not have left that City; but instead of this Congress was shamefully neglected, and no measures taken for their protection 'till after they had left the City. Then the Militia was called out to defend private property, but it seems few of them obeyed the call.

I am here alone Neither Mr. Bedford nor Dr. Tilton have made their appearance. I expect Mr. Bedford here every day. There are but seven states on the floor, so that perfect unanimity is requisite in order to do any business.

Your Excellency will pardon the imperfection of this dispatch, which I have no time at present either to copy or correct, and believe me to be with great sincerity, Your most obt. & most humble sevt,

E. McComb

RC (DLC: Nicholas Van Dyke Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See McComb to Van Dyke, June 27, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:411–12n.2; and Elias Boudinot's letters to John Cox and to Samuel Smith of July 3 and to Smith and George Morgan of July 4.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. June 30. 1783.

My last informed you of the mutinous insult which was offered to Congs. on the Saturday preceding.<sup>1</sup> On the Evening after the insult Congs. met and resolved that the Executive Council sd. be informed that in their opinion effectual measures ought to be immediately taken for suppressing the mutiny & supporting the public authority—that a Come. sd. confer with the Executive and in case no Satisfactory grounds sd. appear of adequate & prompt exertions for those purposes, the Presidt. sd. with the advice of the Come. be authorized to summon the members to meet at Trenton or Princeton in N.J.—that an Express be sent to Genl. Washington for a detachment of regular troops. The Conference with the Executive produced nothing but doubts concerning the disposition of the Militia to act unless some actual outrages were offered to persons or property. They even doubted whether a repetition of the insult to Congs. wd. be a sufficient provocation. Neither the exhortations of the Friends of Presidt. Dickenson nor the reproaches of his enemies could obtain an experiment on the temper of the Militia. During the attendance on the ultimate determinations of the Executive reports from the Barracks were in constant vibration. At one moment the Mutineers were penitent and preparing submissions: the next they were meditating more violent measures. Sometimes the Bank was their object; at other times the seizure of the members of Congress, with whom they imagined an indemnity for their offence might be purchased. On Teusday about two OClock, the efforts of the Govt. being despaired of, and the reports from the Barracks being unfavorable, the Committee advised the President to summon the members to meet in N.J. which he did verbally as to the members present, leaving a general proclamation behind him for the Press.<sup>2</sup> I left Princeton on Friday evening when six States only had met. Rhode Islad. made a seventh on Saturday. To day I suppose they will be on business. I shall set out this afternoon, on my return.<sup>3</sup>

Since Congress left the City the Mutiny has been entirely extinguished; the Mutineers having submitted, and most of them accepted furloughs under the Resolution of Congress on that subject. At the time of submission they betrayed their leaders, the chief of whom prove to be a Mr. Carbery, a deranged officer, and a Mr. Sullivan a Lieutenant of Horse, both of whom made their escape. Some of the most active Sergeants have also ran off. The precise object & plan of the Conspiracy are unascertained.

When I left Princeton no answer had been recd. from Genl. Washington.<sup>4</sup>

The removal of Congs. under the circumstances which gave birth to it, is a subject of much conversation and criticism. Many of those who



condemn it are but partially acquainted with facts. Many of those who justify it, seem to have their eye remotely on the disgrace of the Executive Councils of the State.

Tell Mr. Ambler that I do not forget him at present,<sup>5</sup> but that being on the point of s[etting out for?] Princeton, I am under the necessity of referring [here to his?] letter or failing to reach the stage I aim at this evening.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:205–7.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison to Randolph, June 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot's Proclamation, June 24, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Rhode Island delegates Jonathan Arnold and William Ellery presented their credentials this day completing the first quorum to gather at the college in Princeton. Madison apparently attended Congress on July 1. See *JCC*, 24:411, 421n.

<sup>4</sup> For the arrival in Princeton this day of Continental troops dispatched by Washington, see Elias Boudinot to Washington, July 1, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Madison is apparently referring to his tardiness in replying to Jacquelin Ambler's letter of June 14, for which see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:142–43. His reply to Ambler has not been found.

## John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

Prince Town 30th June 1783

I Recd your letter of the 27th.<sup>1</sup> Am much Pleasd with what you mention in regard of the presdts. Conduct I hope that it will Stand fair when Examined. His Conduct is freely Commented on by some hear. I belive you know my unwillingness to leave Philada. but it is thought by maney as a very prudent measure. I make no Doubt of Congrass returning to Philada but when they will is Yet uncertain. I am fully Senseable of the ill Effects thire leveing it will have on thire plans and on Publick Cridit and of the influence it will have in Eroupe on our reputation and affairs. It is unhappey when Publick Council are influnced by warm tempers and hasty measures but So it is perhaps popes saying may be aplayed on this occasion, whatever is is best.

We Exspect Eleven hundred men under the Command of Genrl Howe from head Quarters this Evening at this place on thire way to Philada. but I supose that before they can reach Philada. the Bird will be flown and genrl Howe will find an Empey Cage. I am Sorry that the ringleaders have got off and that none of them have been taken. Thire is I fear Some neglect in this matter. I wrote a few lines to you Since I Came to this place which I hop has Come Safe to hand. We are indeed Kindly treated by the peple here and nothing is wanting in their power to make us happy and Comforta[ble] in our present Situation and I think thire is no inland Situation preferable to this. Your offer is generous and I think more then Can be Exspected from you.<sup>2</sup>

I am not uneasy about the Defection of Cooper and Chreaghead nor of Docr Ewings oposition to our College<sup>3</sup> I am Certain it will be attended with happy Consequence to this Country in genrl. and to the promoting here of Religion and Enlargement of the redeemers Kingdom. It will I belive be under his influence and previle against all his Enimis.

We have made a Congress this day and Done Business genr Howe is arrived and will proseed in a day or two to Philada with Such of the troops as he may think necessary. Shoud be glad to have Oswalds news papers<sup>4</sup> while I remain at this place. Will you be pleased to Disire him to Send them and I will pay him for them on my retum.

I am Dear Sir assured friend And Humbl Servt,

John Montgomery

[P.S.] If Congress Continues after the assembly mets shall be Down at that time but I Expect to See you much Sooner.

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:301-3.

<sup>2</sup> Rush had written: "Should Congress conclude finally to settle at Princeton, I shall cheerfully convey to them one half of a 20-acre lot in the heart of town and an 100 acres of woodland within two miles of the same." *Ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Dickinson College, of which Montgomery and Rush were charter trustees.

<sup>4</sup> Eleazer Oswald was the Philadelphia publisher, recently in partnership with Daniel Humphreys, of the *Independent Gazetteer*.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

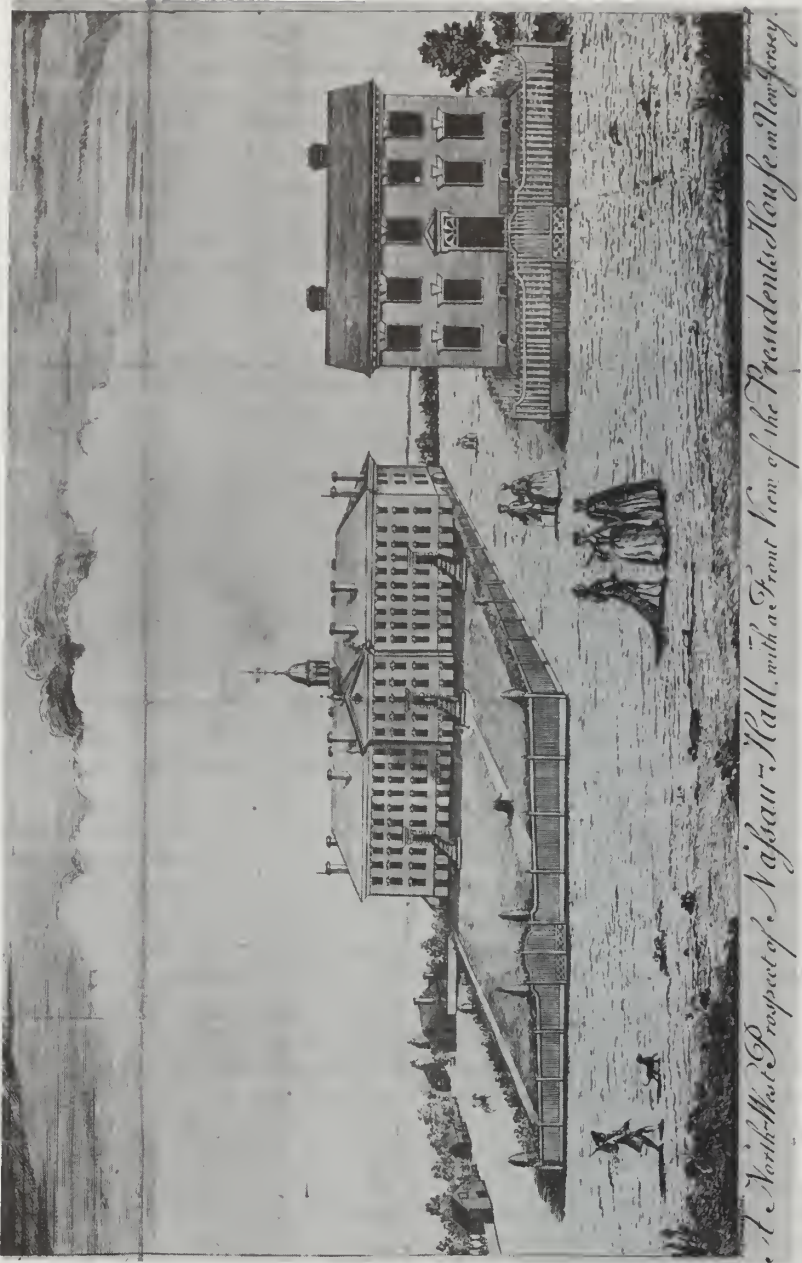
Dear Hannah,

Monday June 30. 1783.

By nine o clock, the evening I left you, I arrived at Bristol, where I met the Minister on his return.<sup>1</sup> He informed me that a sufficient number of states had not yet met to proceed to business. He expressed a great desire that Congress would return, and was anxious that their removal should not even be known in Europe by any public act done out of Philadelphia. Next day I started a little after three and was in the boat at Trenton ferry before Six. The ride thus far was exceedingly pleasant, the morning Serene, and the air cool and refreshing. At Trenton I shaved, washed & breakfasted & waited till eight in hopes of seeing Govr. Morris. Mr. R. M.<sup>2</sup> had left town just before I got in to meet Mr. M. at Bristol and as he crossed at another ferry I missed him. Govr. was gone a fishing and though I sent him a note to inform him of my arrival, I suppose he thought it too great a sacrifice to forego the pleasure of fishing. As soon as I had breakfasted I set forward and travelling easy I arrived at Princeton about eleven. I had a fine air in my face but the sun beams were excessively hot & scorch-

ing. I drove up immediately to Col. Morgan's which is just behind the college<sup>3</sup> in a most elegant situation commanding an extensive and delightful prospect. I have a parlour below stairs & a chamber above which though small is clean, cool and pleasant. Mrs. Morgan is easy, polite and agreeable as the colonel. The Col has thrown aside the citizen and put on the country gentleman, and enjoys that situation in life which in my Opinion is the most delightful. He has a farm of two hundred acres of good land, and enjoys the benefit of an Agreeable society. The town is small not much larger than Newark and the chief part of the houses small & built of wood. There are a number of genteel houses around & in the neighborhood. With respect to situation, convenience & pleasure I do not know a more agreeable spot in America. As soon as I had dressed I went to the College to meet Congress.<sup>4</sup> I was conducted along an entry (which runs from one end to the other through the middle of the college) & was led up into the third story where a few members were assembled. Whether it was design or accident that led me this way, I know not. But it had the effect of raising my mortification & disgust at the Situation of Congress to the highest degree. For as I was led along the entry I passed by the chambers of the students, from whence in the sultry heat of the day issued warm steams from the beds, foul linen & dirty lodgings of the boys. I found the members extremely out of humour and dissatisfied with their situation. They are quartered upon the inhabitants who have put themselves to great inconveniencies to receive them into their houses & furnish them with lodgings, but who are not in a situation to board them. The letter I brought from the Prest. of the State<sup>5</sup> was not calculated to remove their uneasiness or heal the wound they had received. It was dry and laconic and contained nothing that invited a return. When I left col. Morgan's I asked him whether I was to board as well as lodge with him. He told me he should be glad of my Company to dine with him as oft as was convenient & particularly that day but informed me he understood the gentlemen had agreed upon a plan of dining together at a tavern and had appointed a comee. to make the necessary arrangements<sup>6</sup> and that the gentlemen only breakfasted at their quarters. As that was the case I told him I would not trouble him, as I knew the hours of Congress would ill suit with rural œconomy and that I would dine with the gentlemen though I was much afraid it would not answer well with my accustomed & regular mode of living.

Ellery & Arnold had not yet arrived, so that there were not states sufficient to proceed to business. I had passed Ellery on the road about two miles from Philada & expected to meet him in the evening at Bristol, but he did not come up & did not reach Princetown till late on Saturday Evening. After some conversation about the news from Philada and present situation of Affairs the Prest. adjourned Congress to meet



A North-West Prospect of Nassau Hall, with a Front View of the Presidents House in New Jersey.

Nassau Hall



again on Monday. He then told me he expected my company to dine with him. I said I understood the gentlemen had agreed to dine together at a tavern, and as their coming to this place must have been very unexpected, I fancied Mrs. Stockden (his sister at whose house he lodged)<sup>7</sup> could not be prepared to receive company and I had rather be excused. He told me he did not know whether the gentlemen had fixed their plan or taken arrangements for dining together though they talked of it & must certainly adopt some such measure if they continued in this place, But that he would expect my company to dine with him that day. I then enquired what plan they had adopted, & found they had yet come to no determination. Some had received invitations to dine with the president, others from private gentlemen, & some purposed to go to a tavern. I then conversed with individuals to know what steps they meant to take. Bland's dignity was so hurt that he would never return. Izard could never think of returning unless the citizens of Philadelphia would make reparation for the wounded honor of Congress. Hamilton's resentment was wholly bent against the president of the state and nothing but his ruin would satisfy him. I wished them to consult their reason and not their passions, to consider the interest of the Union and not private resentments. That a good use might be made of the late occurrence, if improved solely to the purpose of impressing the states with the necessity of taking speedy and effectual measures to comply with the obligations & perform the promises which Congress had made on their behalf. That the honor of Congress was safe if they returned speedily to their former place of residence and did not mix private passion with public measures. That the object which some seemed to have in view would I feared not answer their purpose. That an attempt to ruin the Pres. & criminate the council might foment the divisions & party animosity which unhappily too much prevailed in the state but would be far from strengthening the Union & supporting the federal government. That by directing their resentment against the Pres. & council, or attempting to set the citizens against them, they might raise up friends & rather strengthen than ruin them. They could not be ignorant that there were many in Philada. who were unfriendly to our cause, who though they did not love the presidt. hated Congress & would espouse his cause against them or their cause against him not from a regard for one more than the other but from private resentments & with a view to embarrass public measures & that such a crop of dissensions might be sown in the state as might in the end involve it in the dispute or at least incapacitate it from pursuing those measures that were essential for the public safety. That in my Opinion the fate of America hung by a slender thread & it behoved Congress to act with caution. That I never had seen a period in which there was a greater necessity for the exercise of prudence & a temperate Conduct, & I was glad considering the temper of the members that they had not yet been



able to proceed to business. I told Hamilton freely that I entirely disapproved his plan, that I saw clearly it would give pain to the true friends of America and pleasure to its enemies: that the step Congress had yet taken required no justification of themselves or crimination of others. It was sufficient that they thought themselves in danger & removed out of the way of it & then returned to their duty and business when it was removed, and only pursued wise measures to present the like in future. And I wished him to reflect how far he might hazard the private characters of the present members who had but lately come to Congress, & who, it might be said, had by their rash, unwise & intemperate conduct dashed in pieces & overturned a fabric begun by their wiser predecessors & raised to such a height by the blood of so many thousands. I found myself at times warm, however I determined to unburthen my mind.

I cannot forbear reprobating the conduct of our friend in Market Street,<sup>8</sup> and much I fear that his cursed pride will undo his country. He has his virtues but they are suited to other times. Could he have submitted to the least soothing language I am persuaded he would have found or at least the situation of affairs here would very soon have created a conciliating disposition in Congress. And affairs might have been restored to their former channel. But his passions are too ungovernable and his pride too great to acknowledge an error, till I fear it will be too late.

After a good deal of Conversation with individuals & sometimes with several together, and no determination yet come to, where to dine, the presidents servant came to inform me that dinner was ready & the president waited for me. I therefore went and dined with him. There were three or four members who dined there. After dinner I had an Opportunity of conversing with the president and found he was desirous of returning. He said freely that this place would not do. The people had exerted themselves & put themselves to inconveniences to accommodate the members but it was a burden which they could not bear long. That there was no place where the Minister could be accommodated. In short it would not do. And that Congress must either go back to Philada. or remove to some other place. But that the members were not yet in temper, that they must have time to cool.

Yesterday we had news that Major genl Howe is advancing with about Eleven hundred troops. They will be in this town to day. Ellery and Arnold arrived late on Saturday evening so that to day they may proceed to business. In my next I shall be able to give you some account of their disposition. I have written with more freedom because Mr Bond<sup>9</sup> carries this & will deliver it.

Peter behaves well, his horses are just under my Eye in Mr Morgans stables & he lodges & diets with the family. My carriage is also safe under cover. I hope you and the family are well and that Page is a good boy. I am afraid you will have some trouble with the cow. I think

if she was kept in the lot and supplied with hay from Mr. Miller's & well fed twice a day with bran & well watered at least three times a day, it would save a great deal of trouble & would Answer better than suffering her to run out.

Take care of your health. Remember me to Robert, Amelia, Jonathan & Peter & all enquiring friends.<sup>10</sup> I shall desire Mr Bond while he is in town to call for and forward your letters & to have mine delivered to you.

I am with sincere Affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the French Minister, the chevalier de La Luzerne.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Morris.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to Col. George Morgan's estate Prospect, where Congress had been offered space for its accommodation, for which see Elias Boudinot to George Morgan, July 4, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> "This statement disproves Varnum L. Collins' [Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 55–59] hitherto plausible conjecture that Congress met at George Morgan's Prospect estate between June 30, when the delegates first officially gathered to transact business in Princeton, and July 2, when they accepted the College of New Jersey's offer to use Nassau Hall as a meeting place for Congress. As Collins pointed out, Col. Morgan offered Congress the use of Prospect on June 25 and later described one of the rooms in his home as the 'Congress Room,' but Thomson's testimony that on June 30 he went 'to the College to meet Congress' clearly demonstrates that the delegates were already convened in Nassau Hall and thus could not have met at Prospect on the dates Collins surmised. Perhaps certain members of Congress met informally at Prospect before the 30th, but it is certain they did not transact any public business there." This commentary is reprinted from Eugene R. Sheridan and John M. Murrin, eds., *Congress at Princeton: Being the Letters of Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, June–October 1783* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1985), p. 5. This excellent work was issued to commemorate the bicentennial of Congress' interlude at Princeton, and was made possible by Princeton University's purchase of a collection of 33 letters from Thomson to Hannah that had remained in private hands until 1983. We are grateful to the Princeton University Library for making this collection available for the present edition of *Letters of Delegates to Congress*.

<sup>5</sup> See the following entry, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> No other mention of such a committee has been found.

<sup>7</sup> Annis Boudinot Stockton, the widow of former New Jersey delegate Richard Stockton. See Sheridan, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 7–8n.11.

<sup>8</sup> That is, Pennsylvania president John Dickinson.

<sup>9</sup> George Bond, deputy secretary of Congress.

<sup>10</sup> For information on Thomson's servants and friends mentioned in the concluding paragraphs of this letter, see Sheridan, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 12–13.

## Elias Boudinot to John Dickinson

Sir,

Princeton 1st July 1783

Your favour of the 27th June came safe to hand; and I now do my-

self the honor of enclosing to your Excellency the copies of your letters agreeably to your request,<sup>1</sup> and should be much obliged by the like favour with regard to the Message sent in to you by the Serjeants on Saturday 21st June.<sup>2</sup>

I also have the honor to enclose a copy of an Act of Congress of this day,<sup>3</sup> and by their directions to inform your Excellency that Genl. Howe, with a detachment of seven or eight hundred men, is marching into your State, and I expect will reach the City by the latter end of the week.

Congress think it absolutely necessary to make a strict investigation into the late mutiny, as far as rests with them, and they depend on the exertions of the Executive in case it should reach beyond the military Jurisdiction.

I have the honor &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> This letter, which Dickinson misdated "July 27th," is in PCC, item 38, fols. 143–44. It contains no such request, but the following postscript suggests that Dickinson may simply have communicated it orally through Charles Thomson. "Mr Thomson who does Me the Honor of charging himself with this Letter, will deliver to Congress a Copy of the last proposals of the soldiers to Council, & of the Act of Council thereon."

<sup>2</sup> Dickinson enclosed this document with his July 3 reply to Boudinot, for which see PCC, item 38, fols. 27, 147; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:655.

<sup>3</sup> See *JCC*, 24:412–13.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 1st. 1783

I do myself the Pleasure of enclosing a Line to your Excellency from Major General Howe, who arrived with his detachment, in this Neighbourhood last Evening.<sup>1</sup>

By the last Accounts from Philadelphia the Mutiny was entirely quelled and the Lancaster division had marched to that Town; but it is *reported* that after their Submission, Coll Humpton furloughed the greatest part of them. I hope it is not true, as Coll Humpton himself waited on me and in the Name of the Line, assured Congress that in no Case would they ever accept the Command of the Mutineers again without the express directions of Congress. This Satisfied Us so far as to prevent any prudential order of that kind.

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect respect & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very Hble Ser

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Concerning Gen. Robert Howe's troops at Princeton, Boudinot also wrote the following brief note to William Jackson, the assistant secretary at war, the next day.

"The Presid. of Congress presents his most respectful Comps. to the Ass. Secry at War and informs him that it is the Sense of the Members of Congress present here making 7 States, that the detachmt under Ma. Gen. Howe be furnished with an additional ration of rum for the 3d & 4 days of July Instt. It is meant an additional ration for each day." Colbourn Collection, MHi.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Joseph Reed

Dear Sir

Princeton 1st July 1783

I am favoured with your Letter of 25th Ultio. How it came to be delayed I know not, but it did not get to my hands till yesterday Morning. That some people should affect to Believe that the departure of Congress was hasty is not surprising; their own justification depends upon propagating that opinion. I am however, fully perswaded that no honest, disinterested man in the World who is acquainted with the circumstances, can be of opinion that we could with propriety have staid longer in the City, after having been surrounded by an armed, & menacing Banditti, & after having applied in vain to the Executive Authority for protection. I can not help thinking that if the Militia had been called upon, or if application had been made to the most virtuous, & respectable part of the Citizens, such a dishonour would never have been suffered. I hope your information may prove true, that the Militia Officers intend to vindicate their own characters. Until that is done, & a full assurance given to Congress that they may depend on protection, I am of opinion they will not return to Philadelphia. Some *interest making* and caballing has been among the Members, but a great majority feel the indignity which has been offered them, & shew a great disinclination to return. Genl. Howe is arrived here with about Eleven Hundred of the Massachuset Line & proceeds with them tomorrow towards Philadelphia. The very extraordinary conduct of Col. Humpton in furloughing the Mutineers, at the very time he knew, from the Proclamation of the President, that Congress were adjourned to this place for the purpose of suppressing the Mutiny will embarrass us not a little. That proceeding, I hope, will be the subject of military investigation. We were not able to make a House until Monday, because both of the Rhode Island Members chose to continue in Philadelphia, to shew their courage; & we have now only seven States on the Floor; so that we must have unanimity, which is hardly ever to be expected, or we can do nothing. The Report of the Committee (Hamilton, Ellsworth, & Peters) which had the repeated conferences with your President, & Council, has been made.<sup>1</sup> Some certain party Gentlemen object to it's being printed by order of Congress. The Facts which are therein stated will exhibit the President & Council of Pennsylvania to the World, in such colours as will not be

very pleasing to the brave & virtuous part of the community. If the latter do not make their sentiments very explicitly known, I shall be much disappointed. I am determined the Report shall be printed either with, or without the order of Congress.<sup>2</sup> Your precaution respecting your Letter was very proper. The party politicks of Philadelphia are very plainly to be seen here; & therefore when you do me the honour of writing to me again, it will be better to follow the example I now give you, as I know your hand. I am Dr. Sr., with great regard,  
Your most Obt. Servt.

RC (NHi: Joseph Reed Papers). In Ellsworth's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> Actually this committee submitted three reports this day, but Ellsworth is referring to the third of these. See *JCC*, 24:412-21.

<sup>2</sup> It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on July 10, in the *Pennsylvania Journal* on July 12, and in the *Freeman's Journal* on July 16.

## James McHenry to John Henry

Dr. Sir.

Princtown 1 July 1783

You will have no reason to blame me for my silence, and yet my beginning with an excuse seems to imply its justice. I left you in Annapolis and when I left Baltimore I understood you were still there, and had proposed to go down the Bay with the governor; from all which I conclude this letter will be fortunate should it even now find you at home enjoying that retirement which I long to experience.

I had scarcely entered Congress when the cession of territory by Virginia was taken up.<sup>1</sup> You have seen the conditions. There had been a report on these conditions and this was to be argued. Congress having embraced a conciliatory system, the question of right could not be opposed to the conditions. All that remained was to bring them down to what was reasonable. I carried an amendment to the second, which stripped Virginia of a source of charges against the United States, the extent of which it was impossible to ascertain. Finding that no other amendments would succeed, I had its further discussion postponed. To get as much as we can of this territory with the consent of Virginia seems to be the preponderating sentiment and indeed it may be, all things considered, the most prudent measure at present in our power. The United States are without force to support their claims. And should we delay receiving what Virginia is willing to give she may revoke the cession and open a land office. In this case there is no doubt but she will find purchasers, and that these will assert their claims. But without such an act the north west banks of the Ohio must in a little time be covered with the claims of adventurers, who will hold upon the title of occupancy. On the whole I am inclined to think, that we at



least risque advantages by delay, that may not be counterbalanced by any cession to be expected hereafter. You know the land Virginia reserves to herself, and to which she has no right by the King of G. Britain's proclamation of 1763, lays between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio. This it is said added to Virginia will make her too powerful. But it appears to me, that in a very short time it would secede from the dominion, and become what Congress would make it, an independent republic. The laws enacted at Richmond would either not be known—have no efficacy, or be laughed over the Alleghany.

No doubt you will have heard before this of our adjournment. You would be surprised at the event, and puzzled for the cause. The enclosed proclamation offers at a solution, which if unsatisfactory you must wait for a statement of the whole affair that will soon be published by Congress.<sup>3</sup> I will only say, that the danger from the mutineers was real, that no support could be obtained from the Executive and that the citizens discovered no disposition [to] take arms.

I know not whether this event will convince the States of their real situation, of the weakness of the confederation, and how very near we have approximated to anarchy & bankruptcy. It is time however, that all men should know, that a breath of wind would break the few fretted threads that remain of the union; and that it is folly of the first rank [to] keep representatives responsible without their being provided with the means to discharge th[eir] trusts.

How far this event may be favorable to the removal of Congress to Annapolis, I will not pretend to predict. To be out of Philadelphia is not to be in Annapolis, altho' it brings Congress a step nearer this point, by lessening the chances for that place. In this question, private considerations will act contrary to the general good. The Southern delegates [have] a leaning to a cold climate, and the northern gentlemen dread a warm one. I will work however, but it would be presumption to suggest a favorable issue to my labors. The present instant is promising as it respects the votes of Virginia, North & South Carolina, but then Georgia and Maryland is unrepresented, so that nothing can be done but shuffle the cards and be patient.

Write me on this perplexing western territory business and believe me most cordially and sincerely your friend & hble St

James McHenry

[P.S.] No definitive treaty.

RC (MdAA: Henry deposit).

<sup>1</sup> McHenry had taken his seat on June 11, 1783. See *JCC*, 24:389.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:406–7; and James Madison's *Notes of Debates*, June 20, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> McHenry is referring to Elias Boudinot's June 24 proclamation and Alexander Hamilton's June 20 and July 1 committee reports, describing negotiations between congressional representatives and the Pennsylvania government, which were entered on

the journals this day and distributed as Congress' official explanation of the mutiny and its results. See *JCC*, 24:413–21; and Boudinot to Washington, July 5, 1783.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson

Sir, Princeton July 2d. 1783

We think it our Duty to inform your Excellency & The Honble Council from Time to Time of any Transactions in which the State may be thought particularly concerned. I have therefore taken the earliest Oppertunity of transmitting the enclosed.<sup>1</sup> We shall be happy to receive any Communications you may think proper to make on this or any other Occasion.

We have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect & Esteem, your  
very obedt Servants,

John Montgomery

Richard Peters

RC (NN: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Written by Peters and signed by Peters and Montgomery.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the committee of Congress report on the Pennsylvania mutiny entered on the journals of Congress on July 1 and read by the Pennsylvania Council on July 5, for which see *JCC*, 24:413–21; and *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:619.

## Elias Boudinot to Certain States

Sir Princeton 3d July 1783

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency an Act of Congress of yesterday on a subject of more real importance to the United States than seems generally supposed.<sup>1</sup>

I am sorry to trouble your Excellency so often on this subject, but the encreasing distress of many of the Citizens of these States, arising from the want of a fuller Representation in Congress, will justify every exertion to remedy so growing an Evil.

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "His Excellency The Governor of the State of New-York." Endorsed: "The like *verbatim* was sent to the Executives of the States of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Maryland and Georgia."

<sup>1</sup> For this request to the unrepresented states to "send forward a delegation to Congress," see *JCC*, 24:422.

## Elias Boudinot to John Cox

Dear Sir,

Princeton 3d July 1783

I take a very peculiar pleasure in obeying the commands of Congress by transmitting their acknowledgments of the polite and respectful conduct of the Inhabitants of Trenton and its vicinity towards the Representatives of the United States on their adjournment into this State. They cannot but applaud the very proper and laudable Spirit shewn by your worthy Fellow Citizens, against every violation of order and good government.<sup>1</sup>

In order to convey the wishes of Congress on this occasion, in the most unexceptionable manner, I take the liberty of enclosing their Act of yesterday on this subject,<sup>2</sup> which, you will oblige me by communicating to the honorable Committee and their Constituents.

I have the honor to be &amp;c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot wrote this letter in response to one of June 25 from Cox, enclosing a memorial from the inhabitants of Trenton, N.J., which condemned the Pennsylvania mutineers and pledged their "lives and fortunes" to the protection of Congress "should they in their wisdom, think proper to adjourn to or fix their Residence in this State." See PCC, item 46, fols. 79–86; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 41–42.

<sup>2</sup> See JCC, 24:423–24.

## Elias Boudinot to Samuel Stanhope Smith

Revd. and Dear Sir,

Princeton 3d. July 1783.

I take a peculiar pleasure in the honor of obeying the unanimous direction of Congress, in presenting their acknowledgment of the polite and respectful conduct of the Governor and Masters of the College, on their adjournment to this Town.

I cannot execute this agreeable business more effectually than by enclosing a copy of their act of yesterday, which fully explains their wishes.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be &amp;c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "The Revd. Mr. Smith, Professor &c. in the College of Princeton."

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:423. Congress adopted this resolution in response to a June 26 letter from Smith and Professor James Riddle, "in behalf of the governours & masters of the College," offering accommodations for the use of Congress. See PCC, item 46, fols. 71–74; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 43–47.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 3d. 1783

General St. Clair is now here, and this moment suggests an Idea which he has desired me to mention to your Excellency, as a Matter of Importance in his View of the Matter in the intended Inquiry at Philadelphia—That the Judge advocate should be directed to attend the Inquiry. By this Means the Business would be conducted with most regularity. The Inquiry might be more critical—and as several officers are in Arrest, perhaps a Person not officially engaged, may Consider himself in an invidious Situation. It is late at Night, and no possibility of obtaining the Sense of Congress, and therefore your Excellency will consider this as the mere Suggestion of an invidiual & use your own Pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem & respect,  
Your Excellency's Most Obed Hble Servt,

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed: "Judge Advocate to be sent to Phila—gone on previous to receiving this." "Ack'd. 16th."

<sup>1</sup> Gen. Arthur St. Clair had already sent this suggestion to Washington, who upon receiving it immediately ordered Judge Advocate Thomas Edwards to Philadelphia. See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:45, 47–48, 68.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir.

Princeton, State of New Jersey, 3d July, 1783.

Our Honorable Colleague Mr. Gorham having lately left us in order to return home, we have reason to conclude he has given your Excellency the best information respecting affairs at Congress, & particularly so relating to the mutiny among the Soldiers in the barracks in Philada., and therefore shall only acquaint you with what has taken place since;<sup>1</sup> Congress having informed the Supreme Executive authority of the state of Pennsylvania of the gross insult offered to the authority of the United States by the mutineers; but not receiving satisfactory assurances of the exertions of the State, to support the public authority, as by the Proclamation, we have the honor to inclose, will more fully appear, thought proper to adjourn to Princeton in the State of New Jersey, where they are now attending to business, since Congress left the City we are informed that the private soldiers have submitted & laid down their arms, & that some of their officers & sergeants have made their escape; yesterday, about 1000 of the soldiers from Headquarters march through this town on their way to

Philadelphia, & we expect that a more full discovery, & account, of this disagreeable affair will soon be made public.

In observance, of our instructions respecting the Honorable Mr. Gerry's affairs, we have remonstrated to Congress upon the subject, which was filed with the other papers, in the Secretary's office, without opposition; a copy of which we have the honor to inclose, for the information of your Excellency & the honorable Court, & hope it will be satisfactory.<sup>2</sup>

There not having been nine States represented in Congress, since we had the Honor of addressing you last,<sup>3</sup> we are still in the same situation respecting the old money.

We have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient servants;

S. Holten

S. Higginson

RC (NN: Samuel Adams Papers). Written by Holten, and signed by Holten and Higginson. Addressed: "His Excellency, Governor Hancock."

<sup>1</sup> Although Gorham was not in attendance when a roll call vote was taken on June 20 (JCC, 24:407), Holten here presumes that he will be informing Hancock of the troops' demonstration at the State House on the 21st, and perhaps of even later events as Holten seems to begin his account of Congress' response to the mutiny with developments of June 23 or 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Congress, June 6, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Hancock, June 9, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Thursday July 3. 1783.

You will judge of the situation of my mind when I tell you that it seems at least a month since I left you. Every day and every hour adds to my chagrin and vexation. Nor can it be otherwise, while I see folly, weakness and passion marking the characters of those who ought to be distinguished by their wisdom and prudence.

It is impossible to stay & do business here and yet from the disposition that prevails there is at present but little probability of a speedy return to Philadelphia. A public & continental use might have been made of the late occurrence: but passion has gained such ascendancy that that object seems quite lost. The 4 of July is to be celebrated here, the quality of Princeton are invited, and lamps it is said are to be hung up on Mrs Stockden's cherry trees. I enclose you my Invitation card, by which you see I am loaded with *honors*. And no wonder. I have the honor of breakfasting at my lodging, of eating stinking fish & heavy half baked bread & drinking if I please abominable wine at a dirty tavern. On Monday indeed I got some pretty good porter, but on



Tuesday the stock was exhausted, and yesterday I had the honor of drinking water to wash down some ill cooked victuals. But we are honorable gentlemen and we are out of Philada.

I wait impatiently for a letter from you to inform me how you are. My love to all friends. I am with sincere affection, your loving husband,  
Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

## Elias Boudinot to Samuel Stanhope Smith and George Morgan

Gentlemen,

Princeton July 4. 1783

Among the agreeable duties of my office, it is not the least to make known the approbation of Congress to those worthy Citizens of the United States, whose conduct entitles them to extraordinary marks of it, on particular occasions. Be assured, Gentlemen, that I take a singular pleasure in communicating to you the applause of Congress on the patriotic Resolutions of the Inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity, in support of order and good government, as contained in the address presented to Congress by you on the                    day                    ; and particularly their high sense of the polite attention of those worthy Citizens to the accommodations of Congress on the sudden emergency of their adjournment to this Town.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be &c.<sup>2</sup>

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "The Revd Mr. Smith & Colo. George Morgan."

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot is responding to an address from "The Inhabitants of Princeton and its vicinity" of June 26 presented to Congress by Morgan and Smith, which was read in Congress on June 30. See PCC, item 46, fols. 75–78; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 43–45.

<sup>2</sup> Boudinot also wrote the following separate letter to Morgan this day in response to one from Morgan of June 25. "I am honored by the commands of Congress to signify to you their acceptance of the use of any of your Buildings that may be indispensably necessary for public offices; and to express their high sense of your kind offers of service and attention to their accommodation and convenience." See PCC, item 16, fol. 208, item 46, fols. 67–70; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 43–44.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Friday July 4 1783

Yesterday I received your letter of the 2. It was a cordial to my Spirits which have been in a constant agitation since I left you. I had al-

most determined to set out yesterday afternoon & celebrate the Anniversary of Independence with you in Philadelphia, and should certainly have done it, but that one of my horses was galled in coming up, & I was afraid of hurting him. The conveyance by the stage is so inconvenient & disagreeable that I am quite discouraged from attempting it.

You will readily judge what probability there is of finding accommodations in Princeton, when I inform you that it is a small scattered village, consisting of about 50 houses most of them low wooden buildings, several of them tumbling to pieces & some new & unfinished. There are five or six tolerable good brick houses or with brick fronts two stories high & there are several good farm houses around. Mrs. Stockden's is a little way out of town. The house is large for a country house, it has four rooms on a floor commodious but not grand. There have been gardens & walks but they are all a waste & only the traces of them left. Here the president keeps his court. A little farther on & nearly Opposite, lives Thomas Laurens,<sup>1</sup> where Hamilton lodges. Laurens has a good farm of about 300 acres. But the house is in a bad situation. Still farther from the village on the way to Philada. is the farm now occupied by Mr Clymer.<sup>2</sup> It joins Mrs. Stockdens plantation. The house is well situated. It is more than a mile out of town. Here Mr. Fitzsimmons is quartered. These are the only places I have visited. Quarters are taken for the Maryland delegates about a mile distant on the road to Brunswick. The rest are scattered up and down in the village. Bland is got into a tolerable house opposite to the College. He says he has ordered up all his furniture, that part of it is come and that he expects all his *Baggage* up this week. Whether Mrs. B is included I know not, but the Minister thinks she will not like to leave Philada. I have some reason to think he was heartily frightened, and therefore affects greater concern for the wounded dignity of Congress. Besides he has but a little time to stay. His delegation ends in October & he cannot be continued longer. He can therefore the readier submit to inconvenience for a short time to gratify his resentment for the fright he was put in. The good of the public & continental considerations seem as yet to have little influence & to be wholly lost in private passion. I hope they will revive, and that as passion subsides, reason will reassume its place. At present all business is at a stand. There are only seven states represented And nothing of importance can be done without nine.

Messages are gone to the states unrepresented urging them to send forward their delegates.

I am glad to hear you are well & that Amelia is getting better. You do not say a word of P. Lloyd. Has he not visited you? Peter behaves well & is very attentive to his horses. You may tell Page I am pleased to hear he is a good boy but should have been still better pleased if he had fanned away the flies that were so troublesome to you.

When Mr. Bond comes up I will leave him to officiate for me and take a trip to Philadelphia. I long to see you being with sincere affection, your loving husband,  
Cha Thomson

P.S. I enclose the Freemans Journal which contains several pieces that were agreeable to the members & operated as an Antidote to the poison of Oswald's paper.<sup>3</sup> As it will [be] some amusement to read the papers, I enclose three orders to the printers.

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thomas Lawrence.

<sup>2</sup> Former Pennsylvania delegate George Clymer, who had briefly retired to Princeton.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the *Independent Gazetteer* published by Eleazer Oswald and his new partner Daniel Humphreys.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton, July 5th, 1783.

I have neglected writing your Excellency a circumstantial account of the Reasons of Congress leaving Philadelphia, in hopes of being able to furnish the official Account, as entered on our Journal, which must be more satisfactory, than any Thing I could have wrote.

I now have the honor to enclose, the Proceedings of Congress on this Business,<sup>1</sup> which will give your Excellency a tolerably just Narrative of this unhappy affair in general, altho' there are many trifling Circumstances & anecdotes attending it, that tend to enforce the Propriety of Congress adjourning to some other Place, for free deliberation, which could not be inserted on their Journals.

The Proclamation I had the honor of enclosing to your Excellency some Days since, added to the enclosed, are all the public Acts on this Subject.

I believe the Citizens of Philadelphia begin to reflect on their Conduct towards the foederal Government, in a very different point of View, than that in which they first considered it. Indeed the Truth being brought to light, oblige an acknowledgment of the absurdity of Congress sitting in the City, under those violent Circumstances.

I have the Honor to be with the highest Respect and Esteem. Your Excellency's Most Obedt. & very Hble Servt.

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed official report on the Pennsylvania mutiny and Congress' removal to Princeton, which was adopted on July 1 and is in the Washington Papers, DLC, see JCC, 24:413-21.

## James McHenry to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dr. Sir

Princeton 5 July 1783.

I send by a private hand to Baltimore, Mr. Maceldery the amount of Mr Chase's draught 256.18.10. I did not retain any part of it agreeably to your desire having previous to leaving Philada. drawn from Mr Hollingsworth one months per diem allowance. Should it be your intention that any part of the order to be paid should go in this line you will be good enough to let me know. Yours,

James McHenry

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Addressed: "Honble Danl. of St. Thos. Jenifer, Intendant of the revinue, Annapolis."

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Princeton June [July] 5th 1783

Your Excellency's favor with its enclosures reachd us at this place—where, you will have learnt from the Public Prints, Congress thought it both prudent and proper to adjourn on the 26th of June. The Causes which induced them to take that resolution, your Excellency will find fully Explained in the report of their Committe herewith enclosed.<sup>2</sup> We have little doubt but that the step will meet with the General approbation of our Constituents, when it is considered what pernicious Instruments Congress might have been made in the hands of a Lawless band of Armd Desperado's—and what fatal consequences might have ensued to the Union in General, had they remaind impotent and Passive Spectators of the most outrageous Insult to the Government, and to the Authority which is vested in them by the Federal Compact. On the part of Congress the most vigorous, and Immediate Exertions were made to preserve their Dignity and restore the Mutineers to that obedience due to Law and Government. A detachment was Immediately orderd from the Army to Suppress the Mutiny and restore order which passd by this place two days ago for Pennsylvania under the Command of Majr. Genl. Howe. We have Since heard that the Mutineers have returnd to their obedience but that most of the Ring leaders (among whom we are told were unhappily Six Commissd officers) have fled. The Names of the Officers who have fled are Sullivan and Carberry—those who remaind are Christie, Steel and two others, all of which accepted Commissions from a board of Sergeants, to compell a compliance of Governmt. with their demands at the risque of their lives.

We have laid before Congress the Several Resolutions enclosed in Yr. Excellency's letter and also the application of Mr. Cooper the Pilot, and shall in due time inform you of the Steps which Congress may take thereon.<sup>3</sup> We are with the most perfect respect, Yr. Excellency's most obedt. Serts,

Theok. Bland

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written and signed by Bland. Endorsed: "Theok. Bland one of the Virginia Delegates, justifying the adjournment of Congress to prevent their invasion by the Mutineers." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 1:211-12.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 172-73.

<sup>2</sup> Bland actually enclosed the two committee reports that Congress ordered to be entered on the journals on July 1 plus the resolutions adopted by Congress on June 21. See *JCC*, 24:410, 413-21.

<sup>3</sup> For the Virginia Assembly's June 4 instructions relating to Continental contracts negotiated in Virginia and its June 17 request for funds to level French fortifications at Yorktown and Gloucester, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:113-14, 162. On July 3 Congress referred the June 4 resolve, and the governor's June 20 letter enclosing Edward Cowper's claims for pilotage, to Robert Morris as superintendent of finance and agent of marine. See *JCC*, 24:425; and PCC, item 71, 2:365-70, item 186, fol. 110. See also Virginia Delegates to Harrison, August 14, 1783, note 2. The June 17 instruction on French fortifications was read on July 31 and referred to a committee chaired by Jacob Read which reported on September 3 that Congress could not comply with the request given "the state of the public finances." See *JCC*, 24:483n.2, 25:533; and PCC, item 185, 3:70, item 186, fol. 116.

## James Wilson to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir

Philadelphia 5th July 1783

The Bearer Doctor Macmahan is introduced to me by the inclosed Letter. He wishes to lay his Proposals before Congress; provided they will engage to give him a Reward in Lands, if his Discovery shall, on Experiment, be attended with Success.<sup>1</sup> He informs me that he has no Acquaintance with any Member of Congress. I, therefore, give you the Trouble of advising him concerning the Steps which it will be proper for him to take in the Prosecution of his Design. I know you will, with Pleasure, contribute your Assistance to every Thing which may have a Tendency to promote the Interest and Improvement of the United States. I am, with much Regard, dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

James Wilson

RC (NNPM: Signers of the Declaration Collection).

<sup>1</sup> James McMechen had developed a scheme for building a mechanical boat capable of navigating upstream while carrying five tons freight, which he was promoting as a boon for western trade. A memorial containing his proposals was read in Congress on July 9 and referred to a committee which reported against the plan on the 11th. No further action seems to have been taken on McMechen's memorial, although according to the journals he supported a similar proposal on behalf of James Rumsey in 1785. See *JCC*, 24:433-34, 27:401, 28:349-50; and PCC, item 78, 16:359-63.



## Richard Beresford to Jacob Read

Sir, Bristol Sunday Mornng. July 6th. 1783.

The Bill upon Mr. Morris in which you have an Interest became due the first of this Month, and was presented for Payment. Mr. Morris was not at that Time in Town, and no Answer could be obtained. I have this Moment dispatched it again and shall acquaint you with the Event so soon as I am inform'd of it.

Is there yet any Acct. of the definitive Treaty? or does Congress think of an Adjournment before that Event? It will surely be useless to sit after it at least; for no Civil Establishment can take Place until the Plan of Revenue is concluded upon by the States. I beg the Favour of an Answer to these Questions by the Return of the Stage on Tuesday.

Can a Family be accommodated with two or three Rooms in a House in Case I should find it possible to repair to Prince Town? Indeed I have very little Prospect of it at present, my Health having yet recd. but very inconsiderable Benefit; and I have some Thoughts of visiting black Point for the Advantage of a Salt Bath.<sup>1</sup>

I am, Sir, Your most ob Servant,

Rd Beresford

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See John Rutledge to Read, June 26, 1783, note 3.

## Alexander Hamilton to James Madison

Philadelphia, July 6th. 1783

On my arrival in this city I am more convinced than I was before of the necessity of giving a just state of facts to the public.<sup>1</sup> The current runs strongly against Congress and in a great measure for want of information. When facts are explained they make an impression and incline to conclusions more favourable to us. I have no copy of the reports in my possession, which puts it out of my power to publish them: Will you procure and send me one without loss of time? Without appearing I intend to give them to the public with some additional explanations. This done with moderation will no doubt have a good effect.

The prevailing idea is that the actors in the removal of Congress were influenced by the desire of getting them out of the city, and the generality of the remainder by timidity—some say passion; few give a more favourable interpretation.

I will thank you in your letter to me to answer the following question.

What appeared to be my ideas and disposition respecting the removal of Congress? Did I appear to wish to hasten it, or did I not rather show a strong disposition to procrastinate it?

I will be obliged to you in answering this question to do it fully. I do not intend to make any public use of it, but through my friends to vindicate myself, from the insinuation I have mentioned, and withal to confute the supposition that the motive assigned did actuate the members on whom it fell to be more particularly active.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Hamilton's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> For Hamilton's eventual attempt to give "a just state of facts to the public," see Hamilton to John Dickinson, September ? 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For an earlier version of this letter, which Hamilton apparently decided not to send to Madison, see Hamilton to Madison, June 29, 1783. For Madison's reply to the questions set forth here, which did not reach him until mid-October, see Madison to Hamilton, October 16, 1783; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:382–83.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Sunday July 6. 1783

I can hardly persuade myself that this is only the tenth day since I left you. To me it appears more than a month. I have nothing to employ my mind but scenes and reflexions which occasion chagrin & mortification. When I look back on the occurrences & transactions of a fortnight past I see few marks of wisdom, when I look forward I see a dark cloud and gloomy prospects for America. I confess I have great apprehensions for the union of the states, & begin to fear that America will experience internal convulsions, and that the fabrick of her liberty will be stained with the blood of her sons. Those jarring principles which were kept down by common danger begin to operate, And pride & passion seem to occupy the seat of reason. Who could imagine that after ten days reflexion, the only effect produced by the late mutinous attempt & removal of C. has been the returning complimentary answers to the addresses of the inhabitants of Trenton and Princeton—Addresses evidently dictated by self interest, and with a view to engage Congress to fix its residence among them & thereby promote their private emolument & not the public good? The first & great object which presented itself to my mind & the great use which might have been made of the late occurrence, was the pointing out to the states the dangerous effects produced by their not complying with the past recommendations & requisitions of C. and urging the necessity of speedy & effectual measures to fulfil the obligations entered into & the promises made by Congress on their behalf, and the dan-

ger that might & certainly would result from a farther delay. This I urged with all the force I was master of & was promised that it should be done. But the very man, who promised to move for the appointment of a comee. for the purpose suffered two or three days to pass without ever mentioning it & then suddenly left Congress & returned to Philada. Others have followed his example. And here the representative sovereignty of America is left without a sufficient number of states to do any one act, and the members that remain have only to stalk along the streets of this poultry village, a spectacle of contempt & derision to disaffected passengers. It is a question with me whether we shall make a Congress this week. I was told last evening there is no expectation of one before Wednesday. Upon this I proposed to the president to return to Philada. in order to visit my family, but he objected. I shall therefore stay till Mr. Bond comes up, by which time my horses will be fit [*to*] travel & shall then go down: so that I think you may expect to see me next Saturday. We have had a great deal of rain these two days past. I hope you & your family are well and that Dick amuses you with his songs. The Superintendent has returned & reassumed his business in Philada. The paymaster genl. has also got liberty to carry back his papers and the Assist. Secy. at war proposes to apply for leave to do the same as soon [*as*] seven States are assembled.<sup>1</sup> So that I think Congress being without its officers will soon find it improper to continue here.

I am with sincere affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> Paymaster General John Pierce had sought and obtained permission from Congress on July 4 to return to Philadelphia—"The Duty and Business of my Office being intimately connected with the Department of Finance which I am inform'd is to remain in Philadelphia." See PCC, item 165, fols. 665-67; and JCC, 24:427n. Assistant Secretary at War William Jackson wrote to Congress on July 8 of his intention to return the War Office to Philadelphia "unless the measure is objected to by Congress," because of the "intimate connexion, which necessarily subsists between the Office of Finance, War, and Pay Offices." But the delegates apparently objected to the proposal as the War Office remained in Princeton until Congress' adjournment to Annapolis in November, although no official record of a congressional response survives. See PCC, item 149, 3:53-502.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 8th. 1783.

The Baron Steuben, who is the Bearer of this, delivered me your Excellency's Letter, which after being read in Congress, was found to have been substantially complied with by our Act of the 12th May,

which must not have got to Hand, at the Date of yours, tho' the War Office reports, that it had been forwarded in due Time.<sup>1</sup>

I hope the Baron will accomplish his Wishes & immediately proceed on his Mission.

General Howe is proceeding with his Inquiry concerning the Mutiny, but nothing has yet transpired. The Citizens of Philadelphia have affected to treat this Matter as of a trifling nature, altho' by a Letter lately recd by Mr Moyland from Lt. Sullivan dated just at his Embarkation, he desires Moyland not to blame him, for it was Success that generally denominated a Measure good or bad; that had he not been betrayed by the Soldiers, he would have carried his Point, or perished in the attempt."<sup>2</sup> There is yet some Mystery attending this Business, which I most earnestly wish may be developed.

The Express that was sent to your Excellency left me so much hurried, that I omitted acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's Favours of the 24th & 25th Ultimo, and the Pleasure with which Congress observed the Sentiments contained in them.<sup>3</sup>

I have the Honor to be with the greatest regard, Your Excellency's Most Obed & very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> In his June 30 letter to Boudinot, Washington had recommended that baron Steuben undertake a mission "upon the subject of receiving possession of the Posts on the Western Frontier," which he had previously mentioned in letters of May 3 and June 7. See PCC, item 152, 11:249-52, 301-5, 389-92; Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:398-400, 479-80, 27:39-40; and JCC, 24:329, 338.

<sup>2</sup> Boudinot neglected to supply an opening quotation mark. It is impossible to conjecture where he intended to insert it, for Lt. John Sullivan's June 30 letter to Col. Stephen Moylan (PCC, item 38, fols. 41-43), which he pretends to be quoting contains no such passage, reading as follows:

"If a consciousness of rectitude can be a consolation to men in adversity, be assured our spirits are far superior to our circumstances, and am confident that none but persons accustomed to judge of things by the event will reprobate our conduct. The little prospect of succeeding in such an attempt, and the difficulties we had to encounter, were great, that to have been confident of success would have proved us to be as destitute of prescience as of common sense. But a series of injuries, and the incessant indignities we experienc'd were our sole inducements for prosecuting the plan at all risks. I am not ignorant of the sentiments of men in power, in respect to the Army, and the Ideas they entertain of the passiveness of the Officers. There circumstances determined us to convince them we had a just sense of our wrongs, and were not callous to our ill-treatment.

"It avails little what appearances tyranny may assume to veil injustice—but it is a duty incumbent on honest men, by investigating the principles of insidious policy, not to submit to the imposition.

"Actuated by the purest motives of patriotism and disinterestedness I abandon'd my dearest connexions at a tender age to fight under American colors, at a critical period, and when affairs were equally balanced. My conduct in the Army either as a soldier or a Gentleman I appeal to the Officers in General and you in particular to decide on.

"I flatter myself you will not suppose that my attachment for this Country is diminished in the most trivial degree. I ever had an innate affection for America, and were she on the verge of ruin, I would come and perish with her. Let what bad men there are

at the helm of government observe from this Instance, how dangerous it is to drive men of honor to desperation.

"The person concern'd with me is Capt Carbery. This young Gentleman served with eclat in the Army; bled, and spent a pretty fortune in the service of his Country. I have requested Capt Heard to be punctual in paying what trifling debts I owe, and have requested your Brother John to draw on my Father if necessary. We are now wafted along by a gentle and generous gale, and possess the most perfect tranquillity of mind—conscious of no unworthy action, all we regret is, failing in a noble attempt

'And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels,  
Than Cæzar with a Senate at his heels.'

"Adieu, my Dear Colonel—be convinced I have a just sense and want words to express my gratitude for the peculiar marks of favour and affection you have conferr'd on me. I am, with sincerity, Your Affectionate humble Servant,

John Sullivan

"I by no means flatter myself with the Idea of hearing from you but my address is Capt. Richardson, 1st Regt. guards, London.

"I take the liberty to enclose a certificate for sixty four pounds."

The couplet quoted is from Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle iv:252–53.

<sup>3</sup> Washington's June 24 and 25 letters to Boudinot are in PCC, item 152, 11:381–88; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:32–35, 37.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 8th. 1783

This will be handed to your Excellency by the Count Del Verme, a nobleman of Milan in Italy.<sup>1</sup> By Means of his Cousin Prince Caraminici an Ambassador at the Court of London, he was recommended by the Duke of Portland to Dr Franklin, Mr. Laurens & Mr. Adams, who have warmly addressed this illustrious Traveller to the Notice of Congress. Permit me Sir to request your kind attention [*to*] the Count on his Visit at Head Quarters. His design is to make a Tour through the united States, and to see the principle Men of each State.

I recieved your Excellency's favour by the return of my Express, who went off in such Haste, as made me guilty of an omission in not acknowledging the Receipt of your Excellency's Favours of the 24th & 25th Ultimo,<sup>2</sup> which had come safe to Hand, and the Sentiments of which gave great Pleasure & Satisfaction to Congress.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect Esteem & Regard,  
Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very Hble Servt,

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The count Dal Vermé had also been the bearer of Benjamin Franklin's letter of April 27 to the secretary for foreign affairs, Robert R. Livingston, which was read in Congress this day. See PCC, item 82, fols. 381–84.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 3.



## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear friend

Philada. July 8. 1783.

Yours of the 28 of June like the preceding one<sup>1</sup> found me at this place, where my preparations for leaving Congs. will keep me much of the remainder of my time.<sup>2</sup> The footing on which the Impost is placed by the Assembly is not an eligible one, but preferable to a total rejection. It is to be regretted that immediate use was not made of the impression of the letter from Genl. W.<sup>3</sup> The interval preceding the next Session will give full scope to malignant insinuations. The reversal of the award in the case of Nathan may possibly be just in itself, but it will require all your eloquence I fear to shield the honor of the State from its effects. The Agency which the Delegation had in the affair will impart no small share of the mortification to them. I suppose the feelings of Mr. Jefferson & Mr. Harrison also will not be much delighted by it.<sup>4</sup>

Genl. How is here with a corps of N. England troops detached by Gl. W. for the purpose of quelling the Mutiny. His only employment will now be to detect & punish the promoters of it. Congs. remain at Princeton. Their removal from that place will soon become an interesting question. Not a few maintain strenuously the policy of returning to this City in order to obviate suspicions abroad of any disaffection in the mass of so important a State to the fœderal Govt. and to restore mutual confidence with a State which has of late been so firm in adhering to fœderal measures. It is supposed too that a freer choice might here be made amg the permanent seats offered by the States, than at a place where the necessity of a speedy removal wd. give undue advantage to an offer which happened to be in greater readiness for immediate use. The Citizens here in general regret the departure of Congs., disavow the idea that they were unwilling to take arms in defence of Congs. and will probably enter into some declaration tending to invite their return.

We hear nothing from our Ministers in Europe. The evacuation of N. York as to the time seems as problematical as ever. The sending off the negroes continues to take place under the eyes & remonstrances of the Inspectors of Embarkations.<sup>5</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:216–17.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 186, 200–201.

<sup>2</sup> Madison's "preparations for leaving Congs." bear examination. From March 1780 to June 1783 his attendance had been nearly uninterrupted except for a brief trip in early May 1783 to New Brunswick, N.J., in the company of Col. William Floyd of New York and his daughter Kitty, Madison's fiancéé. During the remaining four months of his

term, however, he participated in only about 40% of the sessions held at Princeton. In his letters Madison explained that he remained in Philadelphia, in part, to enjoy its "agreeable & even instructive society," to conduct private business, and to engage in long-planned reading and writing. Moreover, Congress conducted little business in its first two months in Princeton and Virginia was always represented by at least two delegates—Arthur Lee, John Francis Mercer and, with less frequency, Theodorick Bland and Joseph Jones—permitting Madison to attend at his discretion.

More important in explaining Madison's behavior, however, was the termination of his engagement to Kitty Floyd. He clearly intended to leave Philadelphia for Virginia in midsummer to make preparations for his marriage in New York following the end of his term. In late July, however, Kitty's "profession of indifference" reached him, thus making his trip to Virginia unnecessary. Shy and introverted, Madison left virtually no evidence of the emotional impact of Kitty's action. He remained in Philadelphia, traveling briefly to Princeton at the end of July to ratify the Swedish treaty, and thereafter attended Congress sporadically from August 27 to October 22 before returning to Virginia. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:25, 217n.2; Brant, *Madison*, 2:283–86; Madison to Thomas Jefferson, April 22 and August 11; and Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 28, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For Washington's June 8 circular letter to the states, of which Gov. Benjamin Harrison's copy was dated June 12, see Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:483–96.

<sup>4</sup> For the continuing problem of Simon Nathan's claims against the state of Virginia, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:200–201, 217n.5.

<sup>5</sup> See Ralph Izard to Arthur Middleton, May 30, 1783, note 3.

## John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

Prince town 8th July 1783

I Recd your letters of 2d & 4th Instant.<sup>1</sup> I am glad to hear that the mutiny is quilled and Peace and Quittness restored to the City the troops under genrl how are not sent to aw the Citizens or interfere with the affairs of the state and when they were here thire was a Doubt in some of the propritty or nessesitty of thire proceeding but it was urged that it was not Known what temper the troops of Pennsyla. who were Expected from the Southward woud be in when they arrived and therefore it was thought prudent that genrl How shoud proceed to prevent any Disturbanc that might happen on the arrival of those troops from Carolinia and to Endeavour to aprehand those who had a share in the late affair of the 21st and whey the Citizens shoud be alarmd is a litle Strange to me as nothing is intended against them.

I am glad to find that the Conduct of Council is so genrly. aproved of on the occasion. I most Sincerely pitted the good man our friend<sup>2</sup> but as I am not aquanted with the reasons and motives that influnced Council in not Calling the malitia I Can neither aplaude or find fault. Happey it is that the mutiney has been so Easley quelld but had it been otherwise what do you think woud have been thought and said. The Line of Council was Straight had they Calld the malitia and they not obey the Consequence woud have been laid at thire door and not

at Councils and this was my opinion however it is no Doubt better as it is but had the militia been Calld and they obeyed and the fellows in the Brarracks obstinate Can you Say Certainly that the troops at Lanstr, York and the stragling furlowed men or some Disparado woud have taken advantage of the Confusion. Can you say that all these things or any of them woud have happened but when men do thire duty they have nothing to fear.

I am asstonished at your asserion that Congress is the aggressor in the present Dispute with the Soldiers. I am sure when you think Cooly you will think otherwise. Has not Congress done evrything in thire power (Little as that power is) and woud not the Charge lay with more propriety against the States who have with held thier taxes and have De-feated Evry Salutary measure proposed by Congress of Establishing of revenues in order to do Justice to the Soldier and Criditor? Had those fellows a right to Complain many of whom were not more than five months in sarvic they recived 9 £ Bounty, a Sute of Cloathes and thire arms, fellows who had never been in action the offscourings and filth of the Earth prompted by fellows in Dispared Corcomstances are thus the men who were to Draw Down the Vengence of the armie and the publick Creditors on Congress. Had the armie those Brave men who have fought our Battles acted thus I woud have said that they had reason to be uneasy, but those brave men to thire Everlasting praise let be Said they have Submit altho I belive reluctantly to thire hard fate.

Many are the Instants of Kings and publick Bodys reciveing like insults. Those things will happen in well regulated governments and it is sometimes prudent to pass them over in as Easey a mannor as possible and I believe that Congrass will do so in the present Case. They have no inclanation to Enter into and Dispute with Council or the State on the occasion and I hope that the Council and State will act a prudent and wise part and will Discover a Conciliatating Dissposition and I woud willingly flatter my selfe that in a short time things will Come to rights again, mens tempers will Cool and thire fears Subside and Congrass will strut on the pavements of the grand metropolais and talk those Woundefull thing over and Congratulate Each other on the mervolous Esscape we made and the great in wisdom and prudence in Conducting affair to a happy Esue.

You wish Congrass to return will you prud[ent] Philadelphians Condesend to invite them to return or will you rather say that they went without our Knowlage and they may return without an invotation. We will not stoop to do it. Some in Congrass Exspect an invotation and I belive woud not hisitate but woud return and it woud be I think a generous act in some of the Citizens to do it and I think Coud not hurt thire pride. Congrass was hasty in moving, prehaps Council was slow or at least some thought So and it is neassarry to do some things at

times when Doing it will have a tendency to promote the good of the whole and I believe an invitation would have that happy Effect.

I believe that I told you that I Dissatisfied the step Congress had taken and I wish most Sincerely that they would return. The Delegates of Pennsylvania are in a very Dissatisfactory Situation at least I feel so however I think that we Can't long continue at such a Distance from the public offices and it would be Very imprudent and almost impossible to Keep them here.

I Shall stay this week and if I find a Disposition in Congress to remain longer I shall See you soon but I am at present of opinion that the State ought to be represented and I Could wish it would Sute Mr Wilson to attend.

I have Just recived yours of the 7th. Mr Smith is Very ill. I think that the good man will not long be an inhabitant of this world. He is going fast I hope to a Country where his reward will be a Crown of glory. Shall Endeavour to get the Charter.

The licenesous will not be wanting in thro[win]g odium on particular persons as well as on Public bodies but this is beneath the notice of Congress or any member of it and I suppose many rejoice at having an opportunity of Doing it gives me pleasure to hear that the present Conduct is so highly approved but there is some letters in town that say other things. I believe that some people have acted a double part. Shall allwise be glad to hear from you. I am Dear Sir your assured Friend and Humble Servt,

John Montgomery

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> These letters are in the Rush Papers, PPL. For an extract from the former, see Burnett, *Letters*, 7:201–2n. The latter is in Rush, *Letters* (Butterfield), 1:304–5.

<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly John Dickinson.

## Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir

Belmont 8th June [July] 1783

I wrote you this Morning<sup>1</sup> about the Troops & told you that there were some Prospects of Sugar Plumbs from the Citizens & Council. But the Devil has set his Mark upon all this Business. I am clear it was the Intention & Determination of Congress that if General St. Clair chose to take the Command the Door was open & it was moved and agreed to that instead of *General Howe, the Commanding General in Pennsylvania*<sup>2</sup> should be inserted. But now it seems this is not done. St. Clair is justly hurt by it as he has had an Agency in the Commencement of the Affair & now sees himself excluded. Tho' he would not have sought the Command yet Appearances are now against him. I assured the Malcontents of the City that their own General had the Option to take the Command if he would & therefore no Insult could be

intended on the Citizens. It is now a strange General and strange Troops. The whole is a strange Medley & I will pledge myself for Nothing. But do have the Thing put upon such a Footing that our worthy Generals Feelings may not be injured or unjust Imputations thrown on his Conduct or Character.

Yours with Sincere Esteem,

Richard Peters

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> In Alexander Hamilton's motion ordering an inquiry into the instigation of the Pennsylvania mutiny, "the commanding officer in the said State" was to have charge of the investigation, but these words were struck out either in committee or in Congress. See PCC, item 36, 2:161; and JCC, 24:411-13.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

My dear Hannah

July 8. 1783.

I received your welcome and very agreeable letters of the 3, 4 & 5 and that dated Sunday morning. They were all delivered to me together. I am sincerely sorry for your loss. I had flattered myself that the little charmer would have amused & diverted you in my absence with his songs. But this as well as a thousand other instances serves to shew how vain the hope "to seek for happiness beneath the skies." Besides you see how deep the love of liberty is inrooted in the breast even of animals. All your care, attention & caresses could not detain the little lovely prisoner when the prison gate was opened. Poor Dick little doest thou know what dangers await thee. Thou hast now no kind mistress to provide thy repasts and to guard thee from the ravenous hawk or the murderous gun. However since liberty is thy choice may thou find a faithful mate to solace thy cares. May thou be happy as well as free.

I think it is almost time to dismiss Mr. Du S.<sup>1</sup> I encouraged his visits because he served as an instrument to shew the temper of the tories & to point out how their spirits rose or fell. He was my *tory meter*. But as it is now of little importance to know how they are affected, the instrument is become useless & I care not how soon it is thrown aside. I long to see you. As I am uncertain about the conveyance I dare not express my sentiments freely. I hope to be with you Sometime this week. I enclose two letters,<sup>2</sup> which you will send to Mr. White & request of him to forward that to Mr. Duffield as soon as possible. My love to Jonathan, Robert and Amelia. Take care of your health & rest assured of the unfeigned affection of, my dear Hannah, your loving husband  
Cha Thomson

RC (NjP:Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, for whom see these *Letters*, 14:228n.1.

<sup>2</sup> Only one of these has been found, for which see the following entry.



## Charles Thomson to William White

Dear Sir.

July 8. 1783

I received a letter from Mr Duffield wherein he informs me that you and he were at a loss how to act<sup>1</sup> from which it would seem that you have not been informed that Congress considering their stay here only temporary have given you leave of absence till farther Order.

Every lover of his country expected that e'er now the way would be opened for an honorable return. Congress quitted Philadelphia because they could have no assurance of protection. The insult was so unexpected, the danger so sudden & the minds of the people so unprepared, or perhaps there may have been causes in the nature of our government & disposition of our rulers, that prompt and effectual measures could not be taken to give immediate protection. But surely the people of Philada will not rest easy under the stain or imputation of disaffection to the cause or not being able or willing to protect the representatives of the Union, while they reside among them. Do not mistake me, I want no justification or crimination for what is past, but only wish for an invitation to Congress to return with an Assurance of safety & protection. If the executive Authority can be induced to give this it will be best, but if that cannot be obtained, I think the citizens should give the invitation. I wish you to consult Mr Morris & Mr. Duffield & your other friends on this subject & let me hear from you as soon as possible. I am with sincere esteem & regard, Dear Sr, your humble Servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (PHi: Society Collection).

<sup>1</sup> White and the Rev. George Duffield were the chaplains of Congress, for whom see these *Letters*, 8:47.

## Elias Boudinot to Arthur St. Clair

Dear Sir,

(Private)

Princeton, July 9, 1783.

I duly received your favour of yesterday,<sup>1</sup> but conceiving that you had mistaken the Resolution of Congress, I shew it to Mr. Fitzsimmons, and we have agreed not to present it to Congress till we again hear from you.<sup>2</sup> Congress were so careful to interfere one way or the other in the military etiquette, that we recommitted the resolution to have every thing struck out that should look towards any determination as to the command; and it was left so that the commanding officer, be him who it might, was to carry the Resolution into execution and it can bear no other construction. If on the second reading you choose your letter should be read in Congress, it shall be done without delay.

I have the honour to be with great respect, Dear Sir, your very humble servant,  
 Elias Boudinot

P.S. You may depend on Congress having been perfectly satisfied with your conduct.

Tr (DLC: St. Clair Papers, Peter Force Collection).

<sup>1</sup> A transcript of St. Clair's July 8 letter is in the Force Collection, DLC.

<sup>2</sup> St. Clair was the commanding officer of the Pennsylvania Line, and was upset that responsibility for conducting the investigation of the Pennsylvania mutiny had been conferred on Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, for which see Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 8, 1783. For the effort that was being made to placate St. Clair, see the following entry. As no mention of this matter has been found in the journals or the PCC, the effort appears to have been successful.

## Thomas FitzSimons to Arthur St. Clair

Dear sir,

Princeton 9 July 1783.

The president put into my hands a letter which he received from you: which I Confess gives me some pain—as I can clearly perceive by it your feelings have been hurt by the transaction to which it alludes.<sup>1</sup> As I was not in Congress when the Instructions to Genl Howe was agreed to I Can only Judge by reading of them & the Explanation of some of the Members of their intention.<sup>2</sup> Upon that View it appears clearly to me that Congress Cautiously avoided giving you the Smallest Occasion of Complaint, on the Contrary that they wished to have it in your power to Act or not as should be most Agreeable to You. The Concurrent testimony of several Members Confirms me in this opinion & I do believe the obvious Construction of the Instructions will (upon farther Examination) warrant it. Under this Idea I have ventured to advise that yr letter should not be read in Congress till this Matter was Explained to you & the Presidt has been so obliging as to promise he would undertake that task. If after he has done so you Continue of the same opinions, You will have a Right to represent it in any terms you think proper. In the Mean time I hope you will believe I have no other View—than to prevent what appears to me to be Improper & that no friend you have would sooner resent any thing that had the Appearance of a reflection on you as I Sincerely believe you never will Justly deserve one. I shall be in town on Saturday & am with regard, Dr sir, Yr Mo hble servt,  
 Thos FitzSimons

RC (O: St. Clair Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For St. Clair's letter to President Elias Boudinot, see the preceding entry.

<sup>2</sup> For the nature of this "Explanation," see Richard Peters to FitzSimons, July 8, note 2.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson

Princeton July 9. 1783

We have the honor to Acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 5th and to transmitt herewith the papers you require.

The paragraph you are pleased to particularise in the report of the Committee appears to want precision & to be Capable of a Construction which we really believe was not Intended. We will move such an Amendment as will better Express the fact & what we conceive to be the Intention of the Committee & we have not the Smallest doubt but Congress will Agree it.<sup>1</sup> If there are any other papers that Council may think necessary they will please to Signify their pleasure to us & we shall think it our duty to procure them & to Communicate every Material transaction that Occurs during our Attendance here. We are with Great respect, yr Excellys Most hble servts,

Thos FitzSimons

John Montgomery

RC (NN: United States Congress Collection). Written by FitzSimons and signed by FitzSimons and Montgomery.

<sup>1</sup> Dickinson had complained about the report on the Philadelphia mutiny adopted by Congress on July 1, which had been written by Alexander Hamilton for the committee appointed on June 19 to confer with the Pennsylvania Council on the threat posed by the mutineers. For the passage at issue, which was brought to the attention of Congress on July 10, see *JCC*, 24:417, 429–30. For Congress' adoption the following day of a resolution clarifying the meaning of the passage objected to, see *ibid.*, pp. 432–33.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Princeton, July 10th, 1783.

I should have acknowledged the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> of June by Jesse Brown, of whom I received it, on his return, but he made no stay here. He will have informed your Excellency of the adjournment of Congress to this place. They were prevented going on with business at Philadelphia by a mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, of about 500 men, who had formed there under a board of Sergeants for a redress of grievancies, & taken the command of the City & magazine, & once proceeded so far as, with fixed bayonets, to surround the State house in which Congress & the Council of the State were sitting—threatning destruction if their demands were not complied with in 20 minutes. Some officers of a higher rank, as was then supposed & since appears, were at the bottom of the business, two of which are fled. Congress by a Committee, whose report is here-

with inclosed, called on President Dickinson & his Council to turn out their militia & suppress the mutiny; but they had not spirit or power enough to do it, or did not think it necessary. After waiting in this situation some days, & appearances of menace & further violence still continuing, Congress judged it expedient to adjourn to this place, which they did on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June. Expecting at the same time, that their removal out of the reach of the mutineers, with its being known that a detachment of eastern troops was ordered from the main army, might, by convincing them they were to expect coercion instead of compliance, disconcert & disperse them. The expectation was in some measure answered. The detachment from the army is notwithstanding gone forward to disarm such of the mutineers as may not have dispersed, & to bring to trial such of the principal actors as can be apprehended; & also to prevent further disorders upon the arrival of the rest of the Pennsylvania line from the southward. How long Congress will remain here is uncertain. They will hardly return to Philadelphia without some assurances of protection, or even then with intention to stay longer than till accommodations shall be elsewhere prepared for a fixed residence. But, Sir, it will soon be of very little consequence where Congress go, if they are not made respectable as well as responsible, which can never be done without giving them a power to perform engagements as well as make them. It was indeed intended to have given them this power in the Confederation, by declaring their contracts & requisition for the common defence, sacredly binding on the States; but in practice it amounts to nothing. Most of the States recognize those contracts & comply with the requisitions so far only as suits their particular opinion & convenience; & they are the more disposed at present to go on in this way from the inequalities it has already produced, & a mistaken idea that the danger is over; not duly reflecting on the calamities of a disunion & anarchy, or their rapid approach to such a State. There must, Sir, be a revenue some how established that can be relied on & applied for national purposes as the exigencies arise, independant of the will or views of a single State, or it will be impossible to support national faith or national existence. The powers of Congress should be defined, but their means must be adequate to the purposes of their institutions. It is possible there may be abuses & misapplications—still it is better to hazard something than to hazard all.

I am glad to be informed, Sir, the two Mess<sup>rs</sup> Huntington will be here soon.<sup>1</sup> Business has been much delayed for the want of a sufficient representation.

We hear nothing official concerning the definitive treaty later than by a letter from Doctr Franklin of about the 20<sup>th</sup> of April.<sup>2</sup> It had been delayd by the tardiness of the Dutch, but more for the want of a british ministry; but was then going on. Mr Hartley, who had succeeded Mr Oswald, was very acceptable, &, as the Doctor adds, an old

acquaintance of his & a lover of peace. Accounts from New York say that an embarkation of the German troops is taking place & that the treaty is to be expected very soon. The commercial treaty with Sweden is arrived.<sup>3</sup> Denmark also desires one. The journals requested by your Excellency shall be sent.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, Your Excellency's obedt, Huml Servt.  
Oliver Ellsworth.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Benjamin and Samuel Huntington, who returned to Congress on July 29. *JCC*, 24:457.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Benjamin Franklin's April 15 letter to Robert R. Livingston, for which see Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin, June 24, 1783, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid*.

## Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock

Sir, Princeton 10th. July, 1783

We have the honor of inclosing, for information of your Excellency, a copy of the report of a committee of Congress representing the removal of Congress from Philada. to Princeton; and said report has been ordered, by them, to be entered on their Journals.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, in behalf of myself & Colleague, with great consideration, your Excellency's most obedt. servant;

S Holten

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written and signed by Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:413–21; and Oliver Ellsworth to Joseph Reed, July 1, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to John Dickinson

Sir, Friday July 11. 1783.

I called at your house but had not the pleasure of finding you at home.<sup>1</sup> The design of my calling was to suggest a sentiment & submit it to your Consideration. You know that the citizens are signing an Address to Congress. I am told it has been shewn to you and that you did not disapprove it. Might it not have a good effect, if the address were forwarded by Council, accompanied with something conciliatory from themselves. If you approve the hint and Council will adopt the measure, I think ways and means may be fallen on to induce the Citizens to forward their address in that channel. I shall be glad to be honoured with your sentiments & am with much respect, your friend & humble Servt,  
ChaThomson



RC (PPL: Logan-Dickinson Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Thomson had recently returned to Philadelphia.

## Elias Boudinot to Ministers Plenipotentiary

Gentlemen,

Princeton 15 July 1783

As Congress have not yet elected any Minister for Foreign Affairs, and knowing the importance of your Being fully informed of every public transaction relative to these States, I have concluded that you would not think it amiss to hear from me on the subject of the removal of Congress to this place, tho' I cannot consider this communication as official but merely for your information in my Individual capacity.

The State of our Finances making it indispensably necessary to abridge the public expences in every instance that would not endanger the union, we concluded to reduce the army by discharging all the Soldiers enlisted for the War, with a proportionate number of Officers, on condition that the discharge should operate no otherwise than as a furlough, until the ratification of the Definitive Treaty. This not only eased us of a heavy disbursement of ready Cash for subsistence money and Rations, but gratified many of the army who wished to be at home in the early part of the Summer, to provide for the following Winter. Three months pay was ordered, which could no otherwise be complied with, but by a paper anticipation of the Taxes, payable in six months.

By an inevitable accident, the Notes did not arrive at the army till six days after the Soldiers were discharged and had left the camp. This together with some difficulty in settling their accounts, created an uneasiness among the Troops; but by the General's Address and the good conduct of the Officers, they all retired peaceably to their different States, tho' without a single farthing of cash to buy themselves a meal of Victuals.

In the Barracks in Philadelphia and at Lancaster, in the State of Pennsylvania, there were a number of new Recruits, who had been enlisted since the months of December and January last, and who had not yet taken the field; these Soldiers having not been brought under any regular discipline, made many objections against accepting their discharges and gave their Officers reason to fear some difficulty in getting rid of them, but the Secretary at War thought he had satisfied them by assuring them of the like pay with the rest of the army. On the 15th of June<sup>1</sup> a petition was received from the Serjeants, requiring a Redress of their grievances, in a very turbulent and indecent Style, of which no notice was taken; but on the 18th we received the letters No. 1 and 2.<sup>2</sup> A Committee was immediately appointed to confer with the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and to endeavour to get them

to call out the Militia to stop the Mutineers; but to no purpose; the Council thinking that the Citizens would not choose to risque themselves when fair means might do. The first Report of the Committee, contained in No. 3<sup>3</sup> will shew their proceedings. On the 19th the troops arrived and joined those at the Barracks in the City, who had been encreased in number by a few companies of old Soldiers arrived the day before from Charles Town. The whole being very orderly and quiet, Congress adjourned on Friday the 20th, as usual, till Monday morning. On the 21st one of the Committee called on me and informed, that the Soldiers at the Barracks were very disorderly and had cast off the authority of their Officers—that it was suspected they had a design, the following night, against the Bank, and advised me to call Congress without delay. This I did, to meet in half an hour. The Soldiers by accident hearing of it, very fortunately hastened their designs a day or two sooner than was intended. The Members of Congress had just got together, except one, when the State House (in which also The President and Supreme Executive Council were then sitting) was surrounded by about three hundred armed Men with fixed Bayonets under the command of seven Serjeants. Congress immediately sent for Genl. St. Clair and demanded the reason of this hostile appearance, who informed of his having just arrived in Town from his seat in the Country in obedience to the orders of Congress of the day preceding; that he had received information from the Commanding officer of the mutinous disposition of the Troops, who had marched from the Barracks contrary to the orders of their officers; and that the Veteran Troops from Charles Town had been unwillingly forced into the measure. The President of the State then appeared, and produced the insolent paper of which No.4<sup>4</sup> is a copy, which had been sent into him by the Serjeants.

Congress determined they would enter on no deliberations while thus surrounded; but ordered Genl. St. Clair immediately to endeavour to march the Mutineers back to the Barracks by such means as were in his power.

After several prudent and wise measures, the General prevailed on the Serjeants to return to their Barracks, convincing them that if they were aggrieved they had a right to make it known in a decent manner, thro' any persons they might think proper to appoint. But previous to this, after waiting surrounded by this armed force for near three hours, Congress broke up and we passed thro' the files of the Mutineers without the least opposition, tho' at times before our adjournment, the Soldiers, many of whom were very drunk, threatened Congress by name.

The Mutineers had taken possession of the powder House and several public Arsenals in this City, with some Field pieces from the public yard.

In the evening Congress met and made a House and came to the resolutions contained in No. 5<sup>5</sup> and broke up without adjournment. The Committee not being able to meet the Council till Sunday morning were then prevailed on to wait for an answer till Monday morning and then received the answer contained in the 2d Report No. 6.<sup>6</sup> However hoping that the Council would change their sentiments, the Committee did not think proper to give me their advice till Tuesday at two O'Clock in the Afternoon. In the mean time the Mutineers kept in arms, refusing all obedience to their Officers, and in possession of the powder House and Magazines of Military Stores. On Tuesday morning the Officers reported to me that the preceding evening the Serjeants, notwithstanding some talk of a submission and return to their duty, had presented six officers with a commission each as on No. 7;<sup>7</sup> and on one refusing to accept it they threatened him with immediate death—and that, at the time of the Report, they were getting very drunk and in a very riotous state. By the second Report of the Committee you will be acquainted with the particulars of the transaction, with the addition that the behaviour of the six Officers was very mysterious and unaccountable. At two O'Clock agreeably to the advice of the Committee, I summoned Congress to meet at this place on Thursday the 26th of June; issued the Proclamation No. 8<sup>8</sup> and left the City.

As soon as it was known that Congress was going, the Council were informed, that there was great reason to expect a serious attack on the Bank the night following, on which the President of the State collected about One hundred Soldiers and kept Guard all night. On Wednesday it was reported that Congress had sent for the Commander in Chief with the whole Northern Army; and the Militia of New-Jersey, who were to be joined by the Pennsylvania Militia, in order to quell the meeting; which was no otherwise true than ordering a detachment of a few hundred men from the North River. The Serjeants being alarmed, soon proposed a submission, and the whole came in a Body to the President of the State, making a most submissive acknowledgement of their misconduct, and charging the whole on two of the Officers, whom they had commissioned to represent their grievances, A Capt. Carbery and Lieutenant Sullivan, who were to have headed them, as soon as they should have proceeded to violences. These Officers immediately escaped to Chester and there got on board of a Vessel bound to London. The Serjeants describe the plan laid by these Officers as of the most irrational and diabolical nature, not only against Congress and the Council, but also against the City and Bank. They were to be joined by straggling parties from different parts of the Country, and after executing their horrid purposes were to have gone off with their plunder to the East Indies. However incredible this may appear the letters No. 9 & 10<sup>9</sup> from Sullivan to Colo. Moyland, his

Commanding Officer, from Chester and the Capes clearly shew that it was a deep laid scheme. It appears clearly to me that next to the continued care of divine Providence, the miscarriage of this plan is owing to the unexpected meeting of Congress on Saturday, and their decided conduct in leaving the City, until they could support the federal Government with dignity.

It is also said that two of the Citizens have been concerned in this wicked plot, but they are not yet ascertained. They were certainly encouraged by some of the lower class as well as by the general supineness in not quelling the first movement. Some very suspicious circumstances attending the conduct of the other four Officers, who were commissioned by the Serjeants have caused them to be arrested. The whole matter has so far subsided. The detachment under Genl. Howe from the Northern Army has arrived in the vicinity of the City and a Court of enquiry is endeavouring to develope the whole affair.

The Citizens are greatly chagrined at the predicament in which they stand and endeavour to lay the blame on the Council for not calling on them and proving them, while the Council justify themselves by the advice of the Militia officers, whom they called together for that purpose. The Citizens are universally petitioning Congress to return to the City, assuring us of their constant protection.

You will excuse me for tiring you with so circumstantial an account, which nothing but the necessity of preventing the many falsehoods that are generally propagated on these occasions and the propriety of your being well informed, would ever have justified me in.

I do myself the honor to send herewith the Newspapers, and particularly a Circular Letter of Genl. Washington to the different States,<sup>10</sup> which in my opinion gives the finishing stroke to his inimitable Character.

I have committed this letter to the care of my younger Brother, who is bound for London, having been in the Merchant service at that port for several years, but who, I have the best evidence is well attached to the interests of this Country, and who can inform you of many particulars relating to the State of things here.

I have the honor to be &c.

E.B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "The Honorable The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States &c. at Paris."

<sup>1</sup> Actually June 13.

<sup>2</sup> At this point the following note appears in the margin: "letters from Colo. Butler & Colo. Henry, on the files of Congress." These and the following enclosures (Nos. 1-10) have been printed with Boudinot's letter in *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-89*, 1:6-29.

<sup>3</sup> The following note appears in the margin: "See Journals of Congress July 1, 1783." JCC, 24:413-15.

<sup>4</sup> In the margin: "Message to Council by the Serjeants."

<sup>5</sup> In the margin: "Resolutions of Sat. 21 June."

<sup>6</sup> In the margin: "See Journals July 1." JCC, 24:416-21.

<sup>7</sup> In the margin: "See files of Congress."

<sup>8</sup> In the margin: "See page 47, this Book," for which see Boudinot's Proclamation, June 24, 1783.

<sup>9</sup> In the margin: "See files of Congress." See also Boudinot's first letter to Washington of July 8, note 2.

<sup>10</sup> See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:483-96.

## Samuel Holten to John Swanwick

Dear Sir.<sup>1</sup>

Princeton 15th July 1783.

I have been favor'd with your kind attention of the 4th instant.

Your favorable opinion of me from a short acquaintance is highly flattering, & lays me under obligations, which it is not in my power to return, unless you will be pleased to accept the like address, which I Sincerely offer.

I am sorry to see some publications in your newspapers from Philada. respecting the removal of Congress, they will answer no valuable purpose, for Congress have ordered no publication upon the matter, & I trust never will, they only ordered the report of their committee to be entered on their Journals, & that was done even without a debate; it might be agreeable to some individuals to get Congress into a dispute with the state of Pennsyla. but I believe they will be disappointed.

You will please to accept my thanks for your engagement to honor my notes, which the bearer will present:

I am with particular respect, your most obedient

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> John Swanwick (1740-98), a long time employee of Robert Morris, was cashier of the Office of Finance and receiver of Continental taxes in Pennsylvania, and became a partner in the firm of Willing & Morris in September 1783. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:8n.1.

## Samuel Holten to Winslow Warren

Dear Sir.

Princeton 15th July 1783.

I have been favor'd with your attention of the 2d instant, & have observed the contents, your submitting to my consideration the inclosed directed to the President lays me under obligations; I have deliver'd the same, as I cou'd not have the least objection, & it has been read in Congress, & filed, & will be attended to when the appointments for the places you are pleas'd to mention comes under consideration;<sup>1</sup> If it shou'd be in my power to render you farther services it will give me pleasure.

I am, with particular respect, your most obedient



FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Winslow Warren, son of James Warren, had written a July 2 letter to Pres. Elias Boudinot, which was read in Congress on July 8, offering himself as a candidate for the post of consul in Portugal. See *JCC*, 24:428n.1; and PCC, item 78, 24:399–402. See also Arthur Lee to James Warren, August 13, 1783.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My Dear Sir

Philada. July 15. 1783.

Yesterdays post brought me no letter from you. The Contents of the inclosed paper make up every thing of consequence which I have for a subject at present. The enquiry into the Mutiny has not advanced far enough to bring forth any discoveries. An Address is circulating & will be generally signed by the Citizens here reciting to Congress the proofs they have heretofore given of attachmt. to the foederal govt. professing a continuance of that attachmt. and declaring their readiness to support the dignity & privileges of Congs. in case the conveniency of this place for transacting the public affairs sd. give it a preference to others untill a final residence shall be fixed.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Lee arrived here the day before yesterday and goes to Princeton today.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mercer's indisposition, carries him to the Sea board of N. Jersey. My absence not producing any chasm in the Representation, and some private business requiring my stay here, I shall not return to Princeton for 7 or 8 days.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:225.

<sup>1</sup> For this "Address of the Citizens of Philadelphia," which was submitted to Congress on July 23, see Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Lee took his seat in Congress on July 16. See *JCC*, 24:435.

## Richard Peters to Oliver Wolcott

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 15, 1783

I recieved your Letter of the 1st inst. I will procure a Search to be made for the Papers<sup>1</sup> in the Secretary's Office as I was sure of there being there but was always told the contrary.

I am so much used to such Accounts of the Backwardness of the States to comply with confederal Plans of Finance that I am not surprized at the Intelligence you are pleased to communicate. Some

great Calamity must happen before we get right. What this will be must be left to *Time & Chance* which seem to regulate the Affairs of Mankind as much in our Days as in those of Solomon. You are right in your Conjectures that Congress are distressed beyond Measure for Want of Money. I am the more distressed because I see little Prospect that the States will be inclined to establish any Plan by which they will ever have any. Each State thinks it has done the most. Each endeavours by Refusals of general Plans to obtain what they think is particular Justice in its own Case. It is presumed that by holding their Hands they can produce a Necessity in Congress of meeting their particular Wishes. But this Point will be pushed I fear 'till the Band is broken & then we shall be at Sea again. It is most assuredly just that something ought to be done for the Relief of those States who have been compelled to make large Advances on Account of their particular Exposure to the Enemy. I am sure this is so reasonable that it must be done one Day or other. But in the mean Time why should our national Faith be suffered to expire and the Individuals to whom the Union are Debtors be reduced to the Extremities of Distress? Would it not be odd that if 13 private persons should enter into a Partnership & become largely indebted that they should refuse their Creditors Payment because the Partners differed with one another about the Accounts of the Partnership? I wish the greater States would have the Magnanimity to be the first in their Exertions to strengthen the Union because then the little ones would be obliged to strike in for their own Security; For what is to keep the great States from destroying the lesser ones but a strong federal Constitution? I write to you thus freely because I know you have liberal Opinions on the Subject & I am sure that I have Nothing more at Heart than that we should be forever united on the solid Principles of general Advantage & that Justice & Good Faith should be the leading Features in our System. I can speak without Biass on this Subject for it will injure me very little if the public never pay me a Farthing of what small Part of my Property they have in their Hands. But we shall be despised abroad & convulsed at Home if something is not speedily done to support our tottering Union. Distractions will prevail among us & we shall fall a Prey either to domestic Ambition or foreign Invasion. But I hope the good Sense of the People will avert these Evils finally & if in the mean Time Providence permits us to undergo some Chastisements we should not complain because it was in our Power to have prevented them.

I am with very sincere Esteem, your obedt Servant,

Richard Peters

RC (CtHi: Wolcott Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. Wolcott had returned home to Connecticut in April after seven years service in Congress.

## James McHenry to John Caldwell

Princetown 16th July 1783

I informed, my dear Jack, of the situation of my heart before I left Philadelphia, and that your sister seemed disposed to favor my hopes. It is necessary that I should conceal nothing from you. Our interviews after this served but to increase my affection, and convince me that if I could not be happy with her I could be happy with no other woman. There is a charm in her reserved sensibility more pleasing than even beauty itself, while the delicacy and justness of her sense gives new force to her personal attractions. I now see before me a sure prospect of rest, and of uncommon felicity in the tenderest connection. And what heightens my hopes on the occasion, and, endears her to me the more, is, that she has not been biassed in her choice by either friends or relations. Congratulate me, embrace me, and anticipate with me, the day that will permit me to add to the cordial name of friend, the affectionate epithet of brother. My Jack, I am at this instant happy, and I trust that neither my present or future happiness will tend to diminish a friendship which has been growing more interesting even since our early acquaintance. I will offer no excuse for making you the medium of the inclosed letter.<sup>1</sup> Nor will you think it improper in your sister to write to one who has pledged himself never to be anothers. When you are as much in love as I am, and are loved in your turn, you will find a pleasure in writing to your mistress and in receiving from her a letter which till then you cannot experience, and which I cannot describe, but which I mention to induce you to facilitate a measure so essential to lighten the heavy hours of absence. One thing more. I do not trust this letter to the Stage-box, and I wish you to use a similar precaution as it would hurt your sisters feelings should any accident happen to our correspondence.

Adieu my dear friend,

James McHenry<sup>2</sup>

RC (MdHi: McHenry Papers). Addressed: "John Caldwell Esquire, at Capn. William Alisons between Chesnut and Walnut Streets in front Street, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> The following July 15 letter to Caldwell's sister, Margaret (1762–1833), his "charmer" Peggy, began an affectionate, nearly obsessive, six-month correspondence and courtship that culminated in their marriage in January 1784. During that period Peggy, the only surviving daughter of David Caldwell, a Philadelphia merchant, received dozens of letters from McHenry written while he served in Congress in Princeton and Annapolis. Of the more than forty surviving letters in the McHenry Papers, MdHi, five are printed or abstracted in this volume and more than a dozen in the succeeding one. Some are printed, in whole or in part, in Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co., 1907).

"When I retired from the presence of my dear Peggy, the disquieting idea of not seeing her again for some time, became more powerful than the pleasure I had just experienced. The hour you had given to my affection, and endeared by your delicate sensibility, served but to make me more conscious to the approaching separation. I was going, it was true, only to Princetown, but the obstacles to a return far exceeded the distance,



James McHenry

and that alone was sufficient to excite reflexions inexpressibly painful. Well aware that you would not wish me to be accused of levity in business, or suffer me to be suspected of preferring even the gratification of my heart, to the interests of my country, I said to myself—a public station is an enemy to peace, and there is no happiness but in the arms of my Peggy; I will therefore renounce its vain consequence to others; I will overcome my fears, and speak to her parents to-morrow; she shall be mine, and the rest of the world may belong to the disciples of folly or the dupes of ambition. An instant, however, told me, that to please you, I must not desert the station in which I had been placed, and incur a public censure, but relying on the promise you had made to sweeten absence with an intercourse of letters, forbear to be precipitate, or to hurry you into a new condition of life, before I could render it agreeable to the sole guardian of my fate. Thus my amiable and beloved charmer, I felt, and I thought, till the appearance of the punctual Day informed me it was time to commence my journey. I stole softly to your room door, and gently kissed it, and prayed that your slumbers might be light, and your hours tranquil till I again lost my speech in looking at my Peggy, and again felt from her head tenderly reclined on my arm, more substantial pleasure, than a monarch experiences when first seated on his throne, or a conqueror enjoys, in the moment of his victories.

“Ah! my dear Peggy, till then, enliven the dull drudgery I must be engaged in by your cordial letters. You are too sensible, after my plighted faith, to think writing to me improper; and I am too much interested in whatever you do, to require, what if done, would diminish my regard. Will my Peggy too, penetrate the disposition of her mother respecting my passion, and hasten to remove a suspense which she must know is insufferably distressing. Let me but read your letters and have ease on this point, and I shall count the hours of absence as only interposed to heighten the happiness that awaits my return. Adieu my dear and beloved Peggy, and believe me unchangeably yours, James McHenry.

“This is tuesday night, but as I cannot trust a letter to my Peggy in the common Stage box, I must keep it for a conveyance to which I can confide a name so very dear to my present and future felicity. Your brother will give it to you.” Steiner, *Correspondence of James McHenry*, pp. 59–60; and *McHenry Papers*, MdHi.

<sup>2</sup> The following note, apparently in Caldwell's hand, appears just below McHenry's signature, and indicates that Jack could not resist the temptation of showing this letter to Peggy.

“You will at my request return this in the morning—and give no intimation of your seeing it. Sorry I am to thus produce proofs of my knowledge of your Affairs—to authorize my writing on them.”

## James Madison to John Francis Mercer

Dr Sir

Philada. July 16 1783

The lucky arrival of our brother Lee who is gone on to Princeton has relieved me from the necessity of obeying your summons by Mr. Hawkins.<sup>1</sup> You will not therefore expect any Congressional news by this conveyance.

A letter by the post from Mr. Ambler repeats his request that warrants in form may be sent by all the Delegates for the amount of their respective shares of his remittances. He adds that two bills one for £500, the other for upwards of £600 Va. Curry. have unexpectedly come into the Treasy. & that the Delegates may have the benefit of the good fortune by authorizing their friends in Va. to take out warrants for such



proportions of one or both as they may settle among themselves. This is the best and indeed the only news contained in my letters.

The Ct. Martial being not yet opened for enquir[i]ng into the Mutiny, I can say nothing on that head. The Address from the Philadns. to Congress is likely to meet with a very general subscription. They seem to calculate with much assurance on its efficacy. I send you all the Newspaper[s] of this morning. Those from Va. contain nothing that requires that they sh. be superadded. Wishing you a speedy redemption from the Muskettoes of Black point and refitment for your political functions,<sup>3</sup> I bid you for the present adieu.

Done in bed in my Chamber in the Hotel at the Corner of Market & 5 Streets in the City of Philada. at ½ after 6 oClock, on the 16 of July annoque Dom. 1783.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (PHi: Etting, Washingtoniana). Addressed: "The Honorable J. F. Mercer, Black Point, N. Jersey." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:228.

<sup>1</sup> For Arthur Lee's arrival, see Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 15, note 2. It is not known whether Benjamin Hawkins, a North Carolina delegate, had written to Madison from Princeton or personally delivered Mercer's request in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> For Jacquelin Ambler's request of June 14, which he repeated on July 5, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:142-43, 209-10.

<sup>3</sup> Mercer had gone to Black Point, N.J., near the coast in Monmouth County, for recovery from an "indisposition."

## Richard Peters to John Dickinson

Sir

Princeton July 16. 1783

The Letters with which the Delegates were honoured respecting the further Proceedings relative to the Mutineers were duly recieved & the Enclosures communicated to Congress.<sup>1</sup> Your Excellency's Explanation of your Conduct in opposition to the Misrepresentations contained in Serjeant Nagle's Deposition has also been laid before Congress.<sup>2</sup> The Papers your Excellency wishes to have furnished cannot be found at present in the Secretary's Office. A further Search will be made & if more successful the Papers shall be sent. It is presumed Council have the Originals of which it is concieved only Copies were transmitted.

I have the Honour to be, with great Respect & Esteem, your very obedt Servant,

Richard Peters<sup>3</sup>

RC (PHarH: Record Group 27).

<sup>1</sup> These documents cannot be identified, but a July 14 letter from Dickinson to Congress recommending pardon for the Pennsylvania mutineers, which was referred to committee on July 18, is in PCC, item 38, fols. 151-52.

<sup>2</sup> No "Deposition" of Sgt. Christian Nagle or "Explanation" from Dickinson is in PCC, but for the depositions of Benjamin Spyker, Nicholas Brosius, and John Snell concern-

ing Nagle's rhetoric and conduct during the mutiny, see PCC, item 38, fols. 57–63. For additional documents concerning Nagle's arrest, trial, and pardon, see *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:63, 67, 69; *JCC*, 24:509–10, 517n, 25:564–66; and Boudinot to Robert Howe, September 13, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Pennsylvania delegate James Wilson also wrote the following brief, cryptic note to Tench Coxe this day. "I am just going to Princeton; but will return on Saturday or Sunday next; and will then adjust the Matter you mention." Coxe Papers, PHi. This is the only evidence that has been found to indicate that Wilson was in Princeton during July. That he attended for a time in August and September is clear from the journals (*JCC*, 24:493, 505, 507, 509, 25:537), although in Burnett, *Letters*, 7:lxix, he is not recorded as attending in Princeton until October 6.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton 17th July 1783

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favour relative to the promotions in General Hazen's Regiment,<sup>1</sup> which was referred to the Secretary at War to report. The Assistant Secretary has accordingly reported,<sup>2</sup> that there is no record of any such promotions in his Office. I informed Congress how the matter stood, but they chose to have an official report from the Secretary. The fact is that some time last April Genl. Hazen brought a number of Commissions promoting the Officers of his Regiment for me to sign; but finding a Report of a Committee of some Months' standing relative to the reduction of this Regiment, and that it had been referred to the Secretary at War to report and was then under consideration, I did not choose to sign them without mentioning the matter in Congress. This I did and was directed by Congress not to sign them till further orders. A Committee was then appointed to consider this matter, who conferred, I believe, with Genl. Hazen and reported, and it is now under consideration. I mentioned this matter to General Hazen in April and assigned the order of Congress as the reason for my not signing them. The Commissions yet remain with me.

I also received and laid before Congress your Excellency's favour relative to the Commissioners in New York.<sup>3</sup> Yesterday Congress came to the Resolution, a copy whereof is enclosed<sup>4</sup>—But failing to make a House this morning by the sickness of one of the Members, it could not be read the second time so as to be compleat. However as I did not choose to miss the post, I have enclosed a copy that you may be apprised of it. It will be liable to an alteration in the diction tomorrow, tho' from the unanimity of Congress, I think no alteration will be made.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect consideration and esteem, Your Excellency's Obedient & very humb. Serv,

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> This July 5 letter is in PCC, item 152, 11:397–400; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:45–46.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of William Jackson's July 14 letter to Boudinot (PCC, item 149, 3:69), is in the Washington Papers, DLC.

<sup>3</sup> This June 23 letter is in PCC, item 152, 11:345–48, and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:27–28.

<sup>4</sup> For Congress' July 16 resolve instructing Washington "to recall the commissioners who have been appointed to superintend the embarkations at New York, unless some change of circumstances shall have occurred," see *JCC*, 24:436.

## Samuel Holten to William Gordon

Dear sir. Princeton, State of New Jersey 17th July 1783.

I have been favor'd with your attention of the 25th ultimo.

While Congress are recommendg. & the states deliberating, I fear our national character will greatly suffer, & the public creditors remain unpaid.

The delegates from Mastts. have been informed by the Court of the situation of the soldiers that have returnd. to our state, and they have procured an inquiry to be made of the financier respecting the same.

The Constitution as well as the confederation must be carefully attended to, or I perceive we shall soon be in great difficulties, as a people.

I am sorry to hear the Governor is unwell; the accounts you are pleased to mention should have been settled long since; & I make no doubt but you have discharged your duty.

Our *worthy* friend Dr. Witherspoon got home safe, & has made me a visit, & informd. me of your welfare.

Before this comes to hand you will have heard of the removal of Congress from Phila. to Princeton; for a more particular acct. of this disagreeable affair, I must ask leave to refer you to the inclosed newspaper, where you will find the reports of a committee of Congress upon the subject; & I assure you, sir, our situation was not *very* agreeable, for some hours, while we were surrounded by about 300 armed men, & guards placed at our doors, & from *every* appearance the soldiers seemed to be prepared for the worst purposes. I understand there is an address to Congress signing by the citizens of Philada. requesting their return but what an effect it will have is uncertain; the people of New Jersey take great pains to make the situation of Congress agreeable.

Our friend Dr. Lee returned yesterday to Congress. I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient.

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

## Samuel Holten to David Sewall

Dear Sir.

Princeton, State of N. Jersey, 17th July 1783.

I have receiv'd the letter you did me the honor to write, the 13th. ultimo.

It will always give me pleasure to communicate information to you, respecting our national affairs, but I consider it unnecessary, at this time, to comply with your request, respecting our public debt, on the state of our Finances, as I have lately been favored with the perusal of a letter from you to my Colleague,<sup>1</sup> wherein you acknowledge the receipt of a pamphlet which contains a particular account of our national debt, & a Genl state of our finances,<sup>2</sup> to which I must beg leave to refer you, & shall make no observations upon them, as they speak themselves.

It is not for me to say, "what is to become of old continental"; much time has been taken up [on] this matter & it now lays before Congress as the order of the day, but can't be acted upon 'till nine states are represented in Congress; there has not been that number present for a length of time, which causes great delay of public business; the committee that had it under consideration reported that it should be redeemed at 75 for one, but that was not agreed to by Congress, and I consider it very uncertain what will be their next resolution upon this subject, but you may be assured that the delegates from Mass'tts. are not inattentive to the same.

It gives one concern to hear that bread corn is so dear with you it is plenty in Philadelphia & the crops *very* fine.

I am sorry to find that the good people are determining at this time about the Refugees & Absentees, as Congress no doubt, will make the definitive treaty the rule of their conduct, & I agree with you, respecting numbers that have left us.

I expect that before this comes to hand you will have heard of the removal of Congress from Philada. to Princeton, for a more particular account of this matter, I must ask leave to refer you to the inclosed newspaper where you will find the report of a committee of Congress upon the subject, & Congress have ordered it to be entered upon their Journals; I assure you sir, our situation was disagreeable, for some reasons, while we were surrounded by about 300 armed men, and guards placed at our doors, & from *every* appearance the soldiers seem'd to be prepared for the worst purposes.

Congress sit in the College in this place and are much better accommodated than I expected, & the people take great pains to make our situation agreeable; Congress have assigned a day in Octr. next to determine upon the place of their permanent abode; some of the states, namely, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, & New York, have made great offers to Congress to settle with them & the several states

are apprised of the same that they may instruct their members if they think proper.

The definitive treaty is not yet come to hand, but I think it may be expected in a short time.

I am, with perfect respect, your most obedient.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Stephen Higginson.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the *Address and Recommendations to the States by The United States in Congress Assembled*, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, note 1.

## Eleazer McComb to Elias Boudinot

Sir,

Philadelphia 17th July 1783

I dined yesterday at Bristol in company with a Mr. Richardson of Chester, who informed me that it was to his house Carberry & Sullivan came when they fled from this City, (Carberry being an old acquaintance of his.)<sup>1</sup> That they made him acquainted with their Situation, and told him they put their lives in his hands, and that he must Shelter them 'till they could make their escape. That he informed them of a British ship, outward bound, then lying in the river, and, at their desire, went on board and applied for a passage for them. That the Captain informed him the Births were taken up, and he could not receive them unless the passengers consented. That no objections being made, the two men left his house and went on board about 12 o'Clock in the night of the same day they came down. He informed me they came on Horseback, and brought a black boy with them to take the Horses back.

Richardson gives Carberry a very good name, but says Sullivan talked in a strange way. That he took him to be in liquor. That he had a pair of loaded Pistols with him, and swore he never would be taken alive. That if it was attempted he would shoot somebody with one of the Pistols, and with the other blow his own brains out.

This is the best account I have heard of the escape of these men, and I communicate it to your Excellency, rather with a desire of satisfying you, as to the manner of it, than from an expectation that such information will be of use to the public. Richardson, who assisted them, does not seem conscious of having done wrong. How far he is culpable, by the laws of the State, I cannot undertake to say.

When I left Princeton, I was in a disposition to vote for returning here; but, after conversing with sundry Gentlemen, I am now convinced that it will be more for the honor of Congress to remain at their Country Seat at least 'till the last of August, when the Warm Weather will be over. The address of the Citizens is intituled to, and will



certainly receive, a polite Answer. I am, in haste, Sir, Your Excellency's  
most obt. humble Sevt.

E. McComb

RC (PHi: Society Collection).

<sup>1</sup> McComb's informant is identified as Maj. John Richardson in a letter of June 26 that Capt. Henry Carbery wrote to his mother, which is in PCC, item 38, fols. 79–80. Carbery and Lt. John Sullivan also explained to friends (to William Nicholas, in a letter of June 29, and to Stephen Moylan, in a letter of June 30, respectively), that they could be addressed in the future through Richardson's brother, Capt. Francis Richardson, "1st Regiment of Guards, London." Ibid., fols. 41–43, 233–35; and Elias Boudinot's first letter to Washington of July 8, note 2.

Sullivan's letter to Moylan, which was read in Congress on July 16, was also the subject of the following note Boudinot wrote to John Dickinson this day: "I have the honor to enclose for your Excellency's information, the copy of a letter I received yesterday from Colo. Moyland, directed to him from Lieutenant Sullivan." PCC, item 16, fol. 219.

And Boudinot also later sent Dickinson a copy of McComb's letter, minus the concluding paragraph, for which see Boudinot to Dickinson, July 26, 1783.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. July 17th. 1783.

Your two favors of the 1 & 17 of June, with the debates of Congress, the letter for Miss Floyd and the Cyphers inclosed in the former, and your amendments to the Constitution inclosed in the latter, have been duly recd. The latter came by yesterday's mail.<sup>1</sup> I feel too sensibly the value of these communications to omit my particular acknowledgments for them.

The usual reserve of our Ministers has kept us in entire suspence since my last with regard to the definitive Treaty and every thing else in Europe. The only incident produced in this interval has been that which removed Congress from this City to Princeton. I have selected the Newspaper which contains the Report of a Committee on that subject, from which you will collect the material information. Soon after the removal of Congs. the Mutineers surrendered their arms and impeached some of their officers, the two principal of whom have escaped to Sea. Genl. Howe with a detachment of Eastern troops is here and is instituting an enquiry into the whole plot, the object & scheme of which are as yet both involved in darkness. The Citizens of this place seem to disavow the alledged indisposition to exert force agst. insults offered to Congress, and are uniting in an address rehearsing the proofs which they [*have*] given of attachment to the foederal authority, professing a continuance of that attachment, and declaring the utmost readiness on every occasion, to support the dignity and privileges of Congs. if they sd. deem this place the fittest for transacting the public business until their permanent residence shall be fixed.<sup>2</sup> What effect this address backed by the scanty accomodations of

Princeton will have on Congress is uncertain. The prevailing disposition seemed to be that a return to their former residence as soon as the way shd. be decently opened would be prudent in order to prevent any inferences abroad of disaffection in the mass of so important a State to the revolution or the fœderal governmt. Others suppose that a freer choice among the Seats offered to Congress could be made here than in a place where the necessity of a speedy removal wd. give an undue advantage to the seat happening to be in greatest readiness to receive them. The Advocates for Anapolis appear to be sensible of the force of this consideration, and probably will if they can, detain Congs. in Princeton until a final choice be made. N. Jersey will probably be tempted to concur in the plan by the advantage expected from actual possession.<sup>3</sup> Other Members are extremely averse to a return to Placida. for various reasons.

I have been here during the week past engaged partly in some writing which, my papers being all here cd. not be so well done elsewhere, partly in some preparations for leaving Congress. The time of my setting out depends on some circumstances which in point of time are contingent. Mr. Lee arrived here two days ago and proceeds to day to Princeton. Mr. Mercer is gone to the Sea-board in N. Jersey for his health.<sup>4</sup> I shall probably return to Princeton next week, or sooner if I shd. have notice of any subject of consequence being taken up by Congress. Subjects of consequence, particularly a ratification of the Treaty with Sweeden have been long waiting on their table for 9 states.<sup>5</sup>

I am Dr. Sir Yr. sincere friend

J Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:229–30.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 103–4, 156–57.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 15, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, July 22, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Madison to John Francis Mercer, July 16, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> See Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin, June 24, note 2.

## James McHenry to William Hindman

My dear sir.<sup>1</sup>

Princetown 19 July 1783

How could you suppose that I had forgot you; but you must have been convinced, and have repented of the thought almost as soon as formed, or else my letter to you has miscarried. You have conjectured right; I have been very busy ever since the first day on which I crossed the threshold of Congress; and not the less so in consequence of being without a colleague. I have not however negle[c]ted paying a little court, to a little lady,<sup>2</sup> that you will not be displeased with when you see

and that I do not hate. This it is probable will operate against the increased attentions you recommend, unless the encreased charms of the fair one you discribe, should shake my fealty to the one I conceal. Now will you swear that I am in love; and swear that I am going to desert the order [of] batchelorhood, which I have acquired with so much honor and so few scars; and swear that it is criminal in me to marry out of Maryland; nay perhaps, swear for there is no saying where a man will stop swearing who enters heartily into it—that I should not marry at all—not one word of which shall I contradict were it only for the pleasure I sometimes take in pu[rsuing] whom I love.

To-day is an idle day being Saturday, besides several of our gentlemen having gone to Philada. we could have no Congress were we even inclined to hold one. No doubt you hear many sarcasms on our removal. It was said by a wag the other day that Congress at Princetown were like fish out of water, they could only live in Philadelphia. They might be more aptly compared, said another, taking him up short, to the whale, that every now and then is obliged to rise to the surface of the water; as Congress men go to Philadelphia, in order to suck in fresh air and spout a little. Notwithstanding such jokes I can assure you that the atmosphere of this place is very wholesome; but then some persons think it extremely distressing not to be suffocated with the smoke of four or five thousand chimnies and the dust raised by nearly as many thousand carts and carriages. Besides we have here an excellent concert on every tree, which one can enjoy without going to the door; but this is likewise thought a poor substitute for the bells that are incessantly tolling to bury the dead. The want of asiatic dinners is another grievous complaint, and not to be compensated by the hospitable tables of plain healthy farmers, who placed at a distance from two large cities are as yet exempt from the [corr]uptions of either. For my own part, I am [ver]y well satisfied with the good lamb, mutton, beef, fowls, hams, beans and cabbages which the country affords in great plenty. But there is another reason for my being pleased. I lodge about a mile from Princetown at a Mr Taylors where there happens to be on a visit a very pretty quaker lady, who makes tolerable verses. To this verse-making quality is added—bashfulness—youth—innocence—good sense—and good nature. You will think perhaps the people of the house as innocent as their visitor, inasmuch as they have taken the Lock off her room door and put it upon mine; although I cannot open mine without almost touching hers. But, sweet innocent! thou art not less safe than if thy door was bolted by iron bars of adamant and guarded by a dragon. Sleep therefore in peace and tranquil be thy slumber—for hadst thou no protector in thine own virtue—thou wouldst find one in my honor.

I hope this letter will convince you—that I have not taken much pains to write it—that I cannot tell you the price of cloth in Philad.—

that no definitive treaty has arrived—and the late mutiny of the troops—that there is no money in the treasury—and the proceedings of Congress with the executive of Pennsylvania—that they did right in moving from Philadelphia—And the offer of Virginia of Williamsburg for their residence and £100,000 to build hotels<sup>3</sup>—that it w[ill] be difficult to get them to Annapolis—and finally that there is not in the possession of Congress any news with which I could entertain a friend. Till therefore some occurs adieu, and beleive me sincerely yours,  
James McHenry

FC (MdHi: McHenry Papers). In the hand of James McHenry.

<sup>1</sup> William Hindman (1743–1822), a lawyer from Talbot Co. on Maryland's eastern shore, was serving with McHenry as a state senator and would join him as a delegate to Congress in 1785. See *Bio. Dict. of Md. Legis.*, 1:444–45.

<sup>2</sup> See McHenry to John Caldwell, July 16, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Virginia Assembly's June 28 offer of Williamsburg as the permanent residence of Congress had been read July 16. The offer entailed the use of "the Palace, the Capitol and all the public buildings and three hundred Acres of land adjoining the said city together with a Sum of money not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds this States Currency to be paid at five annual Installments and to be expended in erecting thirteen Hotels for the use of the Delegates in Congress." The assembly also proposed that Congress have jurisdiction over 25 square miles of land adjoining the city. The offer, which also included an alternate site on the Potomac River, was ordered to be copied and sent to the states. See *JCC*, 24:438n; *PCC*, item 46, fols. 55–58; and Elias Boudinot to the States, July 22, 1783.

## Stephen Higginson? to Unknown

July 21st [1783].

Massachusetts appears to be in a great fermentation. Parties run very high there, and violent measures are pursuing. The French Interest is united with the *Governor*. *Judge Sullivan* is their Leader, and 'tis well known to You that he will be stopp'd by no principle or consideration. The Commutation with the army, and the Refugee Articles in the Treaty are made use of to inflame the people. And it must be allowed the Instruments are well chosen, as no others could be used with equal Success.

The Chevalier had the first notice here of the *New Delegation*,<sup>1</sup> and discovers the highest Satisfaction with it, indeed he had no small share in producing it. He found it necessary to remove the men who thwarted his Designs. The same parties are united against J. Adams, and intend to run him down as soon as he arrives. Great Efforts are making to render him unpopular and the peace reprobated. The French have two points in view, to weaken us by internal Dissentions, and to prevent such a Conciliation with the British as may be the Ground of any future useful Connection with them. In all this their

Conduct is natural, and (for the Disciples of Machiavel) perfectly right. In pursuing their own Interest they must keep us as dependent as possible, and prevent as far as possible a harmony with Britain.

But how are *We* to conduct who know all this? and what shall we say to *those* among us who, to serve some private Ends, are leaguings with Foreigners against the Peace and Happiness of their Country? However, I have strong hopes that, being flush'd by their late Successes, they will be encouraged to take such large Strides as will alarm the people, and enable them to distinguish betwixt their Friends and their Foes. Under these Circumstances, I am loth to quit my Station, tho' solicited to it by every thing that is near to me.

I should have been very happy to have seen a British Envoy here of good Character and Abilities before I returned, to have possessed him of the true State of Politics, and the Charactors of the Actors on the political Stage. It appears to me *very important* to them and to us that one shou'd be here to counteract the French, who have now an exclusive Field. The latter have their Agents in all the large States, and thro' them have a great Influence even in our Assemblies. The Interest of America and Britain are so clearly one in my mind, that their joint Efforts should be exerted in opposition to the French. Without this, there is great Danger that, thro' the medium of unprincipled Individuals in the States, the Interest of America and Britain will be highly injured. I should not therefore hesitate at taking an active part in concert with them, so far as our Interest and theirs should coincide.<sup>2</sup>

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 110:205–10; and P.R.O. 30/55 [Carleton, or British Headquarters, Papers], No. 8492). For the authorship of this extract and its transmittal by Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North, see the document note at Higginson to Unknown, April 1783.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the French minister La Luzerne had been the first to learn of the election of June 28, which resulted in a clean sweep of the old delegation of Higginson, Nathaniel Gorham, and Samuel Holten, for which see Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> For similar expressions of this sentiment, see Higginson's letters to Theophilus Parsons of April 7–10<sup>2</sup>, and to Nathaniel Gorham of August 5, 1783.

## Arthur Lee to St. George Tucker

Dear Sir.

Philadelphia July 21st 1783

Mr. David Ross has a Note of hand for some money I lent in France to a Capt. Taylor decd. His Executor has repeatedly promised payment, but never performd. I therefore suppose it will be necessary to have recourse to legal means for obtaining it. Be so good as to ask Mr. Ross for the note, & if the Executor will not pay it in a reasonable



time, you will oblige me by taking such legal measures as may compel him. I Enclose you a Note for a small Sum long due from Capt. Wm. Green, son of Col. Green, the payment of which I beg you will obtain.

Congress are yet at Princeton. The Citizens here are signing an Address intended to effect their return to this City. As Mr. Robert Morris's undue & wicked influence depends so much upon the residence here, it is presumed that he will use his utmost authority for that purpose. But his influence has manifestly diminished since the removal from Philadelphia, & the fixing of Congress in any other place will I hope restrain it within due bounds. It is much suspected that he & his friends have been the prime movers of all the disturbances in the Army, for the purpose of enforcing the 5 per Ct. in the shape most parental of a corrupt influence in Congress of which he with reason expected to be the prime Minister. Naturally, I conceive, the Soldiers, had they not been otherwise tutored, would have made their attempt upon him, as it is notorious that all the funds of the U.S. are in his hands.

Potomac & Delaware are the Competitors for the permanent residence of Congress. The offer of jurisdiction in two States, is, in reason, a very strong circumstance in favor of Potomac.<sup>1</sup> But unhappily reason very rarely governs in these decisions. No account of the definitive treaty. Adieu

RC (ViW: Tucker-Coleman Papers). In Lee's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, April 10, note 3; and James McHenry to William Hindman, July 19, 1783, note 3.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. July 21. 1783.

This will serve merely to prevent a chasm in my correspondence, having nothing whatever of consequence to make a subject of it. We hear nothing from our Ministers abroad. The Court Martial on the parties to the late Mutiny have come to no decisions as yet. The Address from this City to Congress is I believe gone up pretty generally signed. My next will probably communicate the result of it. Among other conciliating steps they have by voluntary subscriptions given a very splendid & cordial entertainment to the Officers of the detachment under Genl. Howe.<sup>1</sup> The Legislature of Massachusetts have in their election for the ensuing year left out all their Delegates now in Congs. as a penalty for their concurrence in the provision lately adopted relative to half pay.<sup>2</sup> Yr. favr. by the post is this moment handed to me.<sup>3</sup> I am on the point of setting off for Princeton to replace Col. Bland whose business keeps him here for a few days. Farewell.

J.M.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:242.

<sup>1</sup> Pres. John Dickinson had hosted an "elegant entertainment" at the State House on July 18 which is described in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 21 and the *Gazette* and the *Journal* of July 23, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Stephen Higginson to Unknown, this date, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:220–21.

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir, Circular. Princeton 22d July 1783

Since my letter of the 10th ult. enclosing the propositions of the States of New-York and Maryland to induce Congress to fix their permanent residence in one of those States<sup>1</sup>—propositions from the States of New-Jersey and Virginia, for a like purpose, have been received;<sup>2</sup> copies of which I do myself the honor of enclosing for the information of your Excellency, and beg leave to remind you, that the period assigned by Congress for the determination on this subject, is the first Monday in October next.

I have the honor &c.<sup>3</sup>

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the various letters from New Jersey read in Congress on June 30 and July 1, see PCC, item 46, fols. 35–38, 67–87, item 68, fols. 613–15; for the June 28 proposal from the Virginia Assembly read on July 16, see PCC, item 46, fols. 55–58.

<sup>3</sup> In the presidential letterbook, Boudinot's secretary appended the following "private" note at this point. "The following was added to the letter Addressed to the Governor of the State of New-York, viz.

"The humiliating situation that Congress is in for the want of a Representation, even for seven States, leads me to urge your Excellency, in the most earnest manner; to send on a Delegate for your State, which has not been represented, but about two or three days, for near two months past. Mr. Duane has just arrived, but Colo. Hamilton has left Congress. The definitive Treaty, we hear, has arrived at New-York, but should it be sent forward to us, we can do nothing with it for want of nine States."

Notwithstanding Boudinot's assertion that "Colo. Hamilton has left Congress," he apparently attended the 22d when Congress convened at 10:00 a.m., although he wrote a letter to his wife later in the day from "Philadelphia." Secretary Thomson's journal records that New York was represented this day, and Hamilton and James Duane were the only New York delegates attending at this time. See PCC, item 16, fols. 225–26; Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:219–20; *JCC*, 24:442; and the following entry.

## Alexander Hamilton to Elizabeth Hamilton

Philadelphia, July 22d. 1783

I wrote you my beloved Betsey by the last post,<sup>1</sup> which I hope will not meet with the fate that many others of my letters must have met

with. I count upon setting out to see you in four days; but I have been so frequently disappointed by unforeseen events, that I shall not be without apprehensions of being detained, 'till I have begun my journey. The members of Congress are very pressing with me not to go away at this time as the house is thin, and as the definitive treaty is momentarily expected.<sup>2</sup>

Tell your father that Mr. Rivington in a letter to the South Carolina delegates has given information coming to him from Admiral Arbuthnot,<sup>3</sup> that the Mercury-frigate is arrived at New York with the definitive treaty, and that the city was to be evacuated yesterday by the treaty.

I am strongly urged to stay a few days for the ratification of the treaty; at all events however I will not be long from My Betsey.

I give you joy my angel of the happy conclusion of the important work in which your country has been engaged. Now in a very short time I hope we shall be happily settled in New York.

My love to your father. Kiss my boy a thousand times. A thousand loves to yourself.

A Hamilton

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton set off for home on July 29 after making a brief appearance in Congress to vote for the ratification of the commercial treaty with Sweden. See Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, July 30, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Actually Adm. Robert Digby, the British naval commander at New York, not Marriot Arbuthnot, his predecessor. See also the following entry, note 2.

## Ralph Izard to Theodorick Bland

Dr. Sr.

Princeton 22d July 1783.

I gave Mr. Fitzsimons a Memorandum several days ago relative to two Bills of Exchange; & though I have since wrote to him on the subject<sup>1</sup> I can not get a Line from him. One of the Bills belongs to Col. Pinckney, & I am desirous of writing to him about the fate of it by a Vessel which is to sail for Charles Town, in a few days. Pray call on Mr. Fitzsimons, & let him know my embarrassment. I have just received a Letter from Rivington dated yesterday, informing me that the Definitive Treaty was certainly arrived in New York by the Mercury Frigate. In a day or two I hope we shall receive it Officially.<sup>2</sup> We had this day but Six States on the floor. Rhode Island was absent, & Mr. Read unfortunately has a fever in Philadelphia. Mr. Laurens will probably be here soon, when it is to be hoped that our State will be constantly represented, which can not now be reasonably expected, as we have only four Members in this part of the World.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Quarrier has an old One horse Chaise of mine at his Shop, which I would be glad to exchange for a good second hand Sulky; or for a new one if he does not ask too much to boot. If you have leisure, or if you have occasion to walk as far as Quarrier's I should be obliged to you

if you would consult him on this subject. I am with great regard, Dr.  
Sr., your most obt. Servt. Ra. Izard

RC (CtY: Franklin Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found, but see Izard to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23 and 27, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The information that James Rivington conveyed proved to be incorrect. American and British negotiators did not sign the definitive treaty until September 3, an official copy did not arrive in the United States until late November, and it was not laid before Congress until December 13, 1783. See *JCC*, 25:812. See also the postscript to the following entry.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Izard, Richard Beresford, Jacob Read, and John Rutledge. Although Henry Laurens had been elected to Congress in February 1783, he did not attend.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Tuesday July 22. 1783

I wait with impatience to hear how and when you got home. Tho the morning you set out was lowering & unpromising, yet the day turned out favourable. I hope you found the family well and that Dick received you with a song.

The address is not yet arrived.<sup>1</sup> What can be the meaning of this delay? Are any tricks a playing? If it does not come this day I shall begin to suspect. Mr. Peters arrived last evening but can give no account of it. He was not in town but spent Sunday at his farm.

I drank tea last evening at Mrs. Livingston's. She expressed a good deal of uneasiness at not having waited on you.

Be pleased to forward the enclosed as soon as possible & let me hear from you by every opportunity.

I am with sincere affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

P.S. 12 o clock. This moment Mr. Izard has recd. a letter from Jas. Rivington dated 21 informing that the Mercury packet was just arrived at Newyork & has brought the definitive & that the day appointed in England for the evacuation of New York was the 21 July. If you give a copy of this dont give Mr. Izard's name but say a letter is just recd. &c.

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the address from the city of Philadelphia, for which see Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston

Dear Sir

Princeton July 23d 1783

I am this moment informed that your Boy is at the Congress Door, and goes off this Minute. I can only acknowledge the rect. of your last

kind favour, and inform you that one of the Members, yesterday recd. a Letter from Mr. Rivington announcing the arrival of the definitive Treaty, by which New York was to be evacuated in Six months after signing the preliminary Articles. Congress have not yet made any Choice of a Successor to you. I have the honor to be (tho' in the utmost haste) with the greatest respect, Dr Sir, Your very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

RC (NHi Livingston Papers).

## Alexander Hamilton to Robert R. Livingston

Princeton, July 23d. 1783

It happens My Dear Sir that both Mr. Maddison and myself are here. We have talked over the subject of your letter to him, and need not assure you how happy we should both be to promote your wish; but the representation continues so thin, that we should have little hope that any thing which is out of the ordinary course and has somewhat of novelty in it could go through. We therefore have concluded it would be to no purpose to make the experiment in the present state of things; but shall *sound* towards a more full representation; though we fear the strictness of the ideas of many Gentlemen will be a bar to the success of the measure. You shall hear from me further on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Maddison does not write himself as this letter contains both our ideas but he presents his compliments and the assurances of his esteem.

The future destination of Congress cannot now be ascertained. There is an address signing from the citizens of Philadelphia amounting to an invitation to return. Many are of opinion on conciliatory principles, that it will be prudent to do it, till the question respecting permanent residence is decided. Others are much disinclined to a return from different motives.

We have nothing new except an annunciation from Mr. Rivington in a letter to Mr. Izard of the arrival of the definitive treaty. He adds that New York was by the treaty to have been evacuated the 21st of this month. When we are more enlightened I will write you details or rather I will bring them.

We have been for some time in point of representation at sixes and sevens; when we get to nine I will not forget the money commission you gave me.

Present me respectfully to Mrs. Livingston & the rest of the ladies  
Adieu My Dr Sir, Yr. Obed servt  
A Hamilton



RC (NH: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Livingston had written to James Madison to inquire if he might be permitted to sign the definitive treaty of peace in his former character as secretary for foreign affairs, and asked Madison to inquire of his friends in Congress, such as Hamilton, Ralph Izard, and John Rutledge, whether this favor might be extended to him without impropriety. In a letter to Livingston of August 13, written after he had returned to Albany, Hamilton explained that he and Madison had "attended to" this request but that "nothing could be done in it." See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:234–37; and Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:415n.2, 431.

## Ralph Izard to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir

Princeton 23d July 1783

I am just favoured with your Letter of 21st instant, & am sorry to find that any objections should have been made to the payment of the Bill belonging to Col. Pinckney; especially as the informality you speak of is not to be found in that Bill. I should be very sorry to send the Bill back protested, as I am sure it would have a bad effect; at the same time I do not think myself authorized to receive anything but money in payment of the Bill. Col. Pinckney desires me to send him a pair of Bay Horses not exceeding five years old, & has limited me to 308 Dollars. The passage, & other expences he will pay in Charles Town. He desires me to apply to Hiltzeimer if I should not be able to purchase the Horses myself. It is very probable that Mr. Morris's Notes may be as acceptable to Hiltzeimer, as money; I should be obliged to you if you would take the trouble of consulting him, & if the Horses can be procured that they may be shipped for Charles Town, & that you would write a Letter to Colonel Pinckney, informing him of it. I am obliged to Mr. Morris for the trouble he has taken about my New London Bill, & for his offer to pay me the amount of it. I can not however conceive a good reason why Mr. Morris's Correspondent has not given him an account of the fate of the Bill.

As soon as Mr. Morris receives an account of the payment of the Bill I should be glad that he would inform me of it.

I am Dr. Sr., Your most obt. Servt.

Ra. Izard.

P.S. Pray write to me as soon as possible respecting the Horses, as I must give Colonel Pinckney an account of the business by the first opportunity.

If Hiltzeimer can not undertake to send the Horses for Mr. Morris's Notes, & if you can not get the money for Mr. Dart's Bill, I beg the favour of you to have it protested regularly, & sent to me immediately.

RC (PH: Gratz Collection).

## Arthur Lee to the Earl of Shelburne

My Lord,

Philadelphia, July 23d, 1783.

Among the blessings of peace I number that of being able to renew my correspondence with a nobleman I so much respect and esteem. For that peace, honourable to America, and as much so in my judgment for England as the actual situation of things could give any colour of reason to expect, your country and America are indebted to your lordship's wisdom and firmness.

Upon my word, my lord, did I not know so much of the politics of St. James' and St. Stephens', I should be lost in wonder at the vote in the house of commons and the treatment your lordship has received.<sup>1</sup> But I shall never forget Lord Chatham's expression, 'I was duped and deceived.' The outrageous wickedness of visiting upon your conclusion of the war, the evils which the folly of its commencement, and the rapacity, cruelty and profusion of the conduct of it produced, sprung from the same source with the deception practised upon Lord Chatham, which he so emphatically detailed in the house of peers.

I always judged that the author of those measures, who cannot be said to cover himself with the *majesty of darkness*, though he meant the subjugation of America, would in fact conduct her to independence. I judged, too, that he would in the end, bring himself to ruin. Nothing, surely, can more accelerate this event, than introducing again into high office the ostensible minister of those pernicious measures. For as to his whig colleagues, their reign is short; and their fall will assuredly be unpitied.

Of the people of England, on whom in fact the salvation of their country depends, it may be said, that "*aliquando redit in præcordia virtus.*"<sup>2</sup> They have given some proofs of this; and perhaps the last one will bring due punishment upon the author of their near approach to humiliation and ruin; an humiliation and ruin which, had not your lordship interposed, would at this moment have been consummated.

I have flattered myself that your lordship has felt some anxiety about my situation, under the various attacks that have been made upon me. They all originated with the minister,<sup>3</sup> whose politics so much overshot themselves in the late negotiation for peace, and who was determined on my removal, as one who could not be bent to his purposes. He found, however, my successor<sup>4</sup> stubborn; and this country owes immortal gratitude to that gentleman's firmness, spirit and integrity. Yet an attempt was made to sacrifice him, for this very service; and I had the pleasure of defending him against those men, with whom he cooperated in effecting my removal. I am now elected into congress, for the third and last year I am capable of sitting there, by the confederation. I shall then retire into private life, with the satisfac-

tion of dwelling under that constitution which I have laboured to assist in rearing to liberty, virtue and public happiness.

But I am afraid politicians have been too sanguine in their expectations from systems of government. Corruption and intrigue seem inseparable from them all; and these are promoted or restrained more by the genius of the people, than by forms of government, or the operation of laws. Indeed it does not seem so *unwise now*, as it *once* did, in Mr. Pope, to say,

“For forms of government let fools contest;  
That which is best administer’d, is best.”<sup>5</sup>

Nor would I promise that a little more experience will not make me a convert to his opinions.

You used to say, my lord, that you would send Lord Fitzmaurice to make the tour of America. Such a tour, I conceive, would be both interesting and instructive. Nature has displayed her powers in the *sublime* and *beautiful* far more in America than in Europe, and the progress of art, considering the time it has had to operate, is astonishing. I shall next year be at liberty to accompany Lord Fitzmaurice in such a tour, and should take a vast deal of pleasure in doing it.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect and regard, your obedient servant,  
Arthur Lee.<sup>6</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from Richard Henry Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D.*, 2 vols. (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1829), 1:174–76.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a resolution censuring the terms of peace negotiated by Shelburne’s administration had carried in the House of Commons by a vote of 207 to 190 on February 22, leading to the earl’s resignation two days later. *DNB*, 15:1009.

<sup>2</sup> “At times valor returns to the hearts of the vanquished”—a paraphrase of Virgil *Aeneid* 2:367.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Benjamin Franklin.

<sup>4</sup> John Jay.

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Man* 1.298–99.

<sup>6</sup> Lee also wrote to William Whipple this day—a letter that has not been found but which Whipple acknowledged September 15, 1783, for which see Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D.*, 2:280.

## Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir,

Princeton July 23 1783

We received the Address you sent but it is signed by a much smaller Number than I expected.<sup>1</sup> I suppose it is only one of the Copies. It is referred to a Committee of *five*. I cannot tell the Sense of the House but *entre nous* it does not augur well as to the Appointment of the Committee.<sup>2</sup> But say Nothing of this as I may be mistaken.

When do you intend to pay us another Visit? I shall hold out this Week & by that Time I shall be better able to judge of the Necessity of

staying longer. Can you come next Week? There is a great Deal of important Business before Congress & I am disgusted with their present unsettled Situation. I will tell you more when I see you.

No definitive Treaty arrived here tho we have undoubted intelligence of its being in New York.

Yours afftely,

Richard Peters

RC (Paul H. Smith, Silver Spring, Md. 1990).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the address to Congress from the citizens of Philadelphia received and referred to committee this day, for which see *JCC*, 24:444n; and *PCC*, item 43, fols. 313–31. The address and entire list of 870 plus signatures have been printed in Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 87–89, 263–69.

<sup>2</sup> The committee consisted of Hugh Williamson, James Duane, Stephen Higginson, Ralph Izard, and Arthur Lee. For their non-committal report, thanking the citizens of Philadelphia for their “spirited and patriotic exertions” and resolution “to aid in all measures which may have a tendency to support the national honor and dignity,” which Congress endorsed on July 28, see *JCC*, 24:452. See also Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, July 29, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Wednesday July 23. 1783

Yesterday I sent you a letter by W. Bell which he promised to deliver last Evening. I hope you have received it & that you forwarded the enclosed. I want very much to know the reason of this unaccountable delay of the address which is not yet arrived. Cong. are in an awkward situation. They cannot here proceed to business. A sufficient number of states cannot be got together to do business. A great majority in my Opinion wish to return. But unfortunately in the heat of passion they resolved that they would not or could not consistently with their dignity return until they received an invitation & assurance of protection. This has embarrassed them. It was contrary to my judgment & opinion. I wished them to pursue their own measures without depending on the sentiments of others & to stay here or return back according as circumstances and the public interest pointed out. Nay I was decidedly of opinion that, as they had removed from their usual place of residence in consequence of a mutiny of continental troops and not of any insult from the citizens, they ought to return as soon as the danger was over or they were in condition to quell the mutiny; & not to take the least public notice of the conduct of council until good order was again restored. It then might be necessary & proper to remind the Council of the impropriety of their conduct, of the insults & dangers to which their want of spirit & exertion had exposed the fœderal government and of their duty to protect and defend it. At the same time they might have called on every state in the Union in the most pressing terms to comply with the requisitions of Congress &

pointed out the mischiefs & dangers which had arisen & must ensue from their non compliance. This in my opinion was the true line of dignity & propriety and had they pursued it they would now, instead of the awkward situation in which they are, be standing on high ground dictating to the states, reminding them of their duty and pointing out the way to happiness & safety. Their conduct would have commanded respect both at home and abroad and a certain person & his council<sup>1</sup> upon recollection would have been covered with shame & confusion for the part they acted & I am persuaded the citizens would have found it necessary to vindicate *(their wounded honor)* themselves by such explanations, addresses or declarations as would have been satisfactory to Congress, however they might have reflected dishonor on the Ex. Council. This was the opinion I gave on my first coming here, & which I am still persuaded was right. But through this whole affair I have been particularly unfortunate. For not one single piece of advice or sentiment suggested by me either to a certain person or to the members of C. have been attended to or followed, and you know I was not wanting in the former. I shall therefore submit and leave the event to Providence which has hitherto so remarkably interposed in Our favour.

I had the satisfaction of hearing from Mr. Duane that you had got as far as Neshaminy in good time & without any accident & that you set out from thence early in the afternoon for Philada. where I hope you arrived safe. Please to make my compliments to Mrs. Morgan & tell her all her family are well and that Miss Nancy does the honors of the table with a grace, which does great credit to herself and to the instructions she must have received from her Mamma. Miss Molly is chearful as a bird and George finds a new play for every day. Master John as usual attends his book & horses. And the colonel is as attentive as ever to his farm. In short you may tell her that they are all as happy as they can be without her company. And let me wisper to you that all the charms of Princeton cannot compensate for the want of the company of my dearest Hannah.

I am with much affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, John Dickinson and the Pennsylvania Council.

## Elias Boudinot to William Burnet

Sir,

Princeton, July 24th. 1783

I am honored with the command of Congress to inform you, in answer to the polite and respectful address of the Magistrates, Militia Of-



ficers and Citizens of the Town of New-Ark, that Congress entertain a high sense of their spirit and patriotism, and applaud their zeal for good order and the security and honor of the Fœderal Government.<sup>1</sup>

Permit me also the pleasure of assuring the respectable Magistrates, officers & Citizens of the Town of New-Ark, that Congress feel themselves much obliged by their kind disposition to render the residence of Congress in this State as agreeable as possible.

I have the honor to be &c.

E.B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For this address, signed by Burnet as chairman of the Newark, N.J., town meeting, and presented to Congress by a committee consisting of Burnet, William P. Smith, and Elisha Boudinot, see PCC, item 43, fols. 333–36; and *JCC*, 24:439.

President Boudinot also sent a similar letter of acknowledgment and thanks this day to Smith and Elisha Boudinot, which is in PCC, item 16, fols. 227–28.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton 24th July 1783

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 16th inst., which was duly laid before Congress, committed and will soon receive an answer.<sup>1</sup>

Enclosed is an act of Congress of the 18th inst. relative to Mr. Reuben Harvey.<sup>2</sup>

On the 21st, We are informed from pretty good authority, the Mercury Frigate arrived in New-York, with the definitive Treaty, which, it is said, was signed on the 25 of May, and by the Terms of which New-York should have been evacuated on the 21 inst. I hope e'er this reaches Head-Quarters, your Excellency will have the official account from Sir Guy Carleton.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of high respect and esteem, Your Excellency's Obedt. & very humb. Servt, Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Endorsed: "Resolve Respecting Reuben Harvey Intelligence. Ackd. 6th Augst. Resolve transmitted in Letter of 10th of Augst. to Mr Harvey."

<sup>1</sup> Washington's July 16 letter is not in PCC, but has been printed in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:68–70. It was referred to a committee consisting of James McHenry, Arthur Lee, and James Madison, which reported on July 26 a motion requesting Washington's "attendance at Congress . . . as soon as may be convenient" that was adopted July 28. See PCC, item 186, fol. 113; *JCC*, 24:452; and Boudinot to Washington, July 31.

In addition to raising the issue of his "awkward" status while awaiting the arrival of the definitive treaty of peace and completing the demobilization of the army, Washington had also enclosed a memorial "from some Officers of Hazens Regiment, Refugees from Canada," which was referred to another committee, consisting of James Duane, Samuel Huntington, and Ralph Izard, whose recommendations for the relief of these

refugees were adopted on August 9, for which see PCC, item 78, 12:271–78; and JCC, 24:496–98.

<sup>2</sup> For this resolution of thanks to Reuben Harvey for the relief he had provided American prisoners in Ireland during the war, whose services Washington had called to the attention of Congress in a letter of June 23, see JCC, 24:439–40; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:28–29. For documents pertaining to Harvey's activities in Ireland, see PCC, item 46, fols. 339–64.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Dexter

Dear Sir.<sup>1</sup>

Princeton, State of New Jersey, July 24 1783.

I have recd. the letter you did me the honor to write, but it did not come to hand 'till the 15th instant. What caused so long a delay, I am not able to say; but it happened at the very time I recd. it, that my servant was about sitting out to Philada.; I immediately wrote to Dr. Martin<sup>2</sup> & inclosed your letter, & three days after I recd. his answer, which I do myself the honor to inclose; but shall make no observations upon it, as it speaks itself.

Upon consideration of the matter; I did suppose that several Gentlemen of the faculty, members of Congress, [...] were likely to be acquainted with Dr. Martin or his method of practice; I accordingly waited upon them & made careful inquiry as to their knowledge of Dr. Martin or his method of curing Cancers; the accounts they gave me of the man were much the same as you will discover from his letter; & as to his medicine, as he calls it, or his method of practice, they could say little more than this, that they understood he had cured bad ulcerous sores, or cancerous ulcers, as some called them, & after other surgeons had failed; but it was thus doubtful with them, whether he had cured one real Cancer; and that they understood, that he had failed in some cases in attempting to cure them; one of the Gentlemen added that he lived a number of months in the same house with Dr. Martin, & he understood that he used causticks.

You will please, sir, to make my best compliments to your Lady, tho' unknown, and acquaint her that it gives me concern for her indisposition, and that I wish it was in my power to render her services.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your most obedient servant

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Dexter (1726–1810), a former Boston merchant who had also represented Dedham in the Massachusetts General Court while Holten was representing Danvers, was at this time living in Woodstock, Conn. *DAB*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hugh Martin of Philadelphia had aroused attention for his claimed cancer cures. See also Holten to Dexter, September 21; Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden), pp. 430–32; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 25:281.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Thursday July 24 1783

Yesterday I received your welcome note and letter with the basket, and distributed your presents as directed.

The address is at last arrived.<sup>1</sup> It came yesterday under cover to the delegates while Congress were sitting, for you must know they made a house yesterday. It was immediately delivered to the president, read and committed to a committee of five members. Committees generally consist of three, but when the subject is deemed to be of great importance, it is then committed to five. So that hitherto the address is treated with great respect. The report of the committee will bring the subject before the house & it will then be determined whether Congress shall stay here or return to Philada. Mr. Morgan was indisposed yesterday, but to day he thinks himself pretty well. I am glad you got home before this hot weather. I think last evening exceeded any I ever felt. I hope you will take care of your health. My love to all friends. I am, with sincere affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, note 2.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir,

P Town July 25' 1783

Your favour of 21st Instt.<sup>1</sup> Came safe to hand previous to the rect. of the address you refer to therein.<sup>2</sup> It is matter of surprize to me and indeed to every thinking honest Man here, that the Citizens of Philadelphia should be so blinded by local Prejudices as "still to Complain of our *sudden* departure & long delay from that City." Who were the Cause of that departure? and why is it denominated *Sudden*? Were not the dignity & Interests of the united States sufficiently committed, by waiting in the most humiliating Situation from Thursday to Tuesday in the next week! For my own Part, I think our departure was indolent & slow, and the last 25 Hours, we staid very certainly at the risque of the Committee's Reputation. But the address is supposed calculated to have appeased Congress. I have seen & read it since the Rect of your Favour—but I suspect you have not taken that Trouble! Congress want not to be appeased, having neither wrath, Bitterness or revengeful disposition on this Subject. They appear to me Calm, deliberate & even rather silent on this Business. The Address that is recd contains a State of Facts that do not relate to the subject of your Letter, much

more than they do to the declaration of Independence. It is signed by about 860 Citizens, out of about 6 or 8000 and we are told that it has been publickly declared at the Coffee House that 5 to one could be obtained to sign an address to keep Congress out of the City. If there was any thing in Congress to be appeased, is this calculated to do it! Altho' I assure you these unofficial Tales are not regarded by Congress as a Body, tho they may affect an Individual or two. But however these are only possible answers to your Queries. I confess I have so little Inclination to give cause of Jealousy to Pennsylvania, for I make a great distinction, between the City & the State, that I am content even to improve this address, by giving my Voice to return to the City till October—but as we have but 7 States, we must be unanimous to accomplish this End, which is not a very likely Circumstance.

You ask why we did not return under a wing of our army. Did we choose to force a Place of Residence, this would be a very natural Question, but as we are not yet in so unhappy a predicament, a good Reason for this Conduct is very obvious. We Claim neither Sovereignty or Jurisdiction over any State or City in the union, that is not clearly granted by the Confederation—this gives no Right or Jurisdiction of *our own*, over one City or territory more than another, and as to the Factions that are combined agt our Measures, that demands the attention of the union. If our Measures are dictated by Wisdom & the real good of the whole who are to be the dupes & Sacrifices of those Factions but the People themselves whose Servants we are, and therefore their good Sense & Virtue should be exercised to prevent the wickedness of factious Individuals. But your most important observation is, “that we trifle with the affections & attachments of Pensylv. to the union.” If you mean by the union, the Persons & Interests of Congress as a Body, I answer that, we have never had any reason to doubt of the affection or Attachment of Pennsylvania to the Person & Interests of Congress even separately considered, but do you suppose that Congress can consider the Affection or attachment of the Citizens of Philadelphia towards Congress as existing when they reflect on their being made Prisoner by a sett of lawless Banditti for upwards of three Hours in the Midst of a large City, & not a single Citizen out of so many Thousands, ever appeared to offer even the Sanction of their Presence to encourage Suppression of the Insurrection.

I am much obliged to you for your concern for *my Honor* especially as you think that in the opinion of the Citizens, I share so largely in the Obloquy that has been thrown on Congress. I have said in the Opinion of the Citizens—because was I deserving of the obloquy as being particularly active in the Business, It has so evidently recd the full approbation of the Citizens of almost every State in the union, that it must certainly counterbalan[ce] the obloquy of one City, for however important the City of Philadelphia is in the union it cannot

be put into the Scale agt every other part of 13 States—but your Citizens do me an honor I am not entitled to. I had not even a Voice in the removal of Congress from the City, tho' I assure you it met my most hearty Approbation, and since our removal here, on the most candid & impartial Consideration, I never was more satisfied with any measure Congress have taken. It was done without Passion—with Consideration & unanimously, not excepting the State of Pennsylvania, whose bare negative would have prevented the Measure. We conceive the matter to lye in a narrow compass. The Council had a Right most certainly to refuse the aid asked for, if they thought proper, and Congress had as certainly a Right on such Refusal to remove to such other Place of Residence, as should appear to them more likely to concur in Sentiment with them and to assign the Reason for their Conduct. The Proclamation I am told gives particular offence—for this I am certainly alone Answerable—but this Charge is an additional Evidence of local prejudices, warping the good Sense of the Objectors. Can any Man in his Senses suppose that such a Body as Congress was to be privately adjourned from one State to another, as if no Body had any Business with them, but a few individuals who could be privately notified? Pray what would the Minister & Servants of foreign Powers have said—what would the Officers of Congress & the daily applicants that attend on Business of Importance have said? What would the several States, with the Contractors, the public Creditors & Correspondents of Congress have said, if they had meanly & privately slipped off or escaped by Flight, as some of your Citizens have even now thought proper to term it, without announcing to the world in an open public Manner to what Place they had adjourned? Who was to inform the Citizens of the united States & Foreigners having Business with Congress, where they were to be found? How indeed the infamous advertisement offering a Reward to take up the Congress of the united States that appeared in your City, might have been Justified? Is one of the assemblies of a State called together or adjourned by the Executive of a State, or even a special Court held in a City or County, without being anounced to the Public either by Proclamation or something equal to it, and is the Sovereign Power of the united States, so sunk in the opinion of the Citizens of Philadelphia, that they should suppose them capable of skulking from Place to Place as if they were ashamed to let their removal be known? But it is the Language of the Proclamation that gives Offense. This I am not answerable for. It is but a bare Recital of the Acts & Language of Congress, and I think entirely unexceptionable, as it is setting Forth the Facts as they happened. Congress appear to me to have no Dispute with the State of Pennsylvania. She has exerted herself greatly & in a most respectable Manner in the Comon Cause, and she does now & will still continue to reap the advantage of it as much as & even more than any



State in the Union. Congress have recd many Instances of attention from her and she has been richly repaid in return. Congress & her attendants have for some Years past spent near £150,000 Per Annum in ready money in your City. This is no small Matter—but surely had we only represented the union without any farther advantage to the State, we certainly were entitled to protection from Insult. But what gives one the greatest Satisfaction on this subject is that we are now fully assured that the destruction of private property, if not the City itself was the Object of this Mutiny, and that it was prevented from taking effect by our leaving the City in the manner we did, we are all well convinced of. The private Letters from Sullivan & Carbarer we have in possession are satisfactory on this Subject to every unprejudiced Mind. On the whole, I thought proper as an individual to give you my private Sentiments on this Transaction, tho I wished to be as silent as possible—but as it is designed for your private Consideration & not to increase any ill will that may have already have taken Place in any uninformed Mind I thought it could give no Offence. As the Time of our framing our permanent residence is so near, I could wish to return & settle matters with order & decorum before we make that determination, but as I before observed the thinness of Congress, I am afraid will altogether prevent it.<sup>3</sup>

FC (DLC: Boudinot Papers). In the hand of Elias Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the address to Congress from the citizens of Philadelphia received July 23, for which see Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Rush's August 2 response to Boudinot is in Rush, *Papers* (Butterfield), 1:307–9.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Jay

Dear Sir

Philadelphia, July 25. 1783.

Though I have not performed my promise of writing to you, which I made you when you left this country, yet I have not the less interested myself in your welfare and success. I have been witness with pleasure to every event which has had a tendency to advance you in the esteem of your country; and I may assure you with sincerity, that it is as high as you could possibly wish. All have united in the warmest approbation of your conduct. I cannot forbear telling you this, because my situation has given me access to the truth, and I gratify my friendship for you in communicating what cannot fail to gratify your sensibility.

The peace which exceeds in the goodness of its terms, the expectations of the most sanguine does the highest honor to those who made it. It is the more agreeable, as the time was come, when thinking men began to be seriously alarmed at the internal embarrassments and ex-

hausted state of this country. The New England people talk of making you an annual *fish-offering* as an acknowledgement of your exertions for the participation of the fisheries.

We have now happily concluded the great work of independence, but much remains to be done to reap the fruits of it. Our prospects are not flattering. Every day proves the inefficacy of the present confederation, yet the common danger being removed, we are receding instead of advancing in a disposition to amend its defects. The road to popularity in each state is to inspire jealousies of the power of Congress, though nothing can be more apparent than that they have no power; and that for the want of it, the resources of the country during the war could not be drawn out, and we at this moment experience all the mischiefs of a bankrupt and ruined credit. It is to be hoped that when prejudice and folly have run themselves out of breath we may return to reason and correct our errors.

After having served in the field during the war, I have been making a short apprenticeship in Congress; but the evacuation of New York approaching, I am preparing to take leave of public life to enter into the practice of the law. Your country will continue to demand your services abroad.

The bearer of this is Mr. Carter, who with Mrs. Carter are making a jaunt to Europe. I presume you have heard of my connection in the family.<sup>1</sup> Your acquaintance with Mr Carter makes it unnecessary I should request your civilities to him, which my friendship for him would otherwise do in the warmest manner. I anticipate the pleasure which Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Carter will enjoy in the society of each other, possessed as they both are of every quality to please and endear. I beg you to present me most respectfully to Mrs. Jay and to be assured of the affection and esteem of Dr. Sir, Your Obedient servant

Alexr. Hamilton

RC (Windsor Castle: The Royal Archives).

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's wife Elizabeth was the sister of Angelina Schuyler Church, wife of John B. Church, alias John Carter. See Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:417.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Friday July 25. 1783

I informed you in my last that the Address arrived on Wednesday and was referred to a committee. Yesterday only six states attended so that nothing could be done and it is a doubt with me whether there will be states enough to day to form a Congress for business. Mrs. Morgan and her brother came up in the stage yesterday. The weather was so extremely hot that the passengers suffered greatly. Some of the

horses dropped down & died & the rest came in excessively jaded. It was the same with the stages from Elizabeth town, which were obliged to leave the passengers on the road, some of whom walked into this town through the broiling sun & fresh horses were sent to bring in others. I think I never felt such a night and day as yesterday and the night before. Last Evening a fine breeze sprung up which continues this morning and is very refreshing. I hope you take care of your health.

I forgot to tell you that there are 873 names to the address sent up. That with Reed's emendations is not sent up.<sup>1</sup> What an ill fated wretch he is! He might have made some advantage of this business and if he could not have raised himself he might have gratified his infernal malice by depressing his enemy had he joined heartily in the address. But his fondness of being at the head of a party will leave him just as this affair found him: hated, despised and contemptible. Not a line have we from Council. I shall be much mistaken if the Observation of the Wise man will not be verified in some of them, that pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall. What the Conduct of Congress will be I cannot yet divine. Many of the members are heartily tired of this place and wish earnestly to remove. Yesterday they complained bitterly of being almost stewed and suffocated the night before in their small rooms. Duane seems averse to return. If he has any hopes of Congress fixing their residence in the state of NY, as he knows that will be agreeable to his state, he will sacrifice every consideration to gain popularity. It is a mortifying consideration that private and not public views too frequently influence the conduct of men at the helm of government. The common danger which has hitherto held these states together being now removed, I see local prejudices, passions and views already beginning to operate with all their force. And I confess I have my fears, that the predictions of our enemies will be found true, that on the removal of common danger our Confederacy & Union will be a rope of sand. There must & will undoubtedly be, for the sake of security, some confederation of states: But how many of the states will be comprehended in a Confederacy or how many confederacies there will be is yet uncertain. Were I to hazard a conjecture it would be that the four eastern states will form one confederacy. Their manners, customs and governments are very similar And they are an unmixed people, being all sprung from a common stock without any great accession of strangers or foreigners. New Y will be compelled to join this confederacy either voluntarily or by force not from any of the causes aforementioned; But because the eastern states will not think themselves secure if Hudson's river & the northern lakes, which are the keys of the country, are kept by a people independent of and separated from them. For this purpose the state of Vermont, which has hitherto given NY some trouble, will be supported & encouraged & kept as a rod over the head of N Y & if

necessary used to chastise & compel it into the eastern Confederacy. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland will form another Union. They are all states whose boundaries are fixed and confined and who have one common strong desire to possess a share of the great Western territory, which they now claim as their right and as an acquisition which the present confederacy has obtained by the expense of their blood and treasure.

The haughtiness of Virginia, its great extent and its boundless claims will induce it to set up for itself. And if ever royal government is set up in N. America, here it will first erect its throne. Her first quarrel will be with the middle confederacy about the western Country. Unless perhaps the people beyond the Allegheny Mountains should be induced first to set up for themselves and to claim an exclusive right to that country. In that case Virginia may attempt to subjugate them & the middle confederacy will support them against her. She may then attempt to form an alliance with the Eastern confederacy or the three Southern states which it is not improbable may league together but without any close confederacy. For such is the fiery pride of South Carolina, such the dissipation of her morals & her insolence occasioned by the multitude of slaves that she will not cordially join in any Union till she is taught wisdom by sore suffering. In this conflict America may be a theatre of war & her councils become famous for brigues<sup>2</sup> & intreagues of policy. But where am I wandering. I sat down only to tell you I am well and am hurried on I know not how into scenes of fairy land from which I am recalled by Miss Nancy's invitation to breakfast. So I bid you Adieu. Take care of your health. I am, with sincere Affection, your loving husband Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> No Philadelphia "address" with Joseph Reed's "emendations" has been found or is recorded in the journals or papers of Congress, but for mention of such a document by one of Reed's correspondents, see Oliver Ellsworth to Joseph Reed, August 7, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> "Strife, quarrel, contention. *Obs.*" *OED*.

## Elias Boudinot to Sir Guy Carleton

Sir,

Princeton 26th July 1783

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 24th instant, with the several papers enclosed, which have just come to hand.

They shall be immediately laid before Congress, and whatever Resolutions shall be adopted on the subject-matter of them, I will do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency without delay.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect consideration and respect, Your Excellency's &c. E.B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Carleton's letter, informing Boudinot that six suspected counterfeiters of "Morris's Notes" had been arrested at New York and that perhaps Congress would like to send a representative to the court martial about to be convened, was referred this day to a committee consisting of James Duane, Stephen Higginson, and Arthur Lee. The committee's report, adopted by Congress August 1, ignored Carleton's invitation, but expressed the hope that such suspects as were citizens of the United States would be "delivered up . . . to be tried under the Jurisdiction to whom the cognizance of their crimes belongs," for which see Boudinot to Carleton, August 1, 1783; *JCC*, 24:451n, 485–86; and PCC, item 186, fol. 115. Carleton subsequently announced that four of the suspects had been acquitted, that one was a British subject, and that William May of Connecticut "shall be turned out of our lines by Kings's bridge." For Carleton's letters of July 24, August 13, and September 1 on this subject, along with numerous enclosures and the proceedings of the court martial held August 13–23 to try these cases, see PCC, item 52, fols. 1–154. For Carleton's purposes in inviting an American representative to attend this court martial, recorded by the royal chief justice of New York who was advising Carleton on this matter, see William Smith, *Historical Memoirs from 26 August 1778 to 12 November 1783 of William Smith*, ed. William H. W. Sabine (1958; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1971), pp. 597–98.

## Elias Boudinot to Congress

Princeton July 26t. 1783.<sup>1</sup>

The President begs leave to inform Congress, that the present Situation of his Family is extremely disagreeable, as well as unnecessarily expensive to the united States, two Households being kept up instead of one. That he cannot remain here in reputation much longer, without removing the Family & Furniture from Philadelphia to this Town,<sup>2</sup> which he intends doing without delay, if not disagreeable to Congress, and which he thought it necessary previously to acquaint them with.

A House should be provided in this Town, and it will be a considerable saving in the Expences, to give up the House in Philadelphia. The President wishes that a Committee may be appointed to consider & report on this Subject, or some other Measure taken for the Purpose more agreeable to Congress.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DNA: PCC, item 59). In Boudinot's hand, though not signed. Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Information of the President to Congress, July 26, 1783. July 31, Referred to Mr. Williamson, Mr. Izard, Mr. Clark. August 14th 1783, Referred to the President to take order."

<sup>1</sup> Boudinot apparently first dated this letter "July 21st, 1783" and subsequently wrote over the "1st," a conclusion also suggested by Secretary Thomson's endorsement—"July 26. 1783."

<sup>2</sup> Boudinot was staying with his sister, Annis Boudinot Stockton, at her "Morven" estate just outside Princeton. See Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, June 30 and July 4, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> There is no record of this matter in Secretary Thomson's journals, but for the August 11 report of the committee to which Boudinot's letter was referred, recommending that Boudinot take a house "near the place where Congress sits," and that the super-



intendant of finance take steps "to give up" the president's house in Philadelphia, see PCC, item 186, fol. 116; and JCC, 24:500n. See also Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 52-55; and Boudinot to Congress, September 1, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to John Dickinson

Dear Sir,

Princeton 26th. July 1783.

I have the honor of inclosing your Excellency the Copy of a private Letter I lately received from a Member of Congress,<sup>1</sup> while in Your City. I inclose it for your Information, as I think Richardson being the Confidential Friend of Carberry and Sullivan may be likely to know more of their Schemes, than any other Person. I have the Honor to be with great Respect, Your Excellencys, Obedient and very humble Servant,

Elias Boudinot

Tr (PHarH: Record Group 27).

<sup>1</sup> See Eleazer McComb to Boudinot, July 17, 1783.

## Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin

Sir.

Princeton 26th July 1783.

We have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellencys Letters of the 21st of May and to thank you for your polite attention to us: we are satisfied if the means could be in proportion to the wishes of your Excellency that every department in our State would be amply supported.

I saw a Letter from James Rivington of the 21st Instant, he says that, "this moment the Mercury frigate arrived, and Admiral Digby informs me, that he has the definitive Treaty, and that it shall be sent to me immediately."<sup>1</sup>

This day we received a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton of the 24th,<sup>2</sup> and he does not mention the definitive Treaty, neither does our dispatches from any quarter satisfy us on this head. Our last accounts from our Ministers, were of February except a few Letters from Mr. Lawrens while in London.

The early departure of the Post prevents my adding any thing further; than, that I am with the greatest respect & truth, Sir, Your Excellency's most Obt. &c,

Benjamin Hawkins

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See Ralph Izard to Theodorick Bland, July 22, 1783, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Sir Guy Carleton, this date, note.

## James McHenry to William Paca

Dr. Sir.

Princetown 26 July 1783.

If you have received no news of late it is because there was none to send. No definitive treaty—but daily expected—Congress still in Princetown, but daily expected to return to Philadelphia—by its citizens. Several engines ready to go to work—for this purpose—but some philosophers suspect that they are constructed on false principles.

I have had no opportunity to speak to the minister of France—but I would suppose that his letter must have got to hand by this time.

The derangements produced in public offices by our removal to this place has put it out of my power to obtain the late journals of Congress for the use of the State. I cannot even find that any of the last months have been published. I shall however enquire and if published have them sent forward to council.

With sincere esteem and regard I have the honor to be Dr Sir, your Excellency's most obt.

James McHenry

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

## James McHenry to Walter Stone

Dr. Sir

Princetown 26 July 1783

This very moment your letter is put into my hand. Congress have as yet taken no steps in the appointment of minister for foreign affairs. I do not think they will for some time to come. I shall however as soon as the point is decided exercise myself in your favor.<sup>1</sup> I shall write to you also at your brothers in Annapolis.

We have no news—No definitive Treaty—no Congress—and little expectation of a speedy return to Philadelphia. Present my sincere respects to Mrs. Stone and the Colonel and believe me to be, Dr Sir, Your ob Sert,

James McHenry

RC (Ronald von Klaussen, state of Florida, 1989).

<sup>1</sup> Stone, formerly a clerk in both the offices of finance and foreign affairs, was apparently seeking to return to the latter as soon as a new secretary was appointed. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 2:208n.8.

## John Montgomery to William Irvine

Dear Sir

Prince town 26th July 1783

I have wrote you Seavarl Letters Since Congrass Came to this place <sup>1</sup>



Richard Peters

but as the Conveyance is uncertain, some no Doubt have been miscarried. Congress has recived a Very Kind adress from the Citizens of Philada inviting them to return but I belive we shall stay here untill the hot Season is over. This is a pleasant place and remarkable Healthy which is not the Case at Present at Philada. which is now Very Sickley.

By a gentleman from new york we have Certain accounts that the marcry [Mercury] frigate arrived thire the 21st Instant and brought the Definitive treaty and that the time fixed in England for the Evacuation of New York was on the day that the frigate arrived thire. We Exspect to have the treaty in a fue Days. Genl Washington is gone to Crown point and the Mohake river more to be out of the way of troublesome aplacations than and [any] great matter to be seen at Either of the places. The Baron Stuban is gone to Canada and is to proceed to Niagra and Detroit, and to return by the way of pittsburgue if he should think it safe to Cross the Countray.

We have Done Litle Business sinc we Came to this place haveing offen but Six states represented and indeed we Can do but Litle at such a Distance from the Publick offices they being all at Philada. and will Continue thire. Maryland has followed the Example of Virginia and advanced to thire troops the money that ought to have been paid into the united treasury such Doings will undoubtly Shake the union. We realy seem to be in a Very Dissagreeable Situation.

I have Sent inclosed Sundrie news papar one which Contains genrl Washingtons Cercular letter<sup>2</sup> which will I hop have a good Effect on the Difrent States and will have a powerfull tendencey to Convince them of the propritty of Embraceing the recomandation of Congress—the only measure that Can Save us from ruin and Disstruction. I Exspect that our assembly will Complay fully. Shall alwise be glad to hear from you.

I am Dear Sir your assurd Frind & Humbl Servant,

John Montgomery

RC (PHi: Irvine Papers). Addressed: "Brigadeir Genrl William Irvine at Fort Pitt. favrd by Major Ward."

<sup>1</sup> None of these letters has been found.

<sup>2</sup> Washington's long June 8 circular letter to the states, which is in Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 26:483–96, was printed in the July 15 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the July 19 issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and the July 23 issue of the *Freeman's Journal* under the dates June 12, June 12, and June 11, respectively.

## Richard Peters' Draft Motion

[July 26–30? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

Whereas it is necessary & proper for the Supreme Government of the United States to avoid the Appearances of acting on private or

partial Motives (*Motives liable to be construed into Resentment, Pique or intended Design not only in the Body but*) either in the Body but even in any Members whose Decision may give the Turn to a Question, And the late Removal from Philadelphia to Princeton being avowedly for a temporary Purpose [as appears not only by the Spirit & Tenor of the Act of the 21st of June last but from the Declaration of the Mover of that Part of the Resolve which respects the Removal; such Declaration being at the Time uncontradicted, by all & now ready to be proved by Members present] a longer Residence out of the State of Pennsylvania may be supposed to flow from the Motives before stated; especially as no Conveniencies to render it an eligible Place of Residence are or can be speedily provided at Princeton for the Accommodation of Congress, foreign Ministers & the Officers in the civil Departments who are now separated from Congress by the Inconveniencies attending their present Situation to the great Injury of the public Bussiness.

And Whereas a Continuance under present Circumstances in the Place of their present Session may have a Tendency to give great Uneasiness to the Government & Citizens of Pennsylvania who altho' they cannot claim any Preference in the Residence of Congress yet would be unhappy & discontented under the Appearance of Resentment which they would suppose to be evidenced by a Permanent Continuance out of that State under a Resolution produced by temporary Inconveniencies & dictated by Events so sudden in their Rise & so short in their Duration that well digested Plans or deliberate Measures may not be presumed to be grounded upon them.

And Whereas the further Absence of Congress from the said City may be supposed to shew by Facts, contradictory to any verbal Assurances, that they had not Confidence in the good Disposition of the Citizens thereof, notwithstanding the said Citizens have recently presented to Congress a most respectful and affectionate Address,<sup>2</sup> wherein they have given solemn Assurances "that Congress may repose the utmost Confidence in its Inhabitants not only to prevent any Circumstances which may have a Tendency to disturb their necessary Deliberations but to aid in all Measures to support the national Honour and Dignity."

And Whereas it is declared to have been the Motive with the Delegates of Pennsylvania to consent to the Removal that the same was not understood to be intended for a longer Period than should be necessary for restoring Quiet & Good Order among the Soldiery & it would be taking an undue Advantage of the said Delegates & of Consequence be derogatory to the Honour & Dignity of Congress should they now after the Causes & Reasons of their Removal are at an End neglect or refuse to return to the City of Philada. there to reside until the Place of their permanent Residence shall be determined upon.

And Whereas the Continuance out of that State may induce a Necessity on the Part of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to enquire into



the Causes thereof & an Investigation (which may be avoided by an immediate Return of Congress to Philadelphia) may be promoted tending to produce mutual Irritation which it is the Duty & Policy of Congress to prevent among the Members of the Union: And more especially as the Conduct of the Executive of Pennsylvania with Respect to the Mutineers may be alledged to be justified by Events (which frequently regulate the general Opinion) the Mutiny occasioning the Removal of Congress appearing to have been digested by Negotiation & thereby the Lives of the Citizens not exposed to Destruction; & the Question therefore, whether the Council of the said State were right in not calling out the Militia for the Purpose & at the Time requested by the Committee of Congress or whether Congress were right in their Removal because such Measures were not taken as they deemed necessary, may always remain a Matter of Opinion upon which each may decide from possibly opposite Motives.

And Whereas all Enquiries into the Transaction so far as it respects Congress & the Executive of the State are unnecessary & no satisfactory Decision could be had for the Reasons before recited; but an Enquiry may produce opposite Decisions in Congress & the State which may be attended with Obstructions to federal Plans & may occasion a dangerous Breach in the federal Government unless the Magnanimity of the State & their Disposition to support the true Interests & Dignity of the Confederacy, which has been so frequently & constantly evidenced, should prevail over every other Consideration.

And Whereas the public Bussiness *under present Circumstances* cannot be so conveniently carried on in any other Place as in Philadelphia & it will be necessary as well for Accomodation as the Acceleration of great Part of the public Bussiness to reside in a City 'till Buildings can be erected elsewhere for which there is now neither Time nor Means, & a Continuance here will on these Considerations without answering any good End, raize Jealousies in the said Citizens who will suppose that another City having fewer present Conveniencies (& liable to all the Arguments against a Residence in Cities) or Places having no other Conveniencies but a few Buildings, are the Objects with some Members whose Votes are necessary in the Decision of the Question of returning to the accustomed Place of Residence.

And Whereas it will, in the View of the People both of America & Europe, be more consonant with the Honor & Respectability of Congress to take their Measures for determining on the Place of their permanent Residence with Calmness & Deliberation & when they shall finally leave a State (if they should determine so to do) wherein they have so long & so effectually transacted the public Bussiness their Removal should not have even the Appearance of an hasty Proceedure founded on a sudden Emergency. Therefore

Resolved, That Congress be & is hereby adjourned to meet at the State House in Philadelphia the                      Day of                      at                      OClock in the Forenoon.

MS (PHi: Peters Papers). In the hand of Richard Peters.

<sup>1</sup> Although this document was printed under the date October 10? 1783 in Burnett, *Letters*, 7:329–31, it seems clear that it was drafted soon after Peters wrote to Thomas FitzSimons on July 26 (see the following entry), communicating his concern over the diminishing prospect for Congress' return to Philadelphia. Peters explained that the address from the citizens of Philadelphia had recently been referred to a committee from which he expected little in the way of encouraging Congress' return, and declared that he had in mind "putting something on the Journals" if Congress appeared determined to stay at Princeton. This draft motion appears to be that "something."

Peters also wished FitzSimons' advice on this matter, and urged his immediate attendance at Congress. "If you do not come the Beginning of the week," he pleaded, "the affair will be over." And indeed, the non-committal committee report on the Philadelphia address submitted on July 28 fulfilled Peters' prediction that it would be "very sweet," requiring vigilance "lest the Bee be drowned in the Honey." Finally, the delegates who were working for a return to Philadelphia shifted their strategy on July 30, coupling their proposal to a later removal to Annapolis. Peters' motion is not part of that strategy, but rather antedates it. See Kenneth R. Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," *PMHB* 101 (Oct. 1977): 446–47.

<sup>2</sup> See Peters to FitzSimons, July 23, note 1.

## Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons

My dear Sir

Princeton July 26. 1783

My Hopes of the Return of Congress grow less every Day. I am extremely disgusted with the ridiculous Situation of Things here. We do no Business & seem entirely at fault. We have made a Congress but once this Week & that Day was entirely taken up with reading of Papers. The Absence of one Member breaks us up. Nine tenths of them have a secret Sigh after Philadelphia but some childish Reasons or those less innocent prevail with them. Before the Address arrived many of them wished for it to ground their return upon. The Committee have not reported but from the Complexion of it I expect Nothing.<sup>1</sup> Possibly their Answer may be very sweet but I will watch lest the Bee be drowned in the Honey. It seems to be the Plan of some to while away the Time here 'till it is too late to remove any where before the Period fixed for a final Resolution for our permanent Residence. At this Time they suppose the Place each has in View will stand a Chance. All agree we cannot stay here & indeed that such a Place cannot accomodate us without the necessary Buildings are previously erected. This being the Case Annapolis is inviting because there are Buildings. Williamsburg has its Conveniencies on that Account & New York will be also open. Our City is scarcely mentioned lest if we should get there we should never get out. *Facilis Descensus Averno—sed revocare gradum.*<sup>2</sup> This is the rub. I was taught to believe that if the Citizens would address everything was accomplished. But now they must have an Invitation from Council & if they dont get this they must wait

for the Meeting of the Assembly. This will do for Procrastination. Indeed I think Council might have said something like an Invitation without derogating from their Dignity or Character. If they had or would do it every Excuse would be taken away & the Business be brought to a short Issue on the Point. All this is intended to shew the disagreeable Situation Montgomery & I will be in & to stimulate you & Wilson to join us that we may reduce the Matter to some Certainty. I therefore beg you will come here for I am not only tired but begin to lose my Temper which you know is a bad Symptom. If it is determined to stay here I think of putting something on the Journals & I wish to have the Advice of my Fellow Labourers lest anything wrong should be done. It was always understood by me that the Pennsylvania Delegates would not have joined in the Measure of Removal but that it was declared to be for a temporary Purpose. You know how this was better than I do. Some of them deny their removal to be much for a particular Purpose. But the greater Part & the President particularly declare it to be so. Shew this to Mr Wilson & take your Measures accordingly, yours with very sincere Esteem,

Richard Peters

[P.S.] If you do not come the Beginning of the week the affair will be over.

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For the address from the citizens of Philadelphia and the committee report thereon adopted July 28, see Peters to FitzSimons, July 23.

<sup>2</sup> "Easy is the descent to Avernus . . . but to recall thy steps. . . ." Virgil *Aeneid* 6. 126–28.

## Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir,

26th July 1783.

I have had the Pleasure of your Letter.<sup>1</sup> I just write you this as you seem to think that some Arguments will be drawn from the Numbers of Subscribers to the Address. I have heard no such Arguments used nor do I believe there will or can be any Objections on this Line. But I heard there were 2000 and it was from mere Curiosity I wished to know why the whole was not sent. There are 873 to the Address. And the Respectability of them is sufficient to answer every Purpose. I have wrote you fully this Morning and you will percieve I write confidentially, Yours affectionately,

Richard Peters

[P.S.] We had a Story here that one of the Addresses was stolen out of the bank. There is no End to the idle Tales we hear and I could wish a Line now and then that I may know what is the real State of any Matters of Importance in the City.

Reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 7:234–45, for whom it was "Copied from the original, then in the possession of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Saturday July 26. 1783

What an astonishing change in the weather we have here since last evening! Yesterday we had a fresh breeze all day. But out of the current of air the heat was intollerable. About 3 o'clock we had a gust of wind with a little rain. After that the breeze continued from the north west, & the heat of the weather was intense so that after dark we found it only tolerable, sitting in Col. Morgan's passage with both doors open. Yet this morning I am sitting in the front parlour with a cloath waiscoat under my gown, the windows down except one left a little up to change the air, the door shut, and I find my self comfortably cool. I hope you are careful to guard against those sudden changes. I received by Mr. Bond your agreeable letter dated Thursday morning. I am obliged to Mrs. D<sup>1</sup> for her attention to you & for the present she sent you. I would wish you not to suffer political conduct to break off social intercourse. True friendship is rare to be found; and few characters are perfect. But the intercourse of even civilities are agreeable. And virtues may be found, which will command esteem, in persons whose conduct we cannot always approve nay must sometimes severely condemn. You know how open a certain person<sup>2</sup> is to flattery & who, though he has shining parts, is not remarkable for solidity of judgement. His passions are too ungovernable and he is apt to suffer himself when under their influence to be the dupe of those who will flatter his vanity. And yet he has many good qualities. I am much affraid that a young, sly & crafty politician,<sup>3</sup> of whose principles & conduct I have not the best Opinion, has found out his foible, and has had too much influence in the late transactions.

Nothing is yet done respecting the Address. We had no Congress yesterday. There were only six states in town, And I am apprehensive it will be the same to day. So that the business will rest till next week. I am inclined to think the report of the committee will not be much to my liking. I saw Duane & Williamson yesterday in Consultation on the Address. They are two of the comee.<sup>4</sup> They seemed to agree in Opinion & the latter seemed uncommonly pleased, which to me augurs no good, for I never knew him much pleased but when mischief was brewing, & in proportion to his pleasure I always judge of the degree of mischief. However I think there are so many of the members convinced of the impropriety of continuing here & of the impracticability of conducting the affairs of the Union in their present situation that they will either return back to Philada. or go home about their business. I shall stay till they come to some determination. Tell Page that Master & Bill Church are well, that B C in the beginning of the week eat too much green fruit & paid for it by being sick one day, that I ordered him to be fed next day with butter milk & charged him to eat

no more green fruit which he observes & is now well and hearty. I am sorry poor Dick has lost his voice. I hope he will soon recover it & cheer his mistress with a song during my absence. Tell him one song to my charmer while I am absent will please me more than two to myself. My love to all friends.

I am with sincere affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

P.S. Mrs. Morgan & the children are well but the col. has got a regular ague. Yesterday he shook & had a severe fever but which went off soon with a profuse sweat. After which he came down stairs. This is his well day. He is up and engaged in the business of his farm & intends with the assistance of a physician to ambuscade his enemy on his return & by the help of Ipecac & tar.em [tartar emetic] to spring a mine that will surprize the foe & then attack it vigorously with [cost. soerw.?] by which he hopes to obtain a compleat victory. I heartily wish him success.

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> Hannah's cousin Mary Norris Dickinson, wife of John Dickinson.

<sup>2</sup> That is, John Dickinson.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified, although Thomson may have had in mind the secretary of the Pennsylvania Council, John Armstrong, Jr.

<sup>4</sup> See Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, note 2.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir, Princeton July 27th. [i.e. 26th] 1783<sup>1</sup>

We have before us, the two letters with which your Excellency honord us the 4th & 12th of this month. Their enclosures have been laid before Congress, and are referrd for reports.<sup>2</sup>

We shall make due enquiry after Capt. Camue; & endeavor to re-treive the effects he carried off.<sup>3</sup> We have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that intelligence has been receivd of the arrival of the Definitive treaty at N. York. But Congress have receivd no Advices of it from their Ministers in Europe.

We do not know any colour of reason for the report you mention relative to our Commander in Chief. On the contrary we believe that his popularity, like his merit, has not suffered the smallest diminution.<sup>4</sup>

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Yr. Excellencys most obedt. Servts.

Theok Bland Jr.

Arthur Lee

P.S. Congress has this moment recevd, from Sir Guy Carelton, information, that several persons have been taken up in New York on suspi-



cion of forging the Notes issued by the Superintendant of Finance. It appears from their examinations that this nefarious practice has been carried on to great extent in that City. His Letter dated the 23d makes no mention of the Definitive treaty.  
A.L.

RC (NjP: Straus Autograph Collection). Written by Lee and signed by Lee and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:246–47.

<sup>1</sup> Although dated July 27th, this letter was certainly written the previous day as Lee's postscript concerning information "this moment" received from Sir Guy Carleton involved a July 24 (not "23d") letter that was referred to a committee of Congress on the 26th, for which see Elias Boudinot to Carleton, this date, note.

<sup>2</sup> For Harrison's letters, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:207–8, 218–19. Among the four resolves of the Virginia Assembly enclosed in his letter of the 4th was the offer of Williamsburg or a Potomac site as a permanent residence of Congress, for which see James McHenry to William Hindman, July 19, 1783, note 3. Also included was the assembly's June 27 resolve seeking the reservation of lands within the Virginia cession to enable the state to satisfy claims from Virginia troops, which was read in Congress on July 23 and ordered to lie on the table. The delegates had also presented on that date a June 20 resolve assigning Virginia troops to guard public prisons and stores, but directing the delegates to seek Continental troops for that purpose, and a June 26 act retaining two Virginia armed vessels to protect Chesapeake trade and offering the prize *Cormorant* to Congress. The request for Continental troops was referred to the secretary of war who reported on July 28 that the assignment was "inexpedient." The offer of the *Cormorant* was referred to the agent of marine who reported August 5 that it should be refused for lack of funds, but the request for Continental permission, required by the sixth article of confederation, to maintain, at the state's expense, armed vessels for the protection of Virginia trade, was not approved until October 3. See *JCC*, 24:444n, 455–56, 486, 25:639–40; *PCC*, item 36, 2:195–96, item 75, fols. 384–87, item 137, 2:729, item 149, 3:99–101, item 186, fol. 114; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:175, 194–96, 248–49.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia was seeking the return of some ordnance loaned to French ships patrolling the Chesapeake in 1781, which were apparently under the command of the marquis H. Le Camus, for which see *ibid.*, p. 219n.5.

<sup>4</sup> In his letter of July 12, Harrison had noted that "A report prevails here said to come from Philadelphia that our worthy General is become so unpopular in his Army that no Officer will dine with him, the report is so improbable that I give no Credit to it yet I am anxious to hear from you on the Subject."

## Hugh Williamson to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Dear sir,

Princeton 26th July 1783

I have the Honor to inclose you an extract from the Journals of the genl Assembly of the State of N Carolina at their last meeting,<sup>1</sup> which is the only meeting they have had since April was a Year.

As I was at the last Sitting of the Assembly re-elected in the Delegation, together with my present Collegue, by the unanimous Suffrage of both Houses of Assembly, the inclosed resolve is not to be considered as a necessary Proof that the State approved of the general Conduct of their delegates, but as a particular mark of their great atten-

tion to the Monarch of France. When I recollect that we often find Nations as well as individuals who in the Hour of Danger profess the utmost degree of good Will and Affection for their Allies or Friends, the whole of which they seem to forget on the moment their danger is over, I confess I have particular Pleasure in observing the Genl. Assembly of N Carolina could not suffer themselves to pass over such an opportunity of expressing their Affection for his most Christian Majesty: though Peace had taken Place in the mean Time; and I run no Risque in saying that no distance of Time will alter or diminish the sincerity or Ardor of their Affections. I have the Honor to be, With the utmost Consideration Dr Sr. your obedt hble Servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (NH: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed May 14 assembly resolve thanking the delegates for presenting North Carolina's congratulations to "the Chevalier De La Luzerne, Minister of France, on the auspicious birth of a Dauphin," see *N. C. State Records*, 19:349. See also North Carolina Delegates to La Luzerne, August 14, 1782.

## Alexander Hamilton to George Clinton

Sir

Princeton, July 27. 1783

A few days since I was honored with Your Excellency's letter of the ; and was glad to find your ideas on the subject corresponded with mine.<sup>1</sup>

As I shall in a day or two take leave of Congress, I think it my duty to give my opinion to the legislature on a matter of importance to the state, which has been long depending and is still without a prospect of termination in the train in which it has been placed—I mean the affair of the grants.<sup>2</sup> It is hazardous to pass a positive judgment on what will happen in a body so mutable as that of Congress; but from all I have seen, I have come to a settled opinion, that no determination will be taken and executed by them in any other manner, than in that prescribed by the confederation. There is always such a diversity of views and interests, so many compromises to be made between different states, that in a question of this nature, the embarrassments of which have been increased by the steps that have preceded, and in which the passions of the opposite sides have taken a warm part, decision must be the result of necessity. While Congress have a discretion they will procrastinate; when they are bound by the constitution they must proceed.

It is therefore my opinion that it will be advisable for the Legislature when they meet to review the question; and either to relinquish their pretensions to the country in dispute, or to instruct their dele-

gates, if a decision is not had within a limited time to declare the submission to Congress revoked and to institute a claim according to the principles of the confederation.

It would be out of my province to discuss which side of the alternative ought in policy to prevail; but I will take the liberty to observe that if the last should be preferred, it would be expedient to remove every motive of opposition from private claims, not only by confirming in their full latitude previous to the trial the possessions of the original settlers, but even the grants of the usurped government. It may happen that it will be eventually necessary to employ force; and in this case, it would be of great importance that neither the inhabitants of the grants, nor powerful individuals in other states, should find their private interest in contradiction to that of the state. This has already had great influence in counteracting our wishes, would continue to throw impediments in the way of ulterior measures, and might at last kindle a serious flame between the states.

I communicated to Your Excellency in a former letter that I had declined pressing the application of the legislature to Congress, respecting the state troops for garrisoning the frontier posts, because temporary provision had been made in another way,<sup>3</sup> which would save the state the immediate expence and because there was a prospect of some general provision for the defence of the frontiers on a Continental establishment, which was to be preferred on every account. A report for this purpose is now before Congress; but the thinness of representation has for some time retarded and still retards its consideration.<sup>4</sup>

The definitive treaty is not yet arrived, but from accounts, which though not official, appear to deserve credit, it may be dayly expected. A Gentleman known and confided in has arrived at Philadelphia, who informs that he saw a letter from Doctor Franklin to Mr. Barkeley<sup>5</sup> telling him that the definitive treaties were signed the 27th of May between all the parties—that New York was to be evacuated in six months from the ratification of the preliminaries in Europe, which will be the 12th or fifteenth of next month.

As it is not my intention to return to Congress I take this opportunity to make my respectful acknowledgement to the legislature for the honorable mark of their confidence conferred upon me, by having chosen me to represent the state in that body. I shall be happy if my conduct has been agreeable to them.<sup>6</sup>

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Yr. Excellency's Most Obedient servant,

Alx Hamilton

FC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Clinton's letter has not been found, but the subject was probably the Philadelphia mutiny and Congress' removal to Princeton, the principal topic of Hamilton's June 29 letter to Clinton.

<sup>2</sup> The New Hampshire "grants" had been the subject of a brief report on Vermont's entry into the confederation submitted on May 26 by a committee assigned to consider letters from Vermont governor Thomas Chittenden of January 9 and from Governor Clinton of February 25. See *JCC*, 24:367; and New York Delegates to Clinton, March 5, 1783, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Hamilton to Clinton, June 1, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton subsequently wrote the following long explanation of "the motives which influenced the determination of Congress" on this subject, in response to a query from James Duane and Ezra L'Hommedieu after his departure from Congress, for which see New York Delegates to William Floyd and Hamilton, September 1, 1783.

"I have lately received from Messrs. Duane and L'hommedieu an extract of a letter from your Excellency to the Delegates of the 23d. of August last requesting 'a particular detail of the motives which influenced the determination of Congress' respecting the application of the legislature to have their state troops released from Continental pay, for the purpose of garrisoning the frontier posts.

"In my letters to Your Excellency of the 1st of June and 27th of July, which were intended to be official, I summarily informed you that Congress had made temporary provision for garrisoning the frontier posts and that a plan was under deliberation relative to a peace establishment, which would of course embrace that object permanently—that such temporary provision being made at the common expence, and a general plan being under consideration for the future, I had declined pressing a compliance with the application of the Legislature, conceiving it to be more for the interest of the state that the expence should be jointly borne than that it should fall exclusively upon itself.

"I did not enter into a more full detail upon the subject because the business continued to the time I left Congress in an undecided state and it was impossible to judge what views would finally prevail. The concurrent resolutions of the two houses had been immediately on their receipt referred to a Committee appointed to report on a peace establishment who had suspended their report on these resolutions 'till it should appear, what would be the fate of a general plan, which had been submitted.

"As to the motives that influenced Congress in making the provision they did make, rather than immediately assenting to the application of the state—as far as I was able to collect them they were these. The opinions of many were unsettled as to the most eligible mode of providing for the security of the frontiers, consistent with the constitution, as well with respect to the general policy of the union, as to considerations of justice to those states, whose frontiers were more immediately exposed. A considerable part of the house appeared to think, from reasons of a very cogent nature, that the well being of the Union required a federal provision for the security of the different parts and that it would be a great hardship to individual states peculiarly circumstanced to throw the whole burthen of expence upon them by recurring to separate provisions in a matter the benefit of which would be immediately shared by their neighbours & ultimately by the Union at large—that indeed it was not probable particular states would be either able or *upon experiment*, willing to make competent provision at their separate expence and that the principle might eventually excite jealousies between the states unfriendly to the common tranquillity.

"I freely confess I was one who held this opinion.

"Questions naturally arose as to the true construction of the articles of confederation upon this head—questions as delicate as interesting and as difficult of solution. On one hand it was doubted whether Congress were authorised by the confederation to proceed upon the idea of a federal provision—on the other it was perceived that such a contrary construction would be dangerous to the union, including among other inconveniences, this consequence, that the United States in Congress, cannot raise a single regiment, or equip a single ship for the general defence 'till after a declaration of war or an actual commencement of hostilities.

"In this dilemma, on an important constitutional question, other urgent matters depending before Congress and the advanced season requiring a determination upon



the mode of securing the Western posts in case of a surrender this fall, all sides of the house concurred in making a temporary provision in the manner which has been communicated.

"My apprehension of the views of the legislature was simply this, that looking forward to a surrender of the posts and conceiving from some expressions in the articles of confederation, that separate provision was to be made for the frontier garrisons, they had thought it expedient to apply the troops already on foot to that purpose and to propose to Congress to give their sanction to it.

"Under this apprehension, reflecting besides that those troops were engaged only for a short period, upon a very improper establishment to continue, on account of the enormous pay to the private men, and that the expence which is now shared by all and which would have fallen solely upon the state, had the application been complied with—would probably be at the rate of nearly Eighty thousand dollars per annum, a considerable sum for the state in its present situation. I acknowledge to your Excellency that I saw with pleasure rather than regret, the turn which the affair took. I shall be sorry however if it has contravened the intentions of the legislature.

"I will take the liberty to add upon this occasion, that it has always appeared to me of a real importance to this state in particular, as well as to the Union in general that Federal rather than state provision should be made for the defence of every part of the confederacy in peace as well as in war. Without entering into arguments of general policy, it will be sufficient to observe that this state is in all respects *critically situated*. Its relative position shape and intersections viewed on the map strongly speak this language—strengthen the confederation—Give it exclusively the power of the sword. Let each state have no forces but its Militia.

"As a question of mere æconomy the following considerations deserve great weight: The North River facilitates attacks by sea and by land, and besides the frontier forts all military men are of opinion that a strong post should be maintained at West Point or some other position on the lower part of the River. If Canada is well governed it may become well peopled and by inhabitants attached to its government. The British Nation while it preserves the idea of retaining possession of that Country may be expected to keep on foot there a large force. The position of that force either for defence or offence will necessarily be such as will afford a prompt and easy access to us. Our precautions for defence must be proportioned to their means of annoying us; and we may hereafter find it indispensable to increase our frontier garrisons. The present charge of a competent force in that quarter thrown additionally into the scale of those contributions which we must make to the payment of the public debt and to other objects of general expence, if the Union lasts, would I fear enlarge our burthen beyond our ability: that charge hereafter increased as it may be would be oppressively felt by people. It includes not only the expence of paying and subsisting the necessary number of troops, but of keeping the fortifications in repair probably of creating others and of furnishing the requisite supplies of military stores.

"I say nothing of the Indian nations because though it will be always prudent to be upon our guard against them; yet I am of opinion we may diminish the necessity of it by making them our friends; and I take it for granted there cannot be a serious doubt any where as to the obvious policy of endeavouring to do it. Their friendship alone can keep our frontiers in peace. It is essential to the improvement of the furr trade an object of immense importance to the state. The attempt at the total expulsion of so desultory a people is as chimerical as it would be pernicious. War with them is as expensive as it is destructive. It has not a single object, for the acquisitions of their lands is not to be wished 'till those now vacant are settled—and the surest as well as the most just and humane way of removing them is by extending our settlements to their neighbourhood. Indeed it is not impossible they may be already will[ing] to exchange their former possessions for others more remote.

"The foregoing considerations would lose all force if we had full security that the rest of the world would make our safety and prosperity the first object of their reverence



and care; but an expectation of this kind would be too much against the ordinary course of human affairs—too visionary to be a rule for national conduct.

"It is true our situation secures us from conquest, if internal dissensions do not open the way; but when Nations now make war upon each other the object seldom is total conquest—partial acquisitions, the jealousy of power, the rivalry of dominion or of commerce, sometimes national emulation and antipathy are the motives. Nothing shelters us from the operation of either of these causes. The fisheries, the furr trade, the navigation of the lakes and of the Mississippi—the Western territory—the Island[s] in the West Indies with reference to traffic, in short the passions of human nature are abundant sources of contention and hostility.

"I will not trespass further on Your Excellency's patience; I expected indeed that my last letter would have finished my official communications; but Messrs. Duane and Lhommedieu having transmitted the extract of your letter to Mr. Floyed and myself in order that we might comply with what your Excellency thought would be expected by the Legislature, it became my duty to give this explanation. Mr. Floyed having been at Congress but a little time after the concurrent resolutions arrived and being now at a great distance from me occasions a separate communication." Hamilton to Clinton, October 3, 1783, Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:464–69.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Thomas Barclay, commissioner for adjusting Continental accounts in Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton left Congress on July 29 after casting a vote for ratification of the commercial treaty with Sweden, his presence being required to have nine states represented. He subsequently received £524 for his "allowance as a delegate of Congress from the 25 of November 1782 to this day [July 30, 1783] at 5 dollars per day—248 days both days included. Days of travelling in going and coming, 14 at ditto." See *JCC*, 23:750; Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, July 30, note 2; and Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 26:446–47.

## Ralph Izard to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sir

Princeton 27th July 1783.

I am favoured with your Letter of 25th & am ashamed to be so troublesome to you. It would be a disappointment to Colonel Pinckney if the Horses should not be sent by the opportunity you speak of, & therefore I hope you may be able to settle the matter with Hiltzeimer in time for them to be purchased, & shipped.<sup>1</sup>

If so, I should be glad that you would write a Line to Colonel Pinckney, & give him an account of it. There must have been some neglect in Mr. Morris's Agent respecting the Bill on New London as it was sent about Eight Weeks ago. I am obliged to Mr. Morris, but do not choose to receive the money from him till he knows it has been paid. As soon as that is the case, I should be glad if Mr. Morris would pay it for me into the Bank, & advise me of his having done so. In the mean time I shall write to the Man in New London, on whom the Bill was drawn, & I think it proper that Mr. Morris should write to his Agent on the subject.<sup>2</sup> Rivington has written me that Admiral Digby informed him the Definitive Treaty was arrived in New York. Letters from thence of two days later date say the Treaty is not arrived. This appears mysterious.

I am Dr. Sr., Your most obt. Servant,

Ra. Izard<sup>3</sup>

RC (PHI: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Izard to FitzSimons, July 23, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Izard also wrote a letter to FitzSimons on August 25 about this matter, complaining of the negligence of Robert Morris' agent and inquiring about "the money for Col. Pinckney's Bill," which is in the Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, PHC. For Charles Cotesworth Pinckney's bill, see also Izard to Theodorick Bland, July 22, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Izard also wrote a brief letter on August 8 to the firm of Curson & Gouverneur concerning packages shipped for him from St. Eustatius, which is in the Lloyd W. Smith Collection, NjMoHP.

## David Howell to Unknown

Princeton, July 28, 1783

The Ordinance for collecting the Impost, was reported to Congress, the latter part of December last, by a Committee, of which Chief Justice M'Kean was Chairman.<sup>1</sup> It had been previously handed to me for my perusal and remarks; but under a prohibition of not copying it. I returned it with strict honor, though very anxious for a copy; and advised the Chairman to make a report. This was soon done, and the report was read in Congress, whereupon I moved for a long day to be assigned for the consideration of it, both as it was an object of importance, and as in the mean time there would be an opportunity for the deputation, which was then appointed, to return from Rhode-Island with their ultimatum. Some time in February was appointed; and by a standing rule of the house, after a day is assigned for acting on a report, or other matter, each member has a right to a copy of such report or matter; and I believe, and shall believe, that the citizens of Rhode-Island and Massachusetts have as good a right to be informed of all such matters as the citizens of Philadelphia, who are daily acquainted with what is passing, and interposing their advice. Having clearly a good right to a copy, I instantly demanded one of the Secretary of Congress, and one was accordingly handed me, in a short time, by his deputy, Mr. Bond. This I transmitted to my constituents, and this I lent to several of my friends in Boston to copy; and from this your's was taken. I was not ignorant, at the time, that my conduct would be offensive, so those who wish to obtain large and undefined powers from the people, without their being fully apprized of what they are about—but I reprobate this hood-winking, this hugger-mugger way of doing business. Let the world see the Ordinance. Let the people act with their eyes open; and then, if they chuse by one rash step to part with the earnings of a seven-years war, and become slaves to *an Aristocratical junto*; if our assemblies will, in short, part with *the purse-strings*, and vote *their own annihilation*, let it be done: But I call Heaven and earth to witness that, as a watchman on the part of this country, I have discharged my trust, and I wash my hands from all blood.<sup>2</sup>

Reprinted from the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), October 16, 1783, where it appeared with the following introduction. "Mr. Printer, Sir, You are desired to publish an extract of a letter, which I inclose, and also the fifth and eleventh articles of the ordinance referred to: They will give a sample of the operation of the impost proposed by Congress, if it the feelings of the patriot, it will afford amusement to the speculatist, who is indifferent to the happiness of mankind, and sport to the malignant, the interested, and servile speculation will range over the follies and inconsistencies of mankind, will view them very differently affected by the same object, at different times, forgetting their principles, and promoting measures they would have started from with abhorrence seven years before, will shew how short a time the best principles influence with vigour; but I will leave your readers to make their own comments, and detain you no longer than to observe, that although Congress never passed upon the report, yet, as it was made by a very judicious committee, no doubt can remain of its being confirmed to the views and designs of a majority of that body at that time. I am your Servant, &c. R.T."

<sup>1</sup> For this ordinance and a discussion of its drafting by Thomas McKean, see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 6:683–94.

<sup>2</sup> Following this extract from Howell's letter, the 5th, 11th, and 12th articles of the proposed impost ordinance were printed, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 686–89.

For additional use made of this proposed ordinance, see also the second item enclosed in Howell to Jabez Bowen, April 12, 1784.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

[July 28, 1783]

Yesterday's mail brought me no letter from you. The Address from the Citizens of Pa. came before Congs. on Thursday and was referred to a Comm. of 5 members. The answer will probably be a very civil one, but will leave open the question touching the return of Congs.<sup>1</sup> This question if decided at all in the affirmative, must be preceded by despair of some of the competitors, for the permanent residence, almost all of whom now make a common cause agst. Philada. It is not improbable that when the urgency of the scanty accommodations at Princeton comes to be more fully felt, with the difficulty of selecting a final Seat, among the numerous offers, that N.Y. in case of its evacuation may be brought into rivalry with Philada. for the temporary residence of Congress. My own opinion is that it would be less eligible as removing everything connected with Congs. not only farther from the South but farther from the Center, and making a removal to a Southern position finally more difficult, than it would be from Philada. Williamsbg. seems to have a very slender chance as far as I can discover. Annapolis, I apprehend wd. have a greater no. of advocates. But the best chance both for Maryland & Virga. will be to unite in offering a double jurisdiction on the Potowmack.<sup>2</sup> The only dangerous rival in that case will be a like offer from N.J. & Pa. on the Delaware; unless

indeed Congs. sd. be carried into N. York before a final choice be made in which case it wd. be difficult to get them out of the State.

In order to prepare the way to their permanent residence Congs. have appd. a Come. to define the jurisdiction proper for them to be invested with. Williamsbg has asked an ex[planation] on this point.<sup>3</sup> The nearer the subject is viewed the less easy it is found to mark the just boundary between the authority of Congs. & that of the State on one side & on the other between the former & the privileges of the inhabitants. May it not also be made a question whether in constitutional strictness the gift of any State without the Concurrence of all the rest, can authorize Congs. to exercise any power not delegated by the Confederation? As Congs. it would seem they are incompetent to every act not warranted by that instrument or some other flowing from the same source. I wish you could spare a little attention to this subj[ect] & transmit your ideas [on] it. Contrary to my intention I shall be detained here several weeks yet by a disappointmt. in some circumstances which must precede my setting out for Vrg.<sup>4</sup>

There is considerable ground to believe that Carlton is possessed of the definitive Treaty. He has lately sent Congs. several depositions relative to forgeries of Mr. Morris' Notes, the authors of which he has confined in N. York, & has requested that persons may be sent in to attend the examination.<sup>5</sup>

The Court Martial is still proceeding in the inves[tigation of] the Mutiny, but have disclosed no result.<sup>6</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Endorsed: "J. Madison July 28, 1783." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:256–57.

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23; and Elias Boudinot to Thomas Willing, July 30, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See James McHenry to William Hindman, July 19, 1783, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> In conjunction with the Virginia assembly's offer of Williamsburg as a permanent residence of Congress, the town's residents had met and resolved that they were willing to submit to whatever jurisdiction Congress specified as long as it was "compatible with their political welfare." See PCC, item 46, fols. 89–92. Their proceedings were submitted to Congress by the Virginia delegates on July 23 when they were referred to the committee appointed July 18 "to report what jurisdiction may be necessary for Congress in the place where they shall fix their permanent residence." The committee, which was renewed September 3, reported on the 5th, but its report was not taken up until September 22. See *JCC*, 24:444n.1, 25:603–4; and PCC, item 186, fols. 112, 121. See also David Howell to Nicholas Brown, September 25, 1783, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Madison is probably referring to his disappointment over the collapse of his brief engagement to Catherine Floyd, for which see Madison to Thomas Jefferson, April 22, note 4, and August 11, 1783, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Guy Carleton, August 1, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> Although William Cabell Rives, in his *History of the Life and Times of James Madison*, printed excerpts from a letter he identified as one from Madison to Edmund Pendleton of this date, Madison's most recent editors believe that Rives actually took those excerpts from this letter to Randolph and erred in his identification of the recipient. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:254–55.

## James Duane to Mary Duane

Princeton 29th July 1783.

I wrote my dearest Polly, to the address of General Washington,<sup>1</sup> on my arrival at this Town. I then mentioned to you some circumstances respecting the definitive Treaty of peace. We have further Evidence of its being signed but none official, so as to render it certain. I have, however, no doubt in my own mind that the Event has taken place and wait impatiently for an Arrival from Europe. Here we have no news. Whether Congress will hold their Sessions at this Town or remove elsewhere is a Question I cannot ascertain. The Citizens of Philadelphia are anxious for our Return from an Apprehension that it will be a Reproach to them, if it should be abandond under the Idea that there is not Strength nor Inclination to keep the peace so that Government may perform it's Duties without Interruption. Other States are making large offers for securing the Advantages of our permanent Residence. It is impossible to Judge how this Business will be decided. . . .

Your affectionate &amp; faithful Husband,

Jas Duane

Tr (DLC: Edmund C. Burnett Papers). Copied by Burnett from the original then "In possession of Mrs. F. B. Austin, Summit, N.J."

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Tuesday July 29 1783.

Yesterday the Commee. Reported and Congress agreed to and passed an Answer to the address of the citizens.<sup>1</sup> It turns out just as I suspected. D has exerted his Cunning to gratify the malice of W,<sup>2</sup> and I dare say they value themselves on their skill & adroitness in waving the question of returning and passing over that part of the address which pointed to that. The address concludes with a solemn assurance "in testimony of the affections of the citizens to that Union, which has so happily succeeded in accomplishing the freedom and independence of America, that if either now or at any future time until the residence of Congress shall be permanently established it should appear to that honorable body that the situation of Philadelphia is convenient for transacting therein the concerns of the Nation, *Congress may repose the utmost confidence in its Inhabitants not only to prevent any circumstances, which may have a tendency to disturb their necessary deliberations but to aid in all measures to support the national honor and dignity.*



The committee with great circumspection has passed unnoticed the former part of this solemn assurance & confined themselves wholly to that contained in the last line. However as at courts compliments are used to supply the place of sincerity the answer is drawn up in terms of great civility as follows.

"That the president inform the citizens of Philadelphia and its liberties in answer to their *respectful & affectionate* Address that the United States in Congress have *great satisfaction* in reviewing the *spirited and patriotic* exertions which have been made by the government and citizens of Pensylvania in the course of the late glorious war and that they are highly pleased with the resolution expressed by the citizens of Philadelphia to aid in all measures which may have a tendency to support the national honor and dignity."

Mr. S. Huntington arrived yesterday with his Colleague B. Huntington from Connecticut. so that to day we shall have eight states represented. These two have taken up their quarters in the stone house at the foot of the hill beyond Col Morgan's cornfield. Mr. Beresford who has brought up his lady have taken a house below Jug town. Thus are the members dispersed among the neighbouring farm houses. How far they are in a situation to conduct public business their works will manifest, and if in their present situation they long preserve respect, I shall be greatly disappointed.

I was invited to be of a party this evening at a tavern to dance & play cards. My answer was that I had resisted the allurements of Philadelphia and could not suffer myself to be drawn aside by the charms of Princeton. I therefore hoped to be excused in not accepting the invitation. Some time ago a fellow stuck up an advertisement at a tavern door that he would entertain ladies and gentlemen with an exhibition of puppets, that would divert the company in three languages & that his next exhibition would be better than the last. Some of the members proposed as there were no other diversions in this place to entertain the ladies with a puppet show. I gravely answered that it would be well to consider how this would read in Oswald's next paper, in which they might expect to see this curious paragraph. "The public may be assured that the Congress of the U.S. are perfectly recovered from their late fright; for on —— evening last they entertained the ladies of Princeton with a puppet show."

I long greatly to hear from you. I have not received a letter since that brought by Mr. Bond. I pray you to write to me as often as possible and take care of your health.

I am with sincere affection, Dear Hannah, your loving husband  
Cha Thomson

(NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, note 2, and July 26; and Elias Boudinot to Thomas Willing, July 30, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> That is, James Duane and Hugh Williamson, members of the committee to which the Philadelphia "address" had been referred on July 23.

## Elias Boudinot to John Dickinson

Sir, Princeton 30th July 1783

Your Excellency's letters of several dates since the 14th instant (the receipt of which I have had the honor of acknowledging heretofore)<sup>1</sup> were duly laid before Congress and committed. The Report thereon has been but lately brought in, and I now have the honor of enclosing a copy of the Resolutions of Congress in consequence of that Report.<sup>2</sup>

The last resolution on the letter from the Secretary at War,<sup>3</sup> being added in this copy by mistake, I did not think it worth while to strike it out as it was certified.

I have the honor to be &c,

EB.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> There is no record in the journals or PCC of any letter to Congress from Dickinson of date later than July 14, but for the July 28 congressional resolves Boudinot apparently enclosed, adopted "On the report of a committee . . . to whom was referred a letter of the 14 instant from the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, together with all the letters received from them since the 21 of June," see *JCC*, 24:452-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 453-54.

## Elias Boudinot to Joseph Phillips, et al.

Sir, Princeton 30th July 1783

I had the honor of laying before Congress the Address of the Officers of the three Battalions of Militia of Hunterdon, Middlesex and Somerset most contiguous to Princeton; and in answer thereto have it in charge to inform those respectable Officers, "that Congress have received with much satisfaction their respectful and affectionate Address and highly approve the patriotic sentiments contained in the resolution with which it is accompanied."<sup>1</sup>

It gives me personally great pleasure to bear this testimony to the affectionate attachment of my Fellow Citizens of New-Jersey to the Federal Government, and doubt not but they will ever support the very respectable Character they have hitherto maintained throughout the Union.

I must beg the favor of your communicating this to your Brother Officers, and be assured, Sir, that I am, with very great respect, Your &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "Colo. Phillips, of the Militia of New-Jersey, &c." FC (PHi: Boudinot Papers). Addressed: "Cols. Van Dyke, Phillips, Scudder."

<sup>1</sup> For the address of Cols. Joseph Phillips, William Scudder, and Henry Van Dike, offering protection to Congress on behalf of the militia of Hunterdon, Middlesex, and Somerset Counties, N.J., and Congress' July 26 resolution of thanks, see PCC, item 46, fols. 51-54; *JCC*, 24:445; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 84-85.

## Elias Boudinot to Thomas Willing

Sir,

Princeton 30th July 1783.

I lately had the honor of laying before Congress a very respectful and affectionate Address from the Citizens of Philadelphia and the Liberties thereof, in answer to which I am instructed by Congress to inform those worthy Gentlemen, "That the United States in Congress Assembled have great satisfaction in reviewing the spirited and patriotic exertions, which have been made by the Government and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the course of the late glorious war: And that Congress is highly pleased with the resolution expressed by the Citizens of Philadelphia to aid in all measures which may have a tendency to support the national honor and dignity."<sup>1</sup>

As the honorable Delegates of Pennsylvania, resident in the City, are expected here before this can reach you, and I observe that your name is the first subscribed to the Address, permit me, Sir, to beg the favour of you to make this answer known to the respectable Citizens who are among your Fellow Subscribers; and at the same time to assure them, that I feel myself very happy and highly honored in thus communicating the testimony of the United States to the patriotic and successful exertions of the Government and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the common cause.

I have the honor to be &c,

E B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:444n, 452; and Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, 1783.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir

Princetown, July 30th 1783

We arrived here on the 28th Instant<sup>1</sup> after a Passage of three Days only from New London Light House. We made no Stay at New York, the Stage Boat being directly bound to Elisabethtown we took Passage to that Place & from thence in the Stage by Land.

Congress have Seldom been Able to make a House for some Time Passd., but on the 29th had the Attendance of Nine States at which

Time the Treaty of Amity & Commerce with the King of Sweeden for fifteen Years, and in the Same Terms of that with the united Provinces, was Ratified.<sup>2</sup>

The Definitive Treaty of Peace is not yet Come to Congress but is said to be signed on the 27th of May, and arrived at New-York in the Ship Mercury & is supposed to be Returned by Genll Carleton (if so) it Cannot be long Concealed.

The Finances of the united States are Exceeding low & Distressing & will be so untill the States are better United in Public Measures.

We are with the Greatest Esteem & Respect, Your Excellencys Most Obedient, Hum Servts

Sam. Huntington

Benj Huntington

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Benjamin Huntington and signed by Benjamin and Samuel Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> The Huntingtons took their seats in Congress the following day. *JCC*, 24:457.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:457-77.

## Abiel Foster to Meshech Weare

Sir

Princeton July 30th. 1783.

It is with a very particular pleasure that I inform your Hon. of my safe arrival in this town on the twenty seventh instant,<sup>1</sup> after a very tedious journey in the late sultry season. Congress continue sitting here at present, and will continue, as I presume, notwithstanding some assurances given by the citizens of Philadelphia of protection, in case they shall think fit to return to their former Seat in that City.

The representation is still too small to pursue many important matters which now lay before Congress: it is therefore my Duty to desire your Hon. will prevail with Colo. Langdon to attend as soon as possible,<sup>2</sup> or if he totally declines, to suggest the propriety of some other expedients for sending a Delegate, earlier than the time to which the General Court stands adjourned; this would not only be very agreeable to me at this critical season but is, so far as I can collect, from the Delegates with whom I have had opportunity to converse on the subject, the earnest wish of Congress. Your Honour and the Executive of the State, from the Letters of the President of Congress on the subject of representation,<sup>3</sup> are so fully apprized of the important matters soon to be decided on, that I submit it without adding any thing further on the subject.

As I have so lately arrived, & had the opportunity of being in Congress but two days, your Honr. will not expect me to furnish any interesting intelligence as to public matters; I can only say that Congress during the disturbance of the Soldiery of the Pensilvania

Line, were reduced to a very disagreeable Situation—that an enquiry is making into the origin of the revolt—that two southern Officers who instigated the mutiny have left the Continent—and that every thing hath since remained quiet.

Whenever any thing transpires, worthy your Honrs. attention, or the attention of the State, I have the honor to represent, I shall take the earliest opportunity to communicate it.

I am Sir with the highest esteem, and respect, your Honrs. most Obedient & very humble Serv. Abiel Foster

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Foster took his seat in Congress on July 29. See *JCC*, 24:456–57.

<sup>2</sup> Foster was confused about the New Hampshire delegation to Congress. In addition to Foster, the New Hampshire delegates who had been elected in February 1783 were Josiah Bartlett, Jonathan Blanchard, Nathaniel Folsom, and Ebenezer Thompson. John Langdon, who had not been in Congress since 1776 was not reelected until June 1784. New Hampshire continued to remain unrepresented until Blanchard joined Foster in Congress on March 1, 1784. See *N. H. State Papers*, 8:965, 968–69, 971, 20:48; and *JCC*, 26:109.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Certain States, June 3 and July 3, 1783.

## David Howell to Nicholas Brown

Dear Sir,

Princeton 30th July 1783

After visiting my parents & friends in Morris County, in which I spent two days, & in Philadelphia in Company with Mr. Ellery & Dr. Arnold in which I spent from Friday till the next Tuesday, there being no House in the mean time, I took my Seat in Congress on Wednesday the 23d Instant.<sup>1</sup>

I found my Father in good health & strength for his age, being in the 75th year thereof. My oldest Brother has succeeded in a Lawsuit, in which he has been involved some years, in regard to the Title of Land adjoining him of much value; he will now have a farm of about 400 acres of good land all lying contiguous.

My friends in Philadelphia received me with joy; some have fallen away, & I fear "*it is impossible to renew them again to repentance.*"<sup>2</sup> Messieurs Hewes & Anthony & others enquired affectionately of the welfare of their friends in Providence. Some of Mr. Morris's notes, & some Connecticut money have been lately counterfeited in New York. A Letter has lately been received & read in Congress giving an account of the detection of this forgery & containing sundry depositions relative thereto & the confessions of one of the culprits. These papers are referred to committee.<sup>3</sup> This proceeding of the commander at New York is well spoken of here; as it is a most explicit & practical acknowledgement of our national character.



The State of Maryland has appropriated part of their quota on the requisition of Congress for the year 1782 to the payment of part of the arrears due to their troops. This was done without any previous application to Congress to approbate the measure. Massachusetts delegates have applied for permission to do the same; but in vain.<sup>4</sup> This conduct of Maryland is severely reprehended by the advocates for Continental measures; & having been done after they had solemnly, by a resolve of their own Legislature appropriated it to the U. States & without any previous notice given either to Congress or Mr. Morris is not perhaps justifiable; but as it has a tendency to frustrate a System calculated to injure the Sovereignty & subvert the Liberties of the individual States, it gives me no great uneasiness.

Dr. Arnolds arrival, which will have taken place long before this will reach you, will spare me the necessity of enlarging on the State, in which I found the publick business. There has not been more than seven States on the floor at a time since my arrival 'till yesterday; and nine States being then present the earliest occasion was taken to ratify the Treaty of amity & commerce lately entred into with the king of Sweden. This was done at Paris the 3d of last April by Dr. Franklin Minister Plenipotentiary in behalf of the U. States & the Count Gustavus Philip De Creutz on the part of Sweden; the publication of the treaty & of the proclamation enjoining the observation thereof will be suspended 'till the acts of the Sovereign powers ratifying the acts of their ministers shall be mutually exchanged. The treaty is similar to those with France & Holland.

General Howe, who had the command of the troops detached from the Army to go to Philadelphia in order to bring to condign punishment the mutineers in that City, has proceeded in apprehending & examining the principal offenders, whose trial is now going on before a Court-martial constituted for that purpose, & is Directed by a resolve of yesterday<sup>5</sup> to send back to the army such of the 3 years men under his command as shall not longer be necessary to effect the purposes for which they were detached.

A resolve has passed that the late mutineers, having discovered themselves unworthy of that confidence in which was founded the resolve allowing the troops to be furloughed to carry home their arms, shall not be entitled to the benefit of that resolve.<sup>6</sup>

Congress have received respectful & affectionate addresses from all ranks of people in our present Environs, expressive of the high Sense they entertain of the honor done them in the choice of residence, & of their readiness to defend the persons & support the dignity of the Members of Congress & thereby maintain the honor & importance of the great Council of the nation. An address has also been received from the citizens of Philadelphia & its Liberties. They recount their services in turning out men—paying taxes—establishing a bank, &c.

&c. To this address Congress have returned a suitable answer; tho' not such an one as the Delegates of Pennsylvania expected. By this answer as well as a variety of circumstances, there is good reason to believe that we are posted for the Summer Season at least.

The amenity of our Situation in this little village, the Salubrity of the air, & the courteousness of the Inhabitants all conspire to influence our determination in favour of this place. I discover no want of fresh meat, or vegetables, tho, I am informed that it is reported in Philadelphia that vegetables are bought in their market for our use. Weekly board is cheaper here than in Philadelphia; in other things there is no great difference and some things are dearer; such are shop goods, liquors, sowing &c. Mr. Ellery & myself are for the present *stored* in a small house about 50 rods from the College. This was a *store* when I was in College. It will be difficult when there shall be a full representation to procure suitable Lodgings for the whole, as well as for the foreign ministers & great officers of Congress, & their attendants; but in whatever place Congress shall establish their permanent residence there will be no difficulty in erecting suitable buildings in the course of one year, and all the places which are in Competition for this Honor have offered besides an exempt jurisdiction, sufficient funds for this necessary purpose. As you have been informed the question of the permant residence of Congress has been referred to October next; & from appearances I entertain great hopes that, whether any other place may be agreed on or not, a sufficient number of voices will not be obtained for Philadelphia.

Messieurs Holten & Higginson, the present Delegates for Massachusetts are good republicans & perfectly with me in political measures. It gives me pain that they are to return in Nov. next as it is uncertain what part their Successors may take. My good friends Mr. A. Lee & Col. Bland of Virginia received me with a smile of welcome & cooperate in every measure for maintaining the Sovereignty of the Individual States, as well as several other gentlemen from other States. It is astonishing to me that several Gentlemen in Congress could ever have given their voices for the late revenue recommendation in consistence with their present declared opinions. I can account for it no otherwise than by recurring to what I was told in New Haven by a gentleman who asked a certain delegate of that State<sup>7</sup> how he came to give his voice for the commutation resolve, having always theretofore been against half-pay? He answered with honesty that, it was true he voted against his own opinion & against the opinion of his State, known to him at the time but that he could, as things were circumstanced, vote no otherwise!!!!!!

I conceive great hopes that things will take a different turn in Congress now it is removed from the unhealthful & dangerous atmosphere of Philadelphia. It is observed by some Gentlemen that an ob-

vious alteration has taken place in the House on some debates of yesterday & today wherein the office of Finance is concerned & wherein I took perhaps too great a part,<sup>8</sup> considering the short time I have been here & that measures are carried which, in their opinion would have met with more opposition heretofore. Mr. Madison of Virginia & Mr. Hamilton of New York have left the House since my return;<sup>9</sup> hope their services at home will atone for any loss the public may sustain by their absence.

It is the decided opinion of several members of Congress that the late revenue recommendation will not be adopted by the States & that as Mr. Holten did me the honor to observe, the States will be daily more & more convinced of the propriety & necessity of falling in with my plan & establishing revenues within themselves & retaining the absolute controul over their own purse strings. Mr. Stelle is exceedingly embarrassed in the execution of his Commission for want of more explicit instructions. He has proposed sundry queries to Congress, which have been referred to the office of Finance for a Solution; but no report has yet been made.<sup>10</sup> He finds himself injured by the delay. I know not the reason, & it becomes not to be uncharitable; but it is a fact that nothing is done to quiet the creditors of the public; but every thing to alarm them & to interest them on the side of administration. I shall soon move in the interesting affair of consolidating the public Securities; but expect to meet with every opposition from the advocates for continental measures.

You will naturally ask how I was received & how treated in Congress? For answer I shall only observe that I have received every politeness & attention to be expected from the members of Congress & from the Secretary at War, who was pleased in a walk which he, Col. Bland, Mr. Higginson & Mr. Ellery & myself took yesterday to observe to Mr. Ellery apart, as Mr. Ellery afterwards informed me, that he had full confidence in me as a friend to this Country & that he thought me capable of making my ground good on any occasion. The Minister of France also treats me with his usual respect & familiarity. Mr. Morris I have not seen & the office for Foreign Affairs remains vacant, as I hope it will.

Some three or four members of Congress affect to be shy of me; but I am looked upon by the body as the successful opposer of a ruinous & exploded System & treated with as much, if not more attention than it is in my vanity to believe I deserve. What may be stirred up against me I cannot tell, neither do I fear; but at present I am well satisfied, with my treatment.

The Delegates of Virginia, by instruction from their Assembly have applied to Congress for Liberty to fit out & maintain at their own expence two armed vessels to protect their trade against Smugglers & to aid their collectors in the collection of such duties on their trade as

may be imposed by authority. This application lies on the Table & will no doubt pass in a few days; there appearing no considerable opposition against it.<sup>11</sup> Quere does this look like falling in with Continental measures? If so, will the Chesapeake be wide enough to contain Mr. Morris's boats, as well as those of the ancient dominion? And will armed vessels be less necessary to collect continental, than State duties? And should the Continental Frigate quit tobacco droging & fall to battering the Virginia cutters, would it not prove an happy means of cementing & perpetuating the Union of the States?

The substantial points on which the cause of 5 per Cent rests are better understood in Congress as well as in the States than they were last year. General Washingtons circular Letter<sup>12</sup> is now the toast. It is the Sheat anchor of the cause; & coxcombs will refer you to that, who cannot state an argument from it, or comprehend the force of any argument in the plainest cause. I revere that character almost to a pitch of Idolatry & it gives me pain to reflect that so good a man should be induced from any motives to give sanction by his personal authority to so destructive a measure: But it is enough to observe that he has also lent his Sanction to the resolve for commutation.

It has been reported & generally believed for some days that the definitive Treaty arrived in *the Mercury*; but this opinion loses ground. No official, or certain account has yet been received of its signature. It remains uncertain at what time the evacuation of New York will take place; but from some appearance there is reason to hope for it soon.

Hitherto I have been very happy with Mr. Ellery. He has supported me on every occasion & speaks the Sense of the State. His Excellency General Washington is to attend at Congress to assist in forming a peace establishment;<sup>13</sup> upon this Subject I find a variety of opinions. It is a fortunate circumstance that this Subject is to undergo its canvassing determination before Congress can be certain whether the States will vest them with a revenue, or not. From the disposition of some Gentlemen I have reason to believe that if Congress had a revenue at command our peace establishment would make no contemptible figure. The jurisdictional powers of Congress are much agitated. It seems agreed that an exempt jurisdiction will be ceded to Congress over a certain tract, or extent of territory wherever they shall establish their permanent residence; but gentlemen are not agreed in the principle mode, &c, of this jurisdiction. This is referred to a Committee. I hope to live long enough to see their report,<sup>14</sup> which I flatter myself will afford entertainment.

I pray you, my worthy & good friend to communicate this Letter to his Honor the Deputy Governor, & to the members of both houses of Assembly as occasion offers—to any of our other friends & particularly to my friend Mr. Carter.



I also pray to be respectfully remembred to Mrs Brown & to the several Branches of your family to whom I feel myself under many obligations.

With real esteeme, Believe me to be, Dear Sir, your affectionate friend & very hble Servt,

David Howell

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:442.

<sup>2</sup> Hebrews, 6:6.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Guy Carleton, July 26, note.

<sup>4</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Actually a resolve of July 28. See *JCC*, 24:452–53.

<sup>6</sup> See *JCC*, 24:453.

<sup>7</sup> That is, Eliphalet Dyer. See Dyer to Jonathan Trumbull, March 18, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> That is, during the debate over Robert Morris' instructions to the receivers of Continental taxes, for which see *JCC*, 24:478–82; and note 10 below.

<sup>9</sup> Actually Hamilton had left Congress only the previous day, and Madison did not return home until October although he spent most of his time in Philadelphia after Congress removed to Princeton.

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Stelle, a Rhode Islander who had been appointed commissioner for the settlement of Pennsylvania's Continental accounts on the recommendation of Howell, had submitted a number of questions to Robert Morris concerning his instructions, which Morris had referred to the comptroller general, James Milligan. For the report Morris subsequently submitted to Congress on this issue, see Morris to the President of Congress, August 12, 1783, in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), vol. 8 (forthcoming).

Stelle (1746–1819), a native of New Jersey, had moved to Providence after his graduation from the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1766, and operated a Latin grammar school there before beginning a career in business in 1770. Stelle's wife Huldak Crawford and Brown's wife Ann Carter were cousins. See *ibid.*, 7:114–15, 214; and James McLachlan, *Princetonians, 1748–1768: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976–), 1:595–97.

For the controversy over Stelle's instructions which Morris' critics, especially the Pennsylvania and Rhode Island delegates, fueled in Congress, see Thomas FitzSimons to Richard Peters, October 23, 1783, note 4; Howell to Stelle, January 14, 1784, note 1; and Robert Morris' Report to Congress, November 5, 1783, in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), vol. 8 (forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, July 26, note 2.

<sup>12</sup> See John Montgomery to William Irvine, July 26, note 2.

<sup>13</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, July 31, 1783.

<sup>14</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 28, note 3.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Wednesday July 30, 1783

I received by Mr. Remsen<sup>1</sup> your very agreeable letter dated Saturday and continued on till Monday. I was the more pleased as we had the most dismal accounts of the heat of the weather and of the mortality in Philadelphia. You will please to observe that I have written to you every morning except Sunday and dated my letters with the days of



the week as well as of the month so that you will easily see whether all my letters have come to hand.

I have observed carefully all your cautions respecting my self and had pursued the measures recommended respecting William. I ordered him to write to his mother, but you know how slow he is in his motions. I question whether he will have his letter ready even to go with this. He is well. The house and lot you enquire about is Mr. Berrier's, on the left hand at the end of the town as you go to Mrs. Stockdens. I do not wonder at your not recollecting such a house as is described in the Advertisement. I assure you it appears very different on paper from what it is in reality. The description in the news paper reminds me of the Irishmans advertisement. His master missed a pair of yarn stocking, when he called his servant to account. The servant said they were lost or stolen but he would soon get them. How will you get them? I have advertised them. You rascal they are not worth the price of an Advertisement and will disgrace me if you have described them. O Master! I have taken care of that, I have advertised them as silk stockings.

I wish the general success, but I am afraid if he should carry his point, the soil is so old that it will yield little produce. You may tell Robert I am busily engaged in the study of Agriculture and preparing some directions for him in the management of his farm.

Yesterday Mr. Hamilton called on his way home, so that for about an hour 9 states were represented in Congress. This short interval was improved to ratify the treaty with Sweden.<sup>2</sup> As soon as this was done he left Congress and proceeded on to his state so that we have now only 8 states in town. Not a word has yet been said of the return of Congress. Though every day's experience evinces that this is not a proper place. And the members are daily more & more convinced of it & their chagrin and vexation encrease. I am persuaded they will take up the matter soon—I think in the course of this week. I shall therefore wait the issue. Bond has given me notice that he intends to quit the Office as soon as Newyork is evacuated.<sup>3</sup> In the mean while he proposes to move his family to this place and has taken for them Mr. Morgan's house at the gate where the Office is now kept. For my own part I am determind to continue. I have contributed as much as in my power to erect the building & it shall tumble about my ears before I quit it. You have not said a word about Dick in your last. Has he recovered his voice? or is his harp still unstrung and hung on the willow? I hope Page, Cloe and Moll are well. Please to tell Peter I expect he will rise a little sooner and not keep his Mistress so long without her breakfast. I shall consider any failure in my absence ten times greater than when I am at home & resent it accordingly. My love to all friends. Take care of your health.

I am with sincere affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> Henry Remsen, one of Secretary Thomson's clerks.

<sup>2</sup> See JCC, 24:457–77.

<sup>3</sup> That is, George Bond, deputy secretary of Congress.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton 31st July 1783

A moment's time is only allowed me, to inform your Excellency, that I have it in command from Congress to acquaint you, that it is their pleasure that you should, as soon as convenient, after your return from the Northward, attend Congress at this place, as they think your presence will be of special service at this important period; and the change of situation may be more agreeable to your Excellency under present circumstances.

I would enclose a copy of their Resolution,<sup>1</sup> under which I act, but by the negligence of the Clerks I cannot obtain it without risking the loss of this opportunity.

It gives me a very peculiar pleasure to make this communication, as I have hopes, by this means, of seeing Mrs. Washington and your Excellency enjoying the fruits of that peace, which, under God, is in a great measure owing to your glorious exertions.

Mrs. Boudinot and Miss Susan join me in the most affectionate wishes for your and Mrs. Washingtons health and happiness.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect & esteem, Your Excellency's Obedt. & very humb. Sert.

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> This July 28 directive to Washington to confer with Congress at Princeton "as soon as may be convenient," had its origin in Washington's July 16 letter to Congress, which was referred to a committee chaired by James McHenry, for which see *JCC*, 24:452; Boudinot to Washington, July 24, note 1; and McHenry to Washington, this date.

Boudinot actually transmitted this resolve the next day with the following brief note: "Agreeable to the assurance contained in my letter of yesterday by the Post, I do myself the pleasure of inclosing the Act of Congress referred to therein." Washington Papers, DLC.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir,

Princeton, July 31st, 1783.

Since our letter of yesterday We find that Genl Carleton hath lately transmitted to Congress an account of the proceedings had in New

York in discovering and detecting certain persons concern'd in Counterfeiting Morris's Notes, &c.<sup>1</sup>

By perusing these papers we find that it appeared on examination considerable quantities of the paper bills of Connecticut have been Counterfeited & passd.

Alltho' we cannot learn the distinguishing Characters in the Counterfeits, or the particular dates or denomination of Bills that have been Counterfeited, yet we have thought it expedient to give the earliest Information of this matter.

The names of the persons detected & confined are

William May—Connecticut.

John Power—N. York, Copper plate printer.

Dennis Flynn—an Irishman lately from Massachusetts.

Sylvanus Lyon—Woodstock Connecticut.

William Nichols—Waterbury do  
(since 1776 in N. York)

Lemuel Nichols—late from Waterbury.

We are, with perfect Esteem and respect, Your Exys humble Servts.  
Sam. Huntington.

Benj. Huntington.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Samuel Huntington and signed by Samuel and Benjamin Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Guy Carleton, July 26, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to John Avery

My Dear Sir

Princeton 31st July, 1783

I have not time before the post will set out, to write you any thing about State matters or affairs that respect me personaly; therefore I have only to request that you wou'd forward me a copy of a late resolution of the honble Court, appointing a committee to correspond with the Delegates from Masstts.<sup>1</sup>

I hope that an exchange of newspapers or any thing else doth not operate against my being honored with your address at .<sup>2</sup>

I am with particular respect, your most obedient

FC (MHi: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> For the appointment of this committee by the Massachusetts General Court on July 11, "to correspond with the Delegates of this Commonwealth at Congress on the subject of the half pay & proposed commutation to the officers of the army in the recess of the Court," see Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, this date, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified; but see Holten to Avery, September 11, 1783.



been the consequences to this people if the engagements entered into by Congress had not been complied with, or a commutation proposed.

I find that it is the opinion of some persons that commutation was not the only reason, and that a change was considered necessary in the delegation from Masstts. & that for political purposes probably it originated nearer Phila. than Boston,<sup>2</sup> if so, it was a grand political movement something like what I expected & tho' they succeeded in the first attempt to get the Gentlemen out, yet I am very sure they have failed in the 2d. for the Honble Gentlemen that are to succeed us, from my personal knowledge of them, will not be less zealous in supporting the honor & attending to the interest of their constituents, or of their sovereignty and Independence.

You are pleas'd to ask my opinion respecting the old continental bills, I can only say, that it lays before Congress as the order of the day, but there has not been nine state[s] represented in Congress for a length of time excepting half a day, notwithstanding, I think there has been of late four applications to the delinquent States to keep up their representation; Congress are such a body that it is difficult to form a judgment what will be their next resolution upon this subject; but in whatever point of light the services of the delegates From Masstts. are considered by their constituents, I assure you, sir, they are not inattentive to this important affair.

It gives me real concern to hear of his Excellency's indisposition. I have the honor to be, with sincere respect, your most obedient

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Although Holten was not in Congress when the original half-pay plan was adopted in 1780, he did vote on March 22, 1783, for the provision to commute half pay for life to full pay for five years for eligible officers. See *JCC*, 24:207-10; and Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, this date, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stephen Higginson to Unknown, July 21, 1783.

## Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate

Sir.

Princeton, 31st July, 1783.

We have been honored with your letter of instructions, from the general Court of the 26th ultimo; and immediately invited the attention of Congress to the important matters therein contained, and 'tho' we improved every opportunity to expedite their final determination upon the motion we had the honor to lay before them, and the several matters that came under their consideration in consequence thereof, it was not 'till yesterday, that the inclosed resolutions were come into,<sup>1</sup> which you have now the honor to forward; and 'tho'



Congress have not thought it adviseable to comply with the wishes of the Honorable Court, in permitting an order to Mr. Lovell, to pay to that part of the continental army which belongs to Massachusetts, out of its continental tax for the year 1782, the wages that are due to them, or any part thereof; yet we hope our meritorious soldiers will reap some advantages from these determinations of Congress, by not only preventing their notes from depreciating, but in a short time of receiving their money; and by our instructions, we are required to give the earliest information on this subject; therefore we thought it adviseable, to make you acquainted with the affair, so far as Congress have already proceeded, 'tho' they have a committee at this time, examining into the reasons why the soldiers did not receive their pay agreeably to the expectations of Congress before they were discharged, or whether there has been any fraudulent proceedings, respecting their receiving payment; for there seems not to be an agreement between the representation made by the Honorable Court to their delegates, and the returns from the Regimental paymasters, of the line of Massachusetts; if Congress should come into any farther resolutions upon this subject, or any thing be discovered relative thereto, worthy of the attention of the Court; we shall do ourselves the honor to communicate it.<sup>2</sup>

We take notice of another important matter altho' only barely mentioned in said instructions, and that is the "old money," but we are still under the same embarrassment, that we had the honor of informing the Court of, some time since, there not being such a representation in Congress as are authorized to come into any determination upon this matter, altho' the delinquent states have been repeatedly requested to keep up their representation, & therefore, we can only say, that as soon as nine states are present, we shall immediately give that attention to it, that such an important subject requires.

We have also been favored with your attention of the 17th instant, accompanying an address to Congress, by way of remonstrance;<sup>3</sup> and after perusing it, we complied with your pleasure signified to us, and delivered it to the President and it was read in Congress, & committed, and you may be assured of our attention to the same, when it shall again come before Congress.

We also take notice, that the Honorable Court has been pleased to appoint a committee to correspond with the delegates of Massachusetts in Congress, "on the subject matter contained in the late address to the several states in the union, respecting an Impost, and half pay, and the proposed commutation with the officers of the army, and other important matters which relate to the being & welfare of these united states;"<sup>4</sup> And being desirous of carrying on such a correspondence as may fully answer the intentions of the Honorable Court, we have to request, that you wou'd be pleased, in your next, to ac-

quaint us whether there is any particular matter respecting these important affairs, that the Court wish to be better informed about: or whether it is expected that we treat the several subjects at large as shall be thought most proper.

We have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your most obedient servants;

S. Holten

S. Higginson

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Holten, and signed by Holten and Higginson. Addressed. "Honorable Saml Adams esqr., President of the Honorable Senate, Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup> In response to their June 26 instructions from the Massachusetts General Court, Holten and Higginson had moved on July 9 that the superintendent of finance be directed to pay the troops of the Massachusetts Line "who have been discharged on furlough." The motion was defeated, but a revised one was adopted on the 11th and the superintendent was directed to submit a report on the subject. Morris actually submitted two reports. His July 15 report was referred on the 18th to a committee consisting of Theodorick Bland, Stephen Higginson, and James McHenry. The committee's first report was debated on July 29 and adopted on the 30th. The "inclosed resolutions"—the congressional proceedings of July 9, 10, 11, 29, and 30 on this subject—are in Revolutionary War Letters, 204:401–10, M-Ar; and JCC, 24:428–32, 447–51, 477–82. See also JCC, 24:434, 441–42; PCC, item 186, fol. 112; and Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 1, 1783. The Massachusetts delegates' instructions of June 26 are in Edwin M. Bacon, *Supplement to the Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts [1780–1784]*. . . (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1896), pp. 177–78.

<sup>2</sup> Theodorick Bland's committee, which had been assigned Morris' July 18 report on the 26th, submitted their second report on August 25, for which see JCC, 24:447–51, 519–21; PCC, item 186, fol. 115; and Morris' letters to Congress of July 15 and 18 in the forthcoming volume 8 of Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson).

<sup>3</sup> Actually a July 11 not "17th" letter of the Massachusetts General Court, responding to Congress' April 26 fiscal "Address to the States" and complaining of the high costs of the civil list and Congress' commutation of the half-pay claims of Continental Army officers, which were represented as major causes of Massachusetts' opposition to ratifying the proposed impost amendment, for which see JCC, 25:607–9; and PCC, item 65, 2:185–90. The congressional response to the letter is difficult to follow. It was referred this day to a committee consisting of James Duane, Samuel Huntington, and Arthur Lee, who submitted a report on September 2 that was recommitted the same day to a committee consisting of Huntington, Abiel Foster, and Elbridge Gerry, who in turn subsequently submitted reports on September 8 and 18. The former was taken up on September 16, beginning a debate that continued through the 19th, in the midst of which the second report was submitted and recommitted on the 18th to a committee consisting of James Madison, John F. Mercer, and James Duane, who submitted a report on the commutation issue the following day that was adopted on September 25. In the meantime, that part of the Massachusetts remonstrance dealing with the expense of the civil list was referred on September 17 to still another committee consisting of Duane, Abraham Clark, Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Huntington, and Hugh Williamson, which submitted a partial report on September 27, was "renewed" on December 18, and did not issue a final report until March 4, 1784. See PCC, item 20, 1:147–62, item 36, 2:185–86, item 186, fols. 115, 121, 125; and JCC, 24:483n.2, 25:571–74, 577–87, 606–13. See also Samuel Holten's Notes, August ?; and Massachusetts Delegates to Massachusetts Assembly Committee, September 11 and October 1, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> Holten is quoting Samuel Adams' July 17 letter to the Massachusetts delegates, the draft of which is in the Adams Papers, NN. According to the proceedings of the Mas-

sachusetts General Court, however, this committee, which was appointed on the last day of the Court's 1783 summer session, had been directed simply to correspond "on the subject of the half pay & proposed commutation to the officers of the army in the recess of the Court." In addition to Adams, who was named to the committee by the Senate, the committee included Nathaniel Appleton and John Rowe from the Massachusetts House. *Massachusetts House Journal*, July 11, 1783, p. 175, DLC(ESR).

Holten and Higginson were particularly sensitive about the subject of the "proposed commutation" because they and Nathaniel Gorham had been dropped from the Massachusetts delegation to Congress in June because of their vote in support of Congress' March 22 commutation resolve, for which see *JCC*, 24:207–10; and the preceding entry.

## James McHenry to George Washington

My dear General,

Princetown 31st July 1783

You will forgive me for not writing to you sooner and attribute it to its real cause, not want of the sincerest inclination, but of leisure. Perhaps before this reaches you the president will have transmitted our resolve for bringing you here and relieving you from that disagreeable situation of which you have so justly complained in your letter to Congress. I was chairman of the committee on that letter and reported the substance of the resolve which will give us the pleasure of your company.<sup>1</sup> The original resolve was that we should avail ourselves of your experience and advice in the formation of the peace establishment—but this was looped off in order to get Rhode Island to agree to the other. This state is opposed to a peace establishment. You will however prepare yourself on this subject as you will be consulted on it, and bring with you such papers as may be necessary. To-morrow we shall make a motion to have proper accommodations provided.

You will be pleased to make my respects to Mrs. Washington and believe me sincerely and with real attachment, yours

James McHenry

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, this date.

## Alexander Hamilton's Defense of Congress

[July ? 1783]

However men actuated by private pique or party views may take pleasure in stigmatizing the conduct of Congress with or without reason, considerate and good men who are solicitous for the honor of their country will act upon very different principles. They will view with regret those instances in which the measures of that body may be

really intitled to blame, will be cautious how they bestow it where it is not merited, and will always examine with candour before they condemn. Though it is certainly true that the infallibility of that or any other body is a doctrine to be reprobated in a free country, and a servile complaisance to its errors would be as dangerous as despicable; yet it must be allowed that an opposite extreme may be little less pernicious. A captious disposition to arraign without examination, to accumulate undistinguishing censure, to excite jealousies against the phantom without the substance of power, to blame for defects in the constitution itself not in the administration of it, is a vice of nearly as mischievous a tendency in the public mind as a blind and superstitious reverence. In the present circumstances of this country most evil is to be apprehended from the prevalency of the former spirit; for new governments emerging out of a revolution, are naturally deficient in authority and require that every effort should be made to strengthen not to undermine the public confidence. This observation applies with peculiar force to the government of the union; the constitutional imbecillity of which must be apparent to every man of reflexion.

It is therefore painful to hear, as is too fashionable a practice, indiscriminate censures heaped upon Congress for every public failure and misfortune; without considering the intire disproportion between the means which that body have it in their power to employ and their responsibility. It is equally exceptionable to see all the errors of their predecessors concentrated in a mass of accusation against the subsisting body. If there have been meritorious acts performed by Congress at any period of the revolution, all the praise of it is confined to the immediate actors; if there have been faults committed they descend with increasing odium upon all who come after. The good deeds of Congress die or go off the stage with the individuals who are the authors of them; but their mistakes are the inheritance of all those who succeed.

It is true Congress in a political capacity are perpetual; but the individuals who compose it in fact undergo frequent changes. It is not more reasonable to charge any present set of members for the mismanagement of a former set allowing it to be real; than it would be to impute to George 3 the adulteries or murders<sup>2</sup> of Henry the 8th. It is a principle of the English law that the King never dies; and yet no man in his senses on account of this fiction of the law will transfer to the reigning monarch the infamy of his predecessor's misconduct. It is not less unjust or absurd to blame a subsisting Congress the greater part of whose members have had no agency in the measures which are the objects of crimination, for the ill consequences of those measures.

It is not much to be wondered at that this error should exist among the uninformed parts of the community, who can only be expected to have general notions of Congress without any precise ideas of their

constitution—and who therefore will be disposed to view them always under the same form without attending to the changes which the body is continually undergoing. But when men more enlightened fall into the same fallacy it is an argument of disingenuous intentions, and proves them to be under the influence of passion of prejudice or of something worse.

The chief topics of clamour against Congress are either positive breaches of faith by avowed departures from express stipulations as the reduction of the Continental money from forty to one, or negative, as the general nonperformance of the public engagements.

As to those of the first kind without entering into a discussion of particular instances, without examining whether those which may have happened may have been produced by inexperience, necessity, levity or design, it will be sufficient in justification of the present Congress to say that a large majority of them had no share whatever in those acts which are the subject of complaint. And As to those of the last kind, there always has been and is a conclusive and satisfactory answer to be given for Congress. The power of raising money is not vested in them. All they can do is to assign their quotas to the several states and to make requisitions from them. This they have not failed to do in the most ample manner; and if the states do not comply to enable them to execute their engagements, the delinquency is not to be charged upon Congress.

Should it be said that Congress ought not to have made engagements without the power of fulfilling them, this is to say that they ought to have given up the contest and to have betrayed the liberty of America. It was necessary to incur debts to support the revolution; and no man who is a sincere friend to it, can be serious in advancing the position that this essential resource ought not to have been employed from a scruple of that nature. If Congress indeed after a definitive conclusion of the peace consent to be the instruments of future engagements, without more effectual provision at their disposal, they will then merit the indignation of every honest man.

But the present Congress have more than this general argument to offer in their vindication. They can say with truth that so far from having committed any positive violations of faith, they have manifested an uniform and anxious solicitude for the restoration of public credit, and for doing complete justice to every class of public creditor. Having found by repeated and daily experience that the provisions of the confederation were unequal to the purpose; they have had recourse to extraordinary expedients. Their plan of the <sup>3</sup> for funding the public debt is now depending before the several legislatures, nor is it possible for them to give a more decisive proof of their disposition to justice than is contained in that plan.





Alexander Hamilton

Congress stand in a very delicate and embarrassing situation: on one hand they are blamed for not doing what they have no means of doing on another their attempts are branded with the imputations of a spirit of encroachment and a lust of power.

In these circumstances it is the duty of all those who have the welfare of the community at heart to unite their efforts to direct the attention of the people to the true source of the public disorders the want of an efficient general government and to impress upon them this conviction that these states to be happy must have a stronger bond of Union and a Confederation capable of drawing forth the resources of the Country. This will be a more laudable occupation than that of cavilling against measures, the imperfection of which is the necessary result of the constitution.

It may appear extraordinary that these observations should be introductory to remarks on the transaction which at this time principally engages the public attention—to wit the removal of Congress from this city; but there is a chain of ideas which naturally connects the general opinion of Congress with the judgment to be passed upon their conduct in this particular instance. This chain will easily be traced by men of discernment.

MS (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:426–30.

<sup>1</sup> The last paragraph of this defense of Congress suggests that the statement was meant to introduce a longer essay justifying Congress' removal to Princeton and may have been intended for publication in a Philadelphia newspaper, as Hamilton refers there to "the removal of Congress from this city." No other information has been found to indicate when or why Hamilton drafted this statement. It could have been written in late July after he returned to Philadelphia from Princeton, but his reference to Congress' "removal" as "the transaction which at this time principally engages the public attention" suggests a date soon after that event.

<sup>2</sup> At this point Hamilton interlined "adulteries or murders" above "crimes of," but let all the words stand.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 18th April.

## Alexander Hamilton's Draft Resolution

[July? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

Whereas in the opinion of this Congress the confederation of the United States is defective in the following essential points, to wit:

First and generally in confining the power of the federal government within too narrow limits, withholding from it that efficacious authority and influence in all matters of general concern which are indispensable to the harmony and welfare of the whole—embarrassing general provisions by unnecessary details and inconvenient exceptions incompatible with their nature tending only to create jealousies

and disputes respecting the proper bounds of the authority of the United States and of that of the particular states, and a mutual interference of the one with the other.

Secondly. In confounding legislative and executive powers in a single body, as that of determining on the number and quantity of force, land and naval, to be employed for the common defence, and of directing their operations when raised and equipped—with that of ascertaining and making requisitions for the necessary sums or quantities of money to be paid by the respective states into the common treasury; contrary to the most approved and well founded maxims of free government which require that the legislative, executive and judicial authorities should be deposited in distinct and separate hands.

Thirdly. In the want of a Fœderal Judicature having cognizance of all matters of general concern in the last resort, especially those in which foreign nations, and their subjects are interested; from which defect, by the interference of the local regulations of particular states militating directly or indirectly against the powers vested in the Union, the national treaties will be liable to be infringed, the national faith to be violated and the public tranquillity to be disturbed.

Fourthly. In vesting the United States in Congress assembled with the *power of general taxation*, comprehended in that of “ascertaining the necessary sums of money to be raised for the common defence and of appropriating and applying the same for defraying the public expences”—and yet rendering that power, so essential to the existence of the union, nugatory, by withholding from them all controul over either the imposition or the collection of the taxes for raising the sums required; whence it happens that the inclinations not the abilities of the respective states are in fact the criterion of their contributions to the common expence; and the public burthen has fallen and will continue to fall with very unequal weight.

5thly. In fixing a rule for determining the proportion of each state towards the common expence which if practicable at all, must in the execution be attended with great expence, inequality, uncertainty and difficulty.

6thly. In authorising Congress “to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States” without the power of establishing funds to secure the repayment of the money borrowed or the redemption of the bills emitted; from which must result one of these evils, either a want of sufficient credit in the first instance to borrow, or to circulate the bills emitted, whereby in great national exigencies the public safety may be endangered, or in the second instance, frequent infractions of the public engagements, disappointments to lenders, repetitions of the calamities of depreciating paper, a continuance of the injustice and mischiefs of an unfunded debt, and first or last the annihilation of public credit. Indeed, in authorising Congress at all to

emit an *unfunded* paper as the sign of value, a resource which though useful in the infancy, of this country, indispensable in the commencement of the revolution, ought not to continue a formal part of the constit[ut]ion, nor ever hereafter to be employed, being it [in] its nature pregnant with abuses and liable to be made the engine of imposition and fraud, holding out temptations equally pernicious to the integrity of government and to the morals of the people.

7thly. In not making proper or competent provision for interior or exterior defence: for interior defence, by leaving it to the individual states to appoint all regimental officers of the land forces, to raise the men in their own way, to cloath, arm and equip them at the expence of the United States; from which circumstances have resulted and will hereafter result, great confusion in the military department, continual disputes of rank, languid and disproportionate levies of men, an enormous increase of expence for want of system and uniformity in the manner of conducting them, and from the competitions of state bounties; by an ambiguity in the 4th clause of the 6th article, susceptible of a construction which would devolve upon the particular states in time of peace the care of their own defence both by sea and land and would preclude the United states from raising a single regiment or building a single ship, before a declaration of war, or an actual commencement of hostilities; a principle dangerous to the confederacy in different respects, by leaving the United states at all times unprepared for the defence of their common rights, obliging them to begin to raise an army and to build and equip a navy at the moment they would have occasion to employ them, and by putting into the hands of a few states, who from their local situations are more immediately exposed, all the standing forces of the country; thereby not only leaving the care of the safety of the whole to a part which will naturally be both unwilling and unable to make effectual provision at its particular expence, but also furnishing grounds of jealousy and distrust between the states; unjust in its operation to those states in whose hands they are by throwing the exclusive burthen of maintaining those forces upon them, while their neighbours immediately and all the states ultimately would share the benefits of their services: For exterior defence, in authorising Congress "to build and equip a navy" without providing any means of manning it, either by requisitions of the states, by the power of registering and drafting the seamen in rotation, or by embargoes in cases of emergency, to induce them to accept employment on board the ships of war; the omission of all which leaves no other resource than voluntary enlistment, a resource which has been found ineffectual in every country, and for reasons of peculiar force in this.

8thly. In not vesting in the United States a general superintendence of trade, equally necessary in the view of revenue and regulation; of

revenue because duties on commerce, when moderate, are one of the most agreeable and productive species of it, which cannot without great disadvantages be imposed by particular states, while others refrain from doing it, but must be imposed in concert, and by laws operating upon the same principles, at the same moment, in all the states, otherwise those states which should not impose them would engross the commerce of such of their neighbours as did; of regulation because by general prohibitions of particular articles, by a judicious arrangement of duties, sometimes by bounties on the manufacture or exportation of certain commodities, injurious branches of commerce might be discouraged, favourable branches encouraged, useful products and manufactures promoted; none of which advantages can be as effectually attained by separate regulations, without a general superintending power; because also, it is essential to the due observance of the commercial stipulations of the United States with foreigner powers, an in[ter]ference with which will be unavoidable if the different states have the exclusive regulation of their own trade and of course the construction of the treaties entered into.

9thly. In defeating essential powers by provisos and limitations inconsistent with their nature; as the power of making treaties with foreign nations, "provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the importation or exportation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever," a proviso susceptible of an interpretation which includes a constitutional possibility of defeating the treaties of commerce entered into by the United States: As also the power "of regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states *provided* that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated"—and others of a similar nature.

10thly. In granting the United States the sole power "of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states" without the power of regulating the foreign coin in circulation; though the one is essential to the due exercise of the other, as there ought to be such proportions maintained between the national and foreign coin as will give the former a preference in all internal negotiations; and without the latter power, the operations of government in a matter of primary importance to the commerce and finances of the United States will be exposed to numberless obstructions.

11thly. In requiring the assent of *nine* states to matters of principal importance and of seven to all others, except adjournments from day to day; a rule destructive of vigour, consistency or expedition in the administration of affairs, tending to subject the *sense* of the majority to *that* of the minority, by putting it in the power of a small combination



to retard and even to frustrate the most necessary measures and to oblige the greater number, in cases which require speedy determinations, as happens in the most interesting concerns of the community, to come into the views of the smaller; the evils of which have been felt in critical conjunctures and must always make the spirit of government, a spirit of compromise and expedient, rather than of, system and energy.

12thly. In vesting in the Fœderal government the sole direction of the interests of the United States in their intercourse with foreign nations, without empowering it to pass all general laws in aid and support of the laws of nations; for the want of which authority, the faith of the United States may be broken, their reputation sullied, and their peace interrupted by the negligence or misconception of any particular state.

And Whereas experience hath clearly manifested that the powers reserved to the Union in the Confederation are unequal to the purpose of effectually d[r]awing forth the resources of the respective members for the common welfare and defence; whereby the United States have upon several occasions been exposed to the most critical and alarming situations; have wanted an army adequate to their defence and proportioned to the abilities of the country—have on account of that deficiency seen essential posts reduced, others eminently endangered, whole states and large parts of others overrun and ravaged by small bodies of the enemy's forces—have been destitute of sufficient means of feeding, cloathing, paying and appointing that army, by which the troops, rendered less efficient for military operations, have been exposed to sufferings, which nothing but unparalleled patience, perseverance and patriotism could have endured—whereby also the United States have been too often compelled to make the administration of their affairs a succession of temporary expedients, inconsistent with order, œconomy, energy or a scrupulous adherence to the public engagements; and now find themselves at the close of a glorious struggle for independence, without any certain means of doing justice to those who have been its principal supporters—to an army which has bravely fought and patiently suffered—to citizens who have chearfully lent their money, and to others who have in different ways contributed their property and their personal service to the common cause; obliged to rely for the only effectual mode of doing that justice, by funding the debt on solid securities, on the precarious concurrence of thirteen distinct deliberatives, the dissent of either of which may defeat the plan and leave these states at this early period of their existence involved in all the disgrace and mischiefs of violated faith and national bankruptcy.

And Whereas notwithstanding we have by the blessing of providence so far happily escaped the complicated dangers of such a situa-

tion, and now see the object of our wishes secured by an honorable peace, it would be unwise to hazard a repetition of the same dangers and embarrassments in any future war in which these states may be engaged, or to continue this extensive empire under a government unequal to its protection and prosperity.

And Whereas it is essential to the happiness and security of these states, that their union, should be established on the most solid foundations, and it is manifest that this desirable object cannot be elected but by a government capable both in peace and war of making every member of the Union contribute in just proportion to the common necessities, and of combining and directing the forces and wills of the several parts to a general end; to which purposes in the opinion of Congress the present confederation is altogether inadequate.

And Whereas on the spirit which may direct the councils and measures of these states at the present juncture may depend their future safety and welfare; Congress conceive it to be their duty freely to state to their constituents the defects which by experience have been discovered in the present plan of the Fœderal Union and solemnly to call their attention to a revisal and amendment of the same:

Therefore Resolved that it be earnestly recommended to the several states to appoint a convention to meet at \_\_\_\_\_ on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ with full powers to revise the confederation and to adopt and propose such alterations as to them shall appear necessary to be finally approved or rejected by the states respectively—and that a Committee of \_\_\_\_\_ be appointed to prepare an address upon the subject.

MS (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton and endorsed by him: "Resolution intended to be submitted to Congress at Princeton in 1783; but abandoned for want of support." Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:420–26.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's endorsement contains the sole evidence for dating this document, and as he returned to Philadelphia from Princeton before the end of July it seems clear that he drafted it before his departure. Furthermore no information has been found to indicate just why Hamilton concluded that he could expect little support for his call for a convention to amend and strengthen the Articles of Confederation. The manuscript therefore stands simply as a personal statement of his views on the defects of the confederation—he wrote of its "constitutional imbecillity" in his defense of Congress in the preceding entry—and documents the range of frustrating problems and issues he had encountered as a delegate.

## Arthur Lee to the Public

[July ? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

To the CITIZENS of Philadelphia and its Liberties.

An address from some of the citizens of Philadelphia, to the United States in Congress, contains a number of assertions so contrary to

what I have understood to be fact, that I cannot refrain from animadverting upon it; more especially as the evident tendency of the misrepresentation it contains is to persuade you, that you have done your duty in the union in a pre-eminent and distinguished manner. This is a flattering persuasion, more likely therefore to be admitted without any strict examination of the facts on which it is founded; and the conclusion, I am afraid, will be a relaxation of your exertions, from a false conception that you have already done comparatively too much.

This can redound neither to your honor, nor to that of the union. I trust therefore that I shall consult both, in holding out to you a true state of your conduct, in contradiction to the flattering but false one which is contained in the address. I trust too that your candour and good sense will prefer salutary admonition to delusive adulation. Deception is always dangerous, but most so when it affects the honor and interests of the people.

The address says, the citizens of Philadelphia have been "*free of their fortunes*. The monthly return of taxes from Pennsylvania, of which the city and liberties form so great a part, has not been exceeded by any, and we wish they had been proportionably equalled by every State in the union. To which we may add the establishment of the bank, which has extended its usefulness to the public service, and acquired a permanency as effectual, and in some instances superior to those of older nations."

That you may judge how free you have been of your fortunes, and what proportion your contributions have borne to your means, it will be necessary to place before you those contributions, and those means. And as you have appealed to the monthly returns of taxes, to those returns, which are compleat for 1782, I shall appeal.

The requisition from you, for that year, was	1,012,868 Dol.
The whole of your payments in the same was	107,923 or 1-10th
The requisition from the State of Rhode- Island, for the same year, was	179,041
The payments of that State were	37,642 or 1-5th

Of the exact truth of this statement you may be informed at the Office of Finance, or at the Treasury. As both these were more immediately accessible to you, than to any other citizens of the United States, it is somewhat surprizing that you should have held up to the world a boast, that your contributions had been exceeded by none—when it was so easily refutable, by an appeal to the records within your reach, and even under your eyes. From them it appears, that even the State of Rhode-Island, the abused and reprobated State of Rhode-Island, that State against which this very decent reflection in your address, "*We do not amuse the world with calling on Congress to do justice to the army, and to the creditors of America, and at the same time withhold the means by which that justice is to be fulfilled,*" was principally intended, has doubled

the proportion of your payments, having furnished one-fifth of her quotas; and your State (*of which the city and its liberties form so great a part*) but one-tenth.

Many of the other States, as Georgia, the two Carolina's, Virginia, New-Jersey, and New-York, have contributed so largely in specific supplies for the army, that, I am persuaded, if those were added to their money-payments, your proportion of contribution would be found among the lowest in the union.

But taking it upon the contribution more favourable to your pretensions, that of money, what foundation does it furnish for your vain-glorious boasting, that you have been free of your fortunes for the public service—or how does it warrant your arrogating superior merit to yourselves, by vilifying the rest of the union? Is the paying one hundred thousand dollars, when one million was required for the public service, being "*free of your fortunes?*" Is paying a little more in money, and much less in specifics, than most of the other States, a just ground for pluming yourselves at their expence? Is the State that furnishes subsistence for the soldier, less meritorious than that which supplies money to purchase the subsistence? Or, does the profit accruing to individuals, through whose hands the money must pass to be converted into subsistence, stamp a preference on pecuniary to those of specific contributions?

So much for your contributions, which, compared either with what was required of you, or with the effectual supplies of other States, furnish certainly no real matter for claims of pre eminence, or public boasting.

But infinitely less will the foundation for these claims appear, when we measure your contributions with your means, compared with those of other States in the union. And I am sure you must accede to the fairness of this mode of adjusting the merits of a State, since it is an eternal rule of justice, that *to whom much is given, from them much shall be required*. The following estimate then will shew the sums that centered in Philadelphia in one year, from the residence of Congress in that city, which was an advantage enjoyed by no other State, and consequently an exclusive faculty of contribution.

I have estimated every thing as low as possible, because the lowest estimate will shew you, that you have not contributed in proportion to your extraordinary means, and much less equivalent to the ordinary and extraordinary means together.

The estimate for one year stands thus:

Drawn to Philadelphia, from the other States, by	
their contributions to the United States,	Dol. 313,031
Public money in specie put into the bank,	462,505
Clear profit on goods imported and supplied to other	
States, whose importations were stopt by the	
enemy being in them; the prime cost supposed	

650,000, and the profit two prices,	1,625,000
Profit on public bills on France,	148,568
Monies expended in Philadelphia by members of Congress, their officers, those necessarily attending to do business with Congress, and their officers, foreign Ministers, &c.	194,642
	2,743,746

These are some of your extraordinary means, for it is not possible to form any estimate of them all; and surely from these alone a great deal more might have been reasonably expected, before you could with any propriety boast of your having been “free of your money.” I am sensible that the whole of what was drawn from the other States, in their *quotas* and imported on loan from Europe, though centered in Philadelphia, was not expended among its citizens, and therefore I am willing to allow any deduction on those sums, which any one better informed than myself may shew to be reasonable. Truth is my object, and a just estimate of your merits. To detract from these I would not willingly exaggerate a single dollar.

Nor were the ordinary means of raising your *quota* less eminently in your favour. To shew this let it be remembered, that for four years your State had not felt the ravaging hand of an army, or enemy, or an impress: That your militia had not been called, during that period, to serve out of the State, but the countrymen have been at uninterrupted liberty to cultivate their lands, and the citizens to pursue their trade: That your commerce flourished, your tradesmen prospered, and your citizens were enriched, beyond any former example in a similar period of time. The war, which was a burthen and calamity to other States, was to you a golden blessing, fertile of elegance and opulence.

As proof of this, let me remind you, that in one year your imports in goods amounted to one million of money: That, in one year, your flour shipped to the Havannah brought you upwards of half a million in specie: That your privateers brought in a multitude of most valuable prizes: That such was the enormous profit you derived from commerce, that you could afford to give as far as ten per cent per month for the use of money: That in fine we may say, without any exaggeration, that, in point of fortune, your tradesmen had become gentlemen, and your merchants princes.

Such were your means, and such your advantages, in 1782; compare them with your contributions, and see how amazingly they out-measure them—how little reason you have to boast, that you have been “free of your fortunes,” or to arrogate pre-eminence in public merit. Superior to every State in the advantages arising from the residence of Congress—superior to most in the prosperity of your agriculture, your manufactures, and your commerce—even in monied contributions



you was inferior, by one half, to one State, viz. Rhode-Island, and in that of specifics inferior to almost every State.

But the comparison (odious I confess comparisons are, but you have begun them) in the *quotas* of troops, will shew you to have been still more deficient in your duty to the union.

This estimate stands thus:

States.	Inhabitants.	Quota of troops, 1782.
New-Hampshire,	100,000	697
Massachusetts,	350,000	4326
Rhode-Island,	60,000	467
Connecticut,	200,000	2351
New-York,	200,000	1037
New-Jersey,	120,000	868
Pennsylvania,	300,000	1592
Delaware,	30,000	307
Maryland,	250,000	1604
Virginia,	400,000	949
North Carolina,	200,000	1005

Here you will perceive, that in proportionable contributions of men Massachusetts has almost trebled you. Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, and Delaware, have nearly doubled your quota. New-Hampshire and Maryland out-number you by one-third. New-York, and North-Carolina, under all their disadvantages, are equal; and that it is the single State of Virginia only you can pretend to have exceeded. You will permit us then to wish, in your own words, that Pennsylvania had "*proportionably equalled the other States,*" in furnishing men to bring the war to an "*happy issue,*" and that you had not amused the world, with boasting of your having "*made every exertion which principle could inspire, or fortitude support,*" while you were so defective in the most material of all exertions.

But a review of the circumstances of the different States in 1782, will set your delinquency in a more just and strong light. Georgia and South-Carolina were under the ravaging hand of an enemy. North-Carolina was recovering from the desolation of two armies. Virginia was hardly emerged from two preceding years of devastation from an enemy, in part of the State, and a constant impress in the rest. Her militia had been drawn from the culture of her fields, to fight afar off, at Cambden, Guilford, King's Mountain, and the Cowpens. She had been exhausted, both of men, money and provisions, by almost the whole weight of the southern war in 1780. In the succeeding year a hostile army laid waste every thing before it. Our own army consumed all that could be seized, where the enemy did not come; her militia was on constant duty; her shores were continually plundered by the refugee barges; her fields were laid waste, or uncultivated; her commerce was entirely destroyed; and her paper, the only monied re-

source she could have, was depreciated to absolute annihilation. So circumstanced, so exhausted by the burthen and devastation of war in her very bosom; so overwhelmed with accumulated calamities; and so deprived of all resources—it was not reasonable to expect contributions from her, either in men or money. It must be remembered too, that early in the war that State had the peculiar misfortune of having her chief commercial city burnt, which gave an irrecoverable blow to her commerce, and the various resources derivable from that. Next in the list stands Maryland, which was free from the inroads and injuries of war, and exerted herself accordingly. Delaware did its duty as to men, but was unpardonably deficient in money-contributions. We come now to Pennsylvania, in long and full possession of internal peace, agriculture, trade and commerce. It seemed among the other States like the land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey; her cities enlarging, her inhabitants increasing in wealth, and her fields seeming to laugh and sing. Yet out of her abundance what did she contribute?—a handful of men, and one-tenth of her quota in money. This, when we appeal to facts, appears to be the prodigality with which you devoted your lives and fortunes to the support of the union. Continuing our review, we shall find New-Jersey, New-York and Connecticut, occasionally burthened with the maintenance of the army, or exposed to the depredations of the enemy. Yet those States did in the whole contribute as largely, in men and money, as the untouched and prosperous State of Pennsylvania.

Rhode-Island had been free from an enemy only since the arrival of the French troops; her capital having been a British post almost three years; her navigation chiefly destroyed; her manufactures, and the various branches of business depending on her foreign trade, entirely failing.<sup>2</sup> The most fertile parts of the State liable to daily ravages from the enemy, and many of her wealthy inhabitants retiring, and carrying off their property to other States for shelter, while those who remained were worn out with excessive military duty on the shores; yet so recently after such unparalleled sufferings, the State of Rhode-Island doubled, in proportion, your contributions. Massachusetts, though by no means possessed of your advantages, exceeded you more in her quota of men than she was inferior to you in her supply of money. But there is yet a fact, with regard to filling up her line, which will prove how greatly the exertions of Massachusetts transcended those of Pennsylvania. The fact is, that the bounties for raising their men amounted to 200 specie dollars a man, so that this service was an immediate expence to her of near half a million of dollars. This observation applies also with equal force in favour of Rhode-Island, on the scale of comparative merit. Whoever will examine into the State debt and taxes of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, will find that in the former they treble those in the latter; an infallible

criterion of which has been most free of her fortunes, which has made the greatest exertions, has borne and must bear the greatest burthens, and which, though unboasting, deserves most praise. And if we consider too that the great source of wealth to Massachusetts, the fishery, was entirely stopt by the war, it will lighten still more the Pennsylvania scale. Permit me, gentlemen, to hope you are convinced, that the exertions of the other States, in support of the war, have at least been as you wished, *proportionably equal to your own*. I am happy to have had the means of shewing you your wishes were fulfilled.

But you assume a merit in the establishment of a bank in your city, and charge that institution as a service rendered by you to the United States; and yet in truth this establishment was a peculiar benefit to you, procured by the favour of Congress, and the use of the public money. When you would not fill up the subscription, so as to enable the bank to open agreeable to its charter, four hundred thousand dollars of the public money was put into the bank, which was to supply the place of the stock, and the bank opened almost two years before the original subscription was filled up. This deposit of public money was therefore the foundation-stone of your bank, from which you have derived so much reputation, and such eminent advantages.

And now, gentlemen, give me leave to advise you, when next you are inclined to make a parade of your merits, to be sure that they are real. You cannot but feel how unbecoming it is to assume merits that do not belong to you—how humiliating to be exposed as vain boasters. When too you are next inclined to draw comparisons, be pleased to remember they are invidious, if true; if false, odious. Let me exhort you to redeem your character, by doubling your exertions; and—let your pride pardon what your nature needs, the salutary caution of a friend.

Reprinted from the *Providence Gazette*, September 6, 1783. This letter appeared under the following heading: "To the Printer of the Providence Gazette. By giving a Place, in your next Gazette, to the following Strictures on the late Address to Congress, from some of the Citizens of Philadelphia and its Liberties, you will oblige An Old Customer."

<sup>1</sup> Lee apparently composed this letter as a result of his work on a committee appointed July 23 to consider an address to Congress from more than 870 Philadelphia citizens vindicating Pennsylvania's support for Congress and the war effort, for which see Richard Peters to Thomas FitzSimons, July 23, 1783. Congress adopted the committee's bland and noncommittal response to the address on July 28, for which see Elias Boudinot to Thomas Willing, July 30, and Willing ensured that the address, Congress' resolve, and Boudinot's letter were published in all five Philadelphia newspapers between August 4 and 9. Lee, who harbored animosity toward Pennsylvania and Robert Morris and strenuously resisted any attempt to return Congress to Philadelphia, undoubtedly felt that a far stronger response was in order. He could have composed this rebuttal at any time between his appointment to the committee in late July and mid-August, after the Philadelphia address appeared in the newspapers. Whether he attempted to have his "Strictures" published in Philadelphia is not known nor is it clear whether he sent the essay directly to John Carter, publisher of the *Providence Gazette*, or to a New England colleague such as Jonathan Arnold or James Warren with instructions to solicit publication. It is clear, however, that Lee penned a continuation of the "Strictures,"

probably after Francis Bailey reprinted the original essay from the *Providence Gazette* in the *Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia) on October 8, and sent it to Warren for publication, for which see Lee to Warren, October 16, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> At this point the printer inserted a double dagger to which he keyed the following note: "*In the year 1774 the town of Newport sent to sea nearly 140 vessels, small and great. In 1782 that town did not send out more than 5 or 6. At the former period, there were in that town 21 distilleries, and 9 spermaceti-works; at the latter, not a single one of either.*"

## Elias Boudinot to Guy Carleton

Sir,

Princeton 1st August 1783

I had the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 24th ult. by the return of the Messenger who brought it.

I am now honored with the commands of Congress on the subject of that letter, and the papers therein enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

Congress have considered those communications, relative to certain persons suspected of forging and passing the Notes issued from the Office of Finance of the United States; and on the maturest deliberation they presume your Excellency will give orders, that such of the persons, subjects of any of these United States, as are or may be in custody on a charge of having made or passed within any of the United States, Counterfeits either of the notes or paper Bills of credit of the United States or any of them, shall be delivered up, together with the proofs which shall be collected against them, to be tried under the Jurisdiction to whom the cognizance of their crimes belongs.

If this measure should meet your Excellency's approbation, a Guard shall attend at the time and place to be appointed by your Excellency for the purpose of receiving and securing such of the Criminals as fall under the above description.

With regard to further enquiries and to Criminals, who are not amenable to any of these States, Congress have entire confidence, that justice will be done, and such atrocious Offenders brought to condign punishment.

Enclosed is an original paper I found within one of the copies sent by your Excellency, and as it may be material in the enquiry, I take the liberty of returning it.

My private Secretary Mr. Sterett going on business to New-Ark, I have directed him, if a convenient opportunity offers on Monday, to proceed as far as New-York and deliver this himself.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to Carleton, July 26, note.

## James McHenry to Margaret Caldwell

*Princetown 1st August 1783.* Expresses gratitude for receipt of her letter and pleasure that her mother approves of their relationship. Continues: "The dignified body of run-aways, [as we] call them, seem as obstinate as they are [...]ed. They send a polite answer in return to your address, but they do not incline returning themselves. Yesterday their temper was tried by a motion which I seconded. It was to go back to Philadelphia, and if congress should not agree to fix their permanent residence by the last week in October, the president was to adjourn sometime in the week following to Annapolis. The motion will be debated again, perhaps to-day, but I can tell you, before hand, that the chances are not in its favor."<sup>1</sup>

RC (MdHi: McHenry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Although there is no entry for July 31 in the journals of Congress, this motion was discussed by Secretary Thomson in his letter to his wife of this date. The motion was debated again this day and postponed to "Wednesday next," although it was not taken up again until August 13. See Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, this date, note 3.

## North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin

Sir, Princeton August the 1st. 1783  
Our private letters of the 24th of June, 5th and 19th of July,<sup>1</sup> with the enclosures will inform your Excellency pretty generally of the subject to which they relate. We shall now state the reasons which induced Congress to remove from Philadelphia to this place. The report of the Committee of Congress which is herewith inclosed<sup>2</sup> states the general cause: but there are reasons not mentioned by the Committee which gave the meeting a very serious air. These we shall try to explain. From your general acquaintance with Civil History you must have observed that the cases are numerous in which armies have overturned the liberties of a nation whom they had been hired to defend. More than half of the Empires now on the face of the earth have been formed, not like ours by the choice of the people, but by the swords of a mutinous or victorious army. We had nothing to fear from the disposition of our army, provided they could have been paid; But we believe there never was an instance of an Army being kept together who were so ill paid as ours much less of their being disbanded without pay. Congress have long viewed the present as a dreadful crisis which must prove truly alarming to the peace & liberties of our Country, unless, effectual payment could be made to the Troops. The conduct of some of the States put it out of our power to borrow money & we need not add that the States have not enabled us by their own exertions to pay



the army nor any other creditors. In the late address of Congress to the States you will see papers, by which You will observe, that a very dangerous flame was nearly kindled in the main army. It was happily put out or covered by the exertions of our General, whose conduct on that occasion will furnish one of the brightest parts of his History. Congress however had much reason to believe that the flame was suppressed not extinguished. In the barracks of Philadelphia there were two or three hundred Soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line, they had been employed as guards to the British Prisoners &c. Some of these Troops had formerly been concerned in a mutiny; and it was unfortunate that they were too near a great body of Citizens, many of whom were ill affected to the american government and many of them being public creditors hardly conducted with decency towards Congress, because the Interest of the Certificates was not paid lately as usual. Matters were circumstanced in this manner when Congress resolved to grant furloughs to the war-men or troops enlisted for the war: who had been equally clamorous about discharges & pay. Of the Maryland Line few of whom are natives of America, near two hundred arrived at the barracks of Philadelphia from Head quarters on their way home on the 12th of June: on the next day a paper was handed to Congress signed by Persons styling themselves a board of Serjeants making certain demands with which Congress could not possibly comply, expressly declaring that they would no longer be fed by promises and requiring an answer before night. Congress immediately desired the Secretary at War to take measures for preventing the progress of the mutiny in the barracks. On the next day the Maryland Troops took up their March: but one of their Officers before he left town mentioned it to a Member of Congress that he had reasons for saying the mutiny did not originate among the privates nor Serjeants. Congress had too much reason to believe this charge to be well founded.

On the 19th of June a Letter was handed to Congress by the supreme executive Council of Pennsylvania which they had just received from Colonel Butler at Lancaster, in which he stated that the Troops under his command had mutiny'd and that near one hundred of them were on their way to Philadelphia under the command of their serjeants. It was clear from the dates & other circumstances, that the mutiny in Lancaster had happened in concert with that in Philadelphia. It was at the same time reported that the mutineers counted on being joined by Armands Corps who lay a little to the Westward of Lancaster, many of whom were foreigners together with Moylans dragoons and others. In this critical conjuncture Congress appointed a Committee and instructed them to confer with the Executive of Pennsylvania on the practicability of taking effectual measures to prevent the Mutineers from coming to Town. The Executive seemed to think it was best to let them come to town, where they

could do no harm. The Committee not well satisfied with this opinion sent out the assistant Secretary at War, who without force could not stop the progress of the Mutineers and on the 20th they arrived at the barracks. On the 21st the troops from Lancaster supported as was expected by those from the barracks surrounded the State house. In the Committees report you have a pretty full detail of what followed.

To say nothing of the extraordinary conduct of the Executive of Pennsylvania Congress considered the circumstances as very critical. Troops who had been discharged or furloughed were hourly coming to Philadelphia & joining the mutineers & we knew that they might be joined by many who were known to be seditious before any assistance could arrive from head quarters to check them. We expected however by an adjournment of Congress to another place we should give them such a sudden un[d] unexpected alarm as to disconcert their whole plans & thereby prevent any violent measures, as well as, that it would rouse the Supreme Executive of Pennsylvania to a sense of their duty. Congress was surrounded on Saturday but it was Tuesday afternoon that they adjourned, on the evening of that Day. The story of the adjournment was reported in the Barracks with these additions, that a large detachment from the main Army was in full march to town & the Jersey Militia ordered out. It was soon clear to the Officers who had fomented the mutiny that they should be disappointed in their plans. The Soldiers discovered that danger was at hand. On the next Day the Officers (Lieutenant Sullivan of the horse, a young Irishman & Captain Corbery deranged) escaped, and the soldiers submitted.

It will certainly be admitted that the situation of Congress is not a very desirable one. They are sent from home to seek for lodgings in a place where they have neither controul nor jurisdiction, in a place too where they are hourly exposed to the importunities or insults of creditors whom they cannot pay and to the bayonets of a mutinous soldiery whom they cannot discharge. After all we shall count ourselves happy if by any measures, we can prevent the evils allways expected and attendant on the discharge of armies 'til our Constituents can feel their own independence & importance, their own national honor & safety, and adopt any means for supplying the public Treasury, the only measure by which disorders of this nature can be effectually prevented.

On the whole we flatter ourselves your Excellency will think with us, that the respect we owe to the Sovereign State we have the honor to represent, required that we should leave a City in which protection was expressly refused us, even though there had not been other motives more closely connected with the public safety.

We have the Honor to be &ca,

Benjamin Hawkins

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> Only Benjamin Hawkins' June 24 letter to Martin has been found.

<sup>2</sup> See James McHenry to John Henry, July 1, note 3.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Friday August 1. 1783.

The question for adjourning from this place is at length brought before Congress. It was yesterday moved by Mr. Read of S Carolina in the words following:

"Resolved that on \_\_\_\_\_ the president shall adjourn Congress to meet at Philadelphia on \_\_\_\_\_ there to continue until the last Monday in October next, at which time the president shall adjourn Congress to meet at Annapolis on the friday following unless Congress shall before that time have determined otherwise."<sup>1</sup>

He prefaced his motion with observing that when Congress adjourned from Philada. it was generally understood by the house & it was particularly, mentioned by the mover<sup>2</sup> and the members around him that it was only for a few days until the detachment from the army arrived to quell the mutineers; That had he not understood this to be the general sense of the house, he never would have consented to the adjournment. That every member must now be fully convinced that this was not a proper place for conducting public business; That even the members of Congress could not be provided with proper accommodations. That there were no conveniences for the Officers of Congress. That a minister was attending from the court of France, one was daily expected to arrive from Holland & others might be expected from other courts and here was no place for their reception or accommodation. That moreover the citizens of Philada & the people of that State were extremely uneasy at the removal. That he would not mention what he had heard & what he knew, but he greatly feared that declining any longer to return would endanger the Union, affect the finances & ruin the credit of the United states. He hoped therefore his motion would be seconded & meet the approbation of the house. He then sat down and a long silence ensued. I dare not trust myself in describing the countenances of some individuals during this interval of silence, or the various passions with which they were visibly actuated, notwithstanding their utmost care to conceal them. It was a sight worthy the notice of the Athenian, who had learned by careful observation to trace accurately the passions of the Soul by the lines of the Countenance and whose skill Plato, Zenophon and the rest of the disciples of Socrates admired, while their master bore witness to the truth of it. I will confess that had he fixed his Eyes on me while I was

viewing the countenances of some, he would have seen a gush of indignation too visible to be concealed. At length Mr. McHenry of Maryland arose. He said he had looked round and waited to hear the motion seconded. It certainly deserved the attention of the house. In his opinion much depended on the determination of it, nothing less than the peace of a great & important state & perhaps that of the Union. That it was high time the subject should be taken into consideration. He therefore seconded the motion, & hoped it would be seriously considered before a vote was taken.

Mr. Williamson moved to commit the motion; this was opposed. It was then moved to Assign a day for the consideration of it, this also met with Opposition and the debates continued till at last an adjournment was called for and agreed to, so that by that means the subject was put off till next day. It was curious to observe with what care the speakers endeavoured to conceal their sentiments and the votes they meant to give. I expect the subject will be resumed to day, but I question much whether they will come to a decision this week.<sup>3</sup>

Adieu my dear Hannah. Take care of your health. I am with sincere affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

[P.S.] Please to forward the enclosed. Mrs. M & family send their love to you.

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:484–85.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Alexander Hamilton, chairman of the committee appointed to confer with Pennsylvania officials on the mutiny.

<sup>3</sup> Congress briefly debated Read's motion this day, then postponed consideration of it to August 6; but it was not actually taken up until August 13, then postponed to the following day and rejected. See *JCC*, 24:484–85, 506–9; James McHenry to William Paca, August 2; and John Francis Mercer to James Madison, August 14, 1783.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir,

Princeton Augt. 1st. 1783

Congress have directed the Superintendent of Finance to make public an order he has given to the continental Receivers in the different States, to receive the Notes issued from his Office, in payment of the Army, in exchange for hard money, as that shall come to hand.<sup>1</sup> This order having been known to a few only, & not to the Soldiers, & other holders of those notes, it was apprehended that it woud expose them to be speculated upon, & deprivd of the fruits of their toils & sufferings at a very low rate, to their great injury. We think it our duty to give your Excellency this information, that you may make it public if you judge it adviseable.<sup>2</sup>

The discovery of the Forgers of our Paper, in N. York, will it is to be hoped, arrest that nefarious practice in this quarter of the U. S. & as there appear to be many persons concerned in similar practices in Virginia, we trust that government will use every diligence to have them traced out, & brought to punishment. It would appear, that the information we had received of the arrival of the Definitive treaty at N. York, in the Mercury frigate, tho it came from Rivington who it was conceived must know, was premature.

Nothing has yet been decided relative to the matters we laid before Congress on the part of the State.<sup>3</sup>

We have the honor to be, with great respect Yr. Excellency's most Obedt. Servts.

Theok. Bland Jr<sup>4</sup>

Arthur Lee

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Lee and signed by Lee and Bland. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:258–59.

<sup>1</sup> See JCC, 24:480; and Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison assured the delegates in his August 15 reply that "Mr. Morris's directions" would be made public. They appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* the following day. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:279–80. See also Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams, August 21, 1783, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Harrison, July 26, 1783, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> At about this time Bland also prepared a state of his accounts for the Virginia auditors which included a claim for "salary due to me for my attendance on [and] travelling to and from Congress, from the 27th day of Decr. 1782 to the first day of Augt. 1783 being 278 days at 8 dollars per Diem, 2224 [dollars]." Bland Papers, ViHi.

## James McHenry to William Paca

Dr. Sir.

Princetown 2 Agt. 1783

I have had another opportunity to speak to the Minister.<sup>1</sup> The truth is your letter is lost, and I think it probable that no answer has been sent. To prevent [ . . . or] other disappointment you will be pleased to send me a copy of it, when I undertake to procure an answer.

The only capital business that has been done in Congress since my last, was the ratification of a treaty of commerce with the King of the Goths and Vandals, or the King of Sweden, as he is commonly stiled.<sup>2</sup> We are again reduced to 8 states, and I am yet without a colleague.

Thursday the temper of the house was tried by a motion which I seconded. It was to go back to Philadelphia, and if Congress should not agree to fix their place of residence by the last week in October, the president was to adjourn sometime in the week following to Annapolis. It was a considerable time under debate and renewed again yesterday without a decision.<sup>3</sup> This I thought best as it was only an experiment.



The Council cannot as yet have the late Journals of Congress as I have not been able to get them. Pray what are your latest, that I may take them up where you want them.

Yesterday a report of a committee upon the act of our State misapplying the money we had engaged to Congress, was under debate. It asserts the right of Congress, Censures the act, and the flagrant infringement of the confederation. I moved that the consideration of the report might be postponed till the delegates from Maryland could receive information from the legislature of the State respecting the subject matter of the same.<sup>4</sup> I made use of the occasion to shew by a number of instances the early and present disposition of the inhabitants to support the measures of Congress—and that the general tenor of the public acts manifested the same spirit and were directed to the same point. I ventured also to confirm these facts by a paragraph from one of your letters. I then deduced from the whole that it must have been a case of the last necessity that produced the act—and that it would be precipitate to adopt the report before the delegates could have an opportunity of hearing from the legislature the reasons for the act—that they might be such as to satisfy the house of the necessity and perhaps propriety of the infringement. I had in view to put the affair in such a train as might insure to the state a credit for the money she may advance under the act. This I hope may be effected by proper management and coolness (as the house are disposed to the spirit of the motion) by the legislatures instructing their delegates to declare to Congress the alarming situation which forced them into the measure, and that they even had and still have, the strongest inclination to do everything in their power to support and maintain inviolate the confederation. You will confess I had a delicate task in this question—to vindicate in Congress what I condemned in the Senate.

With great regard [I am] Dr. Sir your Excellency's hble st.

James McHenry.

[P.S.] Don't forget that you promised to inliven me now and then in these dull regions of politics.

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the chevalier de La Luzerne.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:457–77.

<sup>3</sup> *JCC*, 24:484–85.

<sup>4</sup> On June 1 the Maryland assembly had diverted funds requisitioned by Congress to advance five months' pay to the state's Continental line. On June 20 an irate Robert Morris sent a strongly worded protest to Congress, enclosing copies of the Maryland act and his correspondence with state officials. These documents were referred on July 1 to Oliver Ellsworth, James Madison, and John Francis Mercer. Benjamin Hawkins and James Duane replaced Ellsworth and Mercer on July 23 and the committee issued a report supporting Morris on the 28th. Although there is no mention of the August 1 debate or McHenry's motion in the journals, the draft of his motion in PCC contains his argument that the Maryland legislature had a right to defend its action since the com-

mittee's report was "highly disrespectful to the State whose public act it condemns." Another version of McHenry's motion was adopted on August 12, but the Maryland delegates did not send a copy to the assembly for nearly three months. See *JCC*, 24:421n.2, 454–55, 502–3; *PCC*, item 137, 2:565–81, item 186, fols. 110, 114; and Maryland Delegates to the Maryland Assembly, November 3, 1783, note 7.

## Elias Boudinot to Elias Dayton

Dr Sir,

Princeton Augt 4t 1783.

I catch a spare Moment, just to hint to you that I think it would be worth while, for the Inhabitants of Eliz. Town to make an offer of their Township for the Seat of Congress, if they think it is an object worth obtaining. From some particular Circumstances, I am of opinion that their Chance will not be a bad one.

The great turning Point will be in point of boundary. I would wish them to Offer the whole Township, as to Jurisdiction, and the fee Simpl of 100 Acres of Land for the public Buildings, it can easily be paid for by Subscription. I suppose the Jurisdiction will be absolute—to be entirely separated from the State & to make Laws & tax them selves separately by their own representatives, distinct from every State, but under Congress. I throw out these Hints in a great Hurry, which you can improve on, if you think the object worthy the Peoples Attention.<sup>1</sup>

I am Sir, Your very Hble Servt,

Elias Boudinot

RC (NjR: New Jersey Letters).

<sup>1</sup> Dayton's August 23 response to this letter, enclosing August 21 resolves of "the inhabitants of the township of Elizabeth Town" offering Congress "any one hundred acres they shall think most suitable" for their "permanent abode," is in *PCC*, item 46, fols. 103–6. The proposal was referred on August 25 to a committee consisting of James Duane, James McHenry, James Madison, Jacob Read, and James Wilson, which submitted a report on September 10, for which see *ibid.*, fols. 106–10.

For Boudinot's interest in Elizabethtown as the residence of Congress, see also Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, August 21, 1783.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dr Sr

Princeton 4th Augt 1783

Near two months ago I had the Honor to write you that I had recd an Appeal from the Court of Admiralty in Rhode Island which was forwarded by a Gentn. who signs Saml. Johnson. I lodged the Appeal in the Register's Office about the 12th of June. The Court of Appeals is to sit again in Philada. in Octr. I think, probably for the last Time. I expected to have recd from you full Instructions on this Subject, but none are come to Hand. From the Papers which I have seen I should

presume that you have only been an Agent in the fitting out of the Schooner Industry not the owner; However be this as it may, there appear to have been at least pretty strong Suspicions against her and if you mean to prosecute the Appeal those Suspicions must be combated.<sup>1</sup> As you may not have seen a copy of the Proceedings of the Court inclosed is the Copy of some Letters which seem to have been produced in Evidence, whole lines or parts of Lines just as they are recorded. I suppose the Letters have been torn and Parts of them lost.

Whatever Instructions you are pleased to give on this Subject shall be punctually regarded.

I have the Honor to be Dr Sr, with great Regard your hble Servt,  
Hu Williamson

Dr Sr

Augt 5th

After I had written as on the other Side, waiting for the Arrival of Major Long, whom I daily expect on his Return from N. York, Mr. Bain arrived here. The Extracts I had inclosed are not forwarded because I understand you have seen all the Proceedings. I have advised Mr Bain if he employs a Lawyer to employ Mr. Willson because your Brother formerly employ'd him in an Appeal but, I should otherwise have preferd Mr Lewis who is less distracted by other Business & seems to labour his Causes with great attention & much Success. However I believe he had best defer that matter to the determination of his Owners for certainly it will keep.

I am Yr obedt. Servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Williamson to Blount, August 8, 1783, note.

## Hugh Williamson to William Blount

Dear sir

Princeton 4th Augt 1783

Mr Payne informs me that he has paid you at difft Times £197.14.8 & £50 the Amot. 619 1/3 Dls. Beside your Draught in favr of Crockets & Harris for 130 Dls. I have taken up your Note in Mr Hawkins Hand for 507 2/3 Dls The Sum 1357 Dls Whence I suppose the Balance is in my favour near 147 Dls. To say nothing of some hard Cash that I hope you have recd from the Commissioner nor of soft Cash to be hardened which I presume you may have recd. from the Govr. As you will not have occasion for more cash from Mr Payne I shall direct him to keep what he may receive, if any should be paid him, ready for a subsequent Draught. The Boys here, your Brother & Blackledge, seem to be going on very well.<sup>1</sup> There are I observe 3 other boys from near Newbern. Whither is congress to adjourn from this Place? I wish

I could answer that Question. But I suspect New York will fetch us up if the British Troops leave that Place during the Autumn. What would you think of such a change? I am with the utmost Consideration, your most obedt hble Servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers). Addressed: "William Blount Esquire, near Washington, NC." Endorsed: "N Bern Sept. 10th open'd by Wm Blount."

<sup>1</sup> That is, Willie Blount and William Blackledge, who were students at the College of New Jersey. Blount, *Papers* (Keith), l:xxviii-ix, 76n.50, 370n.4.

## Hugh Williamson to Alexander Martin

Sir Princeton 4th August 1784 [*i.e.*, 1783]

Your Excellency has been very unfortunate in the means you employed for conveying intelligence. Yours of the 20th May came to hand 10 or 12 days ago & not sooner, of course the Philadelphia printers had copies of it from other newspapers before we could send them a manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Inclosed is Master Rivingtons veritable Gazette not Gazette of verity in which you will observe the speech is reprinted. Had the Executives of other States at an early hour recommended those generous & manly sentiments which you have proposed to the General Assembly much confusion might have been prevented in the United States, and those vagabonds would properly have been considered of little importance who like flies on the political wheel have, poor Devils, in vain attempted to retard the progress of Liberty.

The definitive Treaty has indeed been strangely delayed but we have not received a single Line from one of our Ministers on that subject since (I think) the 7th of April. We knew that the extraordinary political Phenomenon, the absolute want of a Ministry in England for near seven weeks, delayed all negotiations. Our last accounts stated that negotiations seemed to go on seriously. There is reason to believe the definitive Treaty was signed at Paris on the 27th May, near 20 Days might be required for ratification in the several European Courts concerned, before which no publication could be made. We however may daily look for a Copy to be ratified here.

The reasons which induced Congress to adjourn to this place have been pretty fully explained in a Public Letter from the Delegates.<sup>2</sup> Concerning our future motions I cannot even give you conjectures, except that I suppose we shall leave this before Winter, because I think we cannot continue here with any degree of comfort during the Winter. Invitations for going to different places crowd thick upon us. I have written to the Post Master General<sup>3</sup> respecting the Letters which are detained in the office at New Bern. Should you have received these Letters befor[e] this comes to hand I shall be obliged to you for

an exact Copy of the endorsement on each of those Letters. If they are still detained you will be so good as cause a friend in New Bern to take a Copy of the whole superscription & send it to the Delegates. If the post officers are clearly culpable we shall know what measures should be taken, if the detention arises from some ambiguity in the words of the ordinance, the ambiguity must be removed. If the name of a member of Congress is on the Letter or of one of our Public Ministers, or if it is to the Govr. of a state it should doubtless be free provided it is said by the inscription to be *free* or to be on *public service*. But there have been several complaints of Letters detained in the first of these predicaments merely because they had not also the marks free or public service on them. In all such cases however a Habeus Corpus has issued.

I have the honor &ca.

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> An extract of Governor Martin's speech at the opening of the Assembly at Hillsborough on April 19, 1783, was printed in the July 31 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

<sup>2</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to Martin, August 1, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

## James Wilson to John Dickinson

Sir

Monday 4th Augt.

The Delegates wish to have a Conference with Council this Forenoon at eleven o'Clock; and will be glad if your Excellency can be in Council at that Time.<sup>1</sup> I have the Honour to be, your Excellency's very hble Servt.

James Wilson

RC (PHi: Logan-Dickinson Collection).

<sup>1</sup> The subject of this conference is clear from the following entry in the minutes of the Pennsylvania Council this day.

"The delegates from this State to Congress were admitted into the Council Chamber, and made the following representation: 'That Wednesday was assigned for the ultimate determination of Congress whether they would return to this city or not; that they believed the affirmative determination on this question would be very acceptable to the people of this city, and that they had some reason to believe that an invitation from Council would probably give it that desirable cast.'

"*Resolved*, That the delegates from Pennsylvania be at liberty to assure Congress that their return to this city would be a very acceptable event to the council of this State." *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:637.

For the use made of this Council resolve on August 13 during congressional debate on a motion to return to Philadelphia, see *JCC*, 24:506-9. For the views of Secretary Thomson on this subject, who had returned to Philadelphia and was undoubtedly engaged himself in this attempt at overcoming President John Dickinson's reluctance to issuing a formal invitation to Congress to return to the city, see Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, August 1, 1783.



## Stephen Higginson to Nathaniel Gorham

Dear ——,<sup>1</sup>

Princeton 5th Augt. 1783.

Yours of the 2nd I received. I am glad you have got the Ship arrived, and are like to find an opportunity to go home for a while. It will be much more agreeable to go to Virginia in the fall than at present. I wish I could go home with you; my inclination to be at home is very strong, but I feel a reluctance at going immediately on several accounts. I wish to have my return appear not as the effect of resentment or chagrin, but rather, as is the truth, from a desire of enjoying domestic quiet, and attending to my own private concerns. I am desirous of seeing some important points which are on the Carpet adjusted, and of possessing Mr. G——<sup>2</sup> with a knowledge of men and measures. I want also to hear from London in answer to a letter I sent Mr. F——<sup>3</sup> by the Robin-Hood, in which I mentioned the matter which you and I both think of so much importance to the public. I gave him liberty to make such use of the letter as he might think eligible, so that he did not commit me. I stated the matter to him in such a manner that I think he will conceive it of importance to communicate it to certain persons, and I expect their attention will be thereby engaged to the subject, and that measures will be taken in consequence to secure the Object. No particular advantages will result in a pecuniary way that I can see from my being at home. I shall exchange a disagreeable for an agreeable situation, and encrease my own private enjoyment, by going home, but whether I ought to indulge myself immediately, is a matter I am not fully decided upon as yet. I shall think of it a few days after Mr. G—— arrives, and advise you.

Sir Guy's<sup>4</sup> reasons for the neglect of the British to their interest in this Country, are I suspect the true ones; but they certainly have very wrong Ideas of the matter. While we remain in an unsettled state, it is of the more importance to them to be represented; especially if the cause of our fluctuations is considered; lest we should finally settle down with a Government totally devoted to the French, or remain in confusion 'till a dissolution of the Union shall take place, and separate alliances be formed by the several states with different powers in Europe; in which case some of the Southern States, if not all of them, will certainly be connected with France.

To determine this point the interests of the parties should be closely attended to; if we are left wholly to ourselves, and our feelings and inclinations are to direct us, it cannot be doubted but our connexion with Britain will be renewed in the commercial way—let this again become intimate and the policy of Britain be of the conciliatory kind, a closer connexion and perhaps of more importance will certainly result therefrom. Our habits, language, and every circumstance will lead to it, and Britain will not only avail herself of the advantage

of our trade, but may hereafter have an Ally that from union of interests &c., will be very closely attached to her, and be a great security to her dominions: and these advantages may be encreased or decreased, rendered permanent or uncertain, and be sooner or later enjoyed, by the kind of Government established here, and the men who are to direct our affairs.

The French certainly have this view of the matter, and their whole conduct towards us has been correspondent thereto. Their first object was to place us by the peace, in a confined precarious situation, with Europeans close on our borders on every side, and without the means of extending our trade, or becoming powerful or wealthy—thus situated they could have fomented divisions and strife between us and our neighbours at their pleasure; and being a poor defenceless people, we should have learned to look up to them for protection against the very storms they might think fit to bring upon us to secure our dependence on themselves. With these Ideas did they negotiate at the treaty, and for this purpose did they insert themselves into all our councils. They intended by having an influence in them, to have given such a form to our Government, as to have had it composed of such men, as in the situation before mentioned, could not fail of securing our dependence on them. But the watchfulness of Jay and Adams, the attention of Britain to her own interest, and the forwardness of Vergennes, defeated their views and lost them the first and the great Object.<sup>5</sup>

Their present plan I suppose is to keep up high disputes in each State, and between the States, to prevent any connection between us and Britain, and possibly to bring about a dissolution of the Union: for since they cannot keep us so dependent on themselves as to promise a complete bar to an intimate connection with Britain, and its probable that our weight may at some future day be thrown into the scale of their most dangerous Enemy, it is very important to them to reduce that weight as much as possible. You accordingly find them deeply interested and active in the questions as to Commutation and Refugees, &c., fomenting parties as much as possible—beside, by dividing us and keeping us in as great confusion as they can, the evil apprehended of our uniting with Britain, is not only put off, but there is a chance of our being so very intemperate as to violate in a flagrant manner the Treaty of peace, of renewing our quarrel with Britain, and loosing all the advantages we have gained by the peace. And should it be carried so far as to produce a dissolution, the Continent may perhaps be divided into two Governments, one of which will probably be very intimately connected with and dependent upon them. The letter of Marbois, the conduct of Vergennes during the negotiations, the language of their tools, and the whole tenor of their present conduct, evidence that such are their present views: and I confess that I think

they are right; their interest lies in that road, and it is wisdom in them to pursue it.

But the interest of Britain and America is different: it is their business to pursue a direct opposite course, and in opposing the views of France, I think their interests are clearly united. The sooner we are reconciled, and all Old things done away, the better for us both.<sup>6</sup> If our divisions were healed, our Governments in the States and the foederal Government well settled, the channels of trade opened under proper regulations, and every question that can keep up the temper of the people and prevent a thorough conciliation removed; then might we as a people be happy, our commerce flourish, and Britain by a right policy secure to herself the advantages ultimately of all our trade. She would then be sure of a powerful Ally, attached to her by every circumstance that can secure its utility and duration; an Ally which after a few years, would have every motive to take side with her in case of a rupture with France, and whose weight would be decisive in either scale. In my mind it is clear that America by her attachment to either France or Britain, will determine which of them is to be superior. That power (I mean of those two) which has America for its Ally, will hereafter give law to Europe; and if Britain neglects too long an attention to this matter, there is great reason to apprehend that France will secure the connection to herself; at least it will daily grow more and more difficult for Britain to secure so important an object. The French are now making impressions in every State very injurious to Britain, and such as will eventually be highly detrimental to us, by rendering that connection, which is essential to our interest, more difficult, if not impracticable. The same policy that led the French to assist us in completing our Independence, will induce them to prevent, if they can, any friendly connection between us and Britain; and if they cannot effect that, they will render our connection as precarious, and as unimportant to her as possible. Their interest urged them to seperate us from Britain, not with a desire of placing us in a better situation, but in order to weaken her. The reduction of the power of Britain, was their chief, if not their only object in assisting us, and surely the more perfect that seperation is made, the more completely will they effect their views. It must therefore be very imprudent in Britain to leave to them an exclusive field of action; to suffer them without any check, any opposition, to practice their intrigues on this people, and to give them an opportunity of making such impressions, as may prove affectual bars to any future connections between us and her. Sound policy, and a regard to her own interest, will urge Britain to have an Envoy of great abilities, and one who has some share of the confidence of America, constantly attending upon Congress. She ought also to have her Agents in every large Town, in every legisla-

ture. They had better be Americans than any others; men whose characters stand fair with the people; of known integrity and abilities: men who will urge and support such measures as are conducive to the interests of both countries, and whose knowledge of both will insure their pursuing the true interest of both. She ought never to employ men of doubtful Characters; more especially any of the Tories or Refugees. They should be men who will not be tools, nor pretend to push the interest of Britain beyond that point where it ceases to coincide with that of America. It is sufficient for her purpose that it be urged to that extent: this will secure to her every important advantage, and while she acts on such principles, the connection will surely be firm and permanent, and the advantages resulting therefrom must be very extensive, & lasting.

In this way I think Britain may defeat the views of France, she may acquire as much influence in America as she ought to have, and find the Country again to be a great source of wealth and strength to her. But if she neglects these means, France will probably supplant her. If she employs improper persons it will be to no good purpose. If she attempts by art and intrigue again to make us dependent on her as a people, and to direct our Councils, she will rouse our jealousy, the alarm will be sounded, and every substantial advantage she might otherwise derive from a proper, an intimate connection with us, will be for ever lost.

These are my Ideas, in the rough, of the interest of Britain &c. I am so well satisfied of the union of the interests of Britain and America, that I should take great pleasure, if my situation would allow of it, and my property was such as I lately possessed, in devoting a little more time to politicks, in counteracting the insidious conduct of France, and promoting that intercourse between us and Britain which would greatly benefit both Countries. But with this season I shall finish my political carreer, and devote myself to the support of my family, and the society of a few friends.

Congress yet remain here, and that in opposition to the utmost exertions of all the great men and their tools. Their being here I consider as a very happy affair for America. The members act with much more independence than they ever did or will do in Philadelphia. I have carried some motions here, which but one man would support me in when in Philadelphia. Things seem to be working right: the great man<sup>7</sup> and his agents are very uneasy, they see their influence daily declining; and I have great hope that we shall yet catch him on the hop, and perhaps get rid of him. I wish exceedingly to see our Councils freed from his influence, to see Congress acting an Independent and an honorable part: this cannot be while he remains in Office. By such a dismissal we should stand a much fairer chance of having our Government settled on right principles: much however



would then depend on contingencies. While we remain as at present nothing good can turn up, or if it should we cannot avail ourselves of it. The spiders web is so nearly finished, so many of our members have got entangled in it, and so artful are the Manœuvres made use of to draw others into it, that I see no way of getting rid of the danger, of shaking off the fetters, but that of destroying him who has the management and has placed it at his will.

I fear you have expressed yourself too freely in New York, tho' I agree with you that proper communications may be useful. You must take care not to commit me nor yourself in too great a degree. If I return through New York, I should have no objection to a conversation with Sir Guy,<sup>8</sup> but I feel a reluctance in subjecting myself to paroles &c; they seem derogatory, and do not accord very much with my Ideas of propriety. Should the definitive treaty arrive before I go, those obstructions will be removed, and I shall probably return that way. But I should imagine that he cannot be ignorant of our situation, and the state of our political affairs.

The situation of America, of Britain and of France, is in my opinion very critical and important; the future safety and importance of each of them, will very much depend on the politicks of the present day; it behoves them respectively to be extremely cautious and attentive. America may certainly by a right line of policy, be courted by all the European powers, and lay the sure foundation of a great empire. She ought to keep herself at a proper distance from them all, to avoid their cabals and intrigues, to have no favorites, no particular attachments of an extensive and exclusive nature, to suffer no foreign influence to Effect her Councils, to avoid all the luxurious expences of those courts, and by promoting habits of rigid Oeconomy, to preserve as far as possible the virtue and Jealousy of her subjects. If a contrary conduct is pursued by her for a few years, ambition and avarice will encrease rapidly, her Councils will be distracted, her public affairs debauched, the States be at variance with each other, and the country very soon will be enslaved.

Britain is now reduced very much; her most dangerous rival has become very powerful, and will probably be encreasing in power; she may notwithstanding recover by degrees her former importance, at least so far as to be upon an equality with France. Let her practice a rigid Oeconomy, attend chiefly to her Navy; let her policy be such as to conciliate this Country, and every encouragement given to our commerce and her own; let an intimate and a friendly intercourse with America be promoted by her; she will then find her trades to revive, her riches to encrease, the means of encreasing her Navy easy and within her power. She will be sure of having America for her ally in many cases, and her friend in all ruptures with European powers. Our interest and our feelings will insure to her thus much, the danger



will be on our side, of our growing too much attached to her, and suffering her to gain too great ascendancy over us. But if she for any length of time neglects such policy, all possible means of her becoming even an equal with France will in my opinion be lost; she must then, instead of giving law to Europe, submit to receive it from her neighbours. I wish not to see her as formidable as in 1775, it is not for our interest, nor her own happiness that she should be so, but I wish her to be at least equal to the Bourbons.

France is now a formidable power, her situation is such that if she could manage America, and make this Country to subserve her purposes; if she could gain such an influence here as to direct our Councils for any length of time, she would infallibly become the great arbiter of Europe: Britain would then most certainly lose all chance of again becoming her equal. But she has great obstacles in her way: our old habits and Ideas are against her: our leading men are in general opposed to her; scarce any circumstance is in her favor; and yet I think her chance the best of them. The French are so attentive to their interest, so indefatigable in the pursuit of it, they are so very expert at intrigue, can so happily accommodate themselves to their situation, so adapt themselves to those whom they mean to captivate, and they have already got such hold of great numbers in this Country, that I fear they will eventually succeed, and make America dependent in a great degree on France. Should this happen, adieu America, farewell Britain, your Suns will then be set never more to rise in any day. My greatest hope is, that confident of success they may play too bold a game, and rouse the fears and jealousy of our Country. I think that disposition is now very apparent; may they indulge it! I wish them to attempt us by Storm rather than regular approaches.

But I am running away I know not where; these matters have got such hold of my mind, that when I sit down to write or talk about them, I know not where to stop. When G[erry] returns from Philadelphia, I shall write you my mind about returning. Farewell! Yours, &c.

Tr (PRO: C.O. 5, 110:280–89; and P.R.O. 30/55 [Carleton, or British Headquarters Papers], No. 8640). This letter was sent by Sir Guy Carleton to Lord North in a letter of August 29, 1783. For the authorship of this letter, and a number of similar ones sent by Carleton to North on August 1, see the document note at Higginson to Unknown, April 1783.

<sup>1</sup> The content of this letter indicates that it was written to a Massachusetts delegate who had recently left Congress and who shared many of Higginson's views and commercial interests—requirements matched only by Nathaniel Gorham.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Elbridge Gerry.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> An asterisk was inserted at this point, to which the following note was keyed at the end of the manuscript. "Sir Guy supposes that the British are determined, from prudential motives, not to interfere immediately in our parties, but are rather disposed to let things take their own course, and trust to the good sense of the people, until our affairs acquire a more durable form."

<sup>5</sup> For Higginson's anti-French views, see also Higginson to Theophilus Parsons, April 7–10? 1783.

<sup>6</sup> For a similar expression of opinion, see Higginson to Unknown, July 21, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> That is, Robert Morris.

<sup>8</sup> No other information about the nature of Higginson's and Gorham's contacts with Sir Guy Carleton in New York has been found.

## Eleazer McComb to Nicholas Van Dyke

Sir,

Little Creek 5th August 1783

I take the liberty to inclose my account against the state for attendance in Congress, balance £118.0.0, for which I pray your Excellency's drafts on the State Treasurer—one for £45. which I mean to advance Dr. Tilton on his setting out to take a seat in Congress<sup>1</sup>—the other for £73.0.0 which I wish to pass on account of my own & Mr. Irons's Taxes for the current year.

I am so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of keeping up a Representation in Congress, that I would do any thing in my power to forward it. This makes me anxious to engage Dr. Tilton in the service, because he would be a stationary Member, and the other Delegates might serve in turns as would best suit their convenience. The Doctor's only objection is the uncertainty of regular supplies. He says he has nothing of his own that he can command, and he conceives that he would make but a scurvy figure in a strange place, without money in his Pocket. This obliges him to be so particular in stipulating for regular supplies. He would run the risk of money coming into the Treasury, but he wishes the State Treasurer would give him some assurance that no other demand shall supercede his, but that your Excellency's drafts, in his favor, shall be punctually paid, on demand, *if there is Money in the Treasury*, or, what would be more agreeable to him, that the money shall be placed in the hands of some Gentleman, in Philadelphia, upon whom he might call, or draw, for his monthly supplies. If the State Treasurer will agree to this, and will take the trouble of signifying the same to the Doctor, he can set out at any time in three days notice. I must beg your Excellency will interest yourself in this business, and procure the Doctor a speedy answer, with such encouragement as the State Treasurer can give.

My absence at this Season of the year would be inconvenient to my private affairs, and disagreeable to my Family, yet when I consider the Ratification of the Definitive Treaty—the subject of the back Lands, and the settlement of a peace establishment, as matters of high concern, in which this State ought to have a voice; I confess, if the Doctor agrees to take a Seat in Congress, I shall not be able to refuse my attendance for a short time, untill I can be relieved by Mr. Bedford.

I am, with great esteem & regard, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient and most hble Servant,  
E. McComb.

RC (DLC: Nicholas Van Dyke Papers).

<sup>1</sup> James Tilton had been elected a delegate to Congress on February 22, 1783, but he did not attend until September 22. See *JCC*, 25:597.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Friend

Philada. Aug. 5. 1783.

Your favor of the 18th ult. which my last did not acknowledge was in the mail & was shortly after recd.<sup>1</sup> Your succeeding one of the 25th inclosing the pamphlet came to hand yesterday.<sup>2</sup> The Gazette which I inclose will give you a sight of the Philada. Address to Congress and their answer. Since I left Princeton last, I understand the question has been agitated relative to the return of Congs. to this City and a day fixed for its final discussion. There is little reason to suppose that it will be decided in the affirmative by the present composition & thinness of Congs. I rather suppose that no question will be taken when the probability of a negative is fully discovered; though it will be pushed by those who wish to multiply obstacles to a removal South of the Delaware.

The arrival of the definitive Treaty at N. Y. which my last represented as probable, has sunk into a general disbelief. The most sanguine opinion goes no farther now than to the arrival of some preliminary intelligence and instructions touching it.

I am my dear Sir yrs. very affecy.

J. M. Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:263.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 232–33.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph's July 25 letter has not been found, but he enclosed a pamphlet written by Meriwether Smith, recently published in Richmond, opposing the payment of debts or the return of confiscated Loyalist property to British citizens until Great Britain had met all specified commitments in the preliminary articles and definitive treaty of peace. *Observations on the Fourth and Fifth Articles of the Preliminaries for a Peace with Great Britain* (Richmond: Dixon & Holt, 1783). Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1969), no. 44,454.

## Oliver Ellsworth to Joseph Reed

Dear Sir

Princeton 7th August 1783.

I am this minute favoured with your Letter of 1st instant by the Post. Some delay seems always unluckily to attend our correspondence. You

ask me what I think of your Addresses. This surprizes me much, as we have only seen one Address from Philadelphia; that which was written by Mr. Paine. From your Letter I should suppose that another Address had been sent: if so, it must have been suppressed.<sup>1</sup> If there has been any Jockeying, it may be proper to trace it. Paine sent me a Copy of his Address, while it was in Embryo. I gave him my sentiments fully on it,<sup>2</sup> before it was presented, which have offended him. There was nothing, either in the matter or composition to recommend it. But the number of respectable names annexed to it were deserving of attention. My opinion was, & is, that Congress had no business to enter into a discussion of the points contained in the Address; nor to tell the subscribers of it that *we* did not leave Philadelphia because the Citizens had not fought the Common Enemy, paid Taxes, or erected a Bank. My opinion was also, & it appeared to be the unanimous desire of Congress, that a very civil answer should be returned. I had the honour of being on the Committee to prepare one;<sup>3</sup> & I hope it meets with your approbation, as it is exactly conformable to my sentiments. I most sincerely wish that Congress could return to Philadelphia consistently with their duty to their Constitutents, and themselves. And I am persuaded you must agree with me in thinking, after what has happened, that it would be highly improper for them to do it until satisfactory assurances shall be given of protection, & safety. I distinguish between the Citizens of the State of Pennsylvania & their Executive Council. The latter appear to me at present, to be highly culpable alone. When the Legislature meet, if they do not explicitly condemn their conduct, my opinion will be altered. We are told here by certain Partizans, that the Council have prepared a state of the Case to be laid before the Legislature, in which the facts contained in the Report of the Committee of Congress, are contradicted. This is a measure, to which I always supposed a certain piddling Genius<sup>4</sup> would have recourse. And his refusing to enter into a written correspondence with the Committee,<sup>5</sup> during the conference, justified the supposition. Pray let me know your sentiments respecting these matters, & what you think the Assembly will do when they meet. Should a certain party spirit prevail in the House, & the Council escape without censure, I am of opinion that it will produce most mischievous consequences. I sent Mr. Bailey about a fortnight ago an Address from the three Battalions of Militia, immediately in the neighbourhood of this place; but he has not thought proper to print it.<sup>6</sup> I wish you would call on him, & get it printed either in his paper, or some other; but do not let him know from whom it came. I am Dr. Sr. with great regard, Your most obt. Servant.

[P.S.] One of your former Letters gave me reason to think that the Militia of Philada. would have vindicated themselves against the aspersions thrown on them, as related in the Report of the Committee of

Congress.<sup>7</sup> If they have, we know nothing of it here. I have not seen the Abbe Robin's Remarks, & should be obliged to you if you would send them to me.<sup>8</sup>

RC (NHi: Reed Papers). In Ellsworth's hand, though not signed.

<sup>1</sup> For the rumor that more than one address to Congress from the citizens of Philadelphia had been prepared, see also Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, July 25, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> According to Secretary Thomson's records, the committee appointed to prepare a response to the address of the citizens of Philadelphia consisted of Hugh Williamson, James Duane, Stephen Higginson, Ralph Izard, and Arthur Lee. See JCC, 24:444n; PCC, item 186, fol. 114; and Elias Boudinot to Thomas Willing, July 30, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> That is, John Dickinson, who had been described by John Adams as "A certain great Fortune and piddling Genius" in a celebrated July 1775 letter that had been intercepted and published. See these *Letters*, 1:658.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the committee appointed by Congress on June 19 to confer with the Pennsylvania Council on the Philadelphia mutiny, which consisted of Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, and Richard Peters. For the council's refusal to communicate with the committee in writing, see Committee of Congress to John Dickinson, June 23, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Actually this address appeared in the August 6 issue of Francis Bailey's *Freeman's Journal*, for which see also Elias Boudinot to Joseph Phillips, et al., July 30, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> Ellsworth is undoubtedly referring to the passage in the report on the mutiny which stated that the militia was not called out because the council believed that "they would not be willing to act, till some outrage should have been committed by the troops." See JCC, 24:414.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently "Remarks" contained in the recently published pamphlet of the Abbé Claude C. Robin, *New Travels Through North-America: In a Series of Letters Exhibiting the History of the Victorious Campaign of the Allied Armies . . . Interspersed with Political, and Philosophical Observations, upon the Genius, Temper, and Customs of the Americans . . . Translated from the Original of the Abbé Robin, one of the Chaplains to the French Army in America* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1783), Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,167.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Dexter

Dear Sir.

Princeton, Augt. 7th. 1783.

I did myself the honor of addressing you the 24th ultimo, which I hope came safe to hand; the inclosed letter from Dr Martin I reciv'd a few days since, & embrace this first opportunity to forward the same.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your most obedient servt.<sup>1</sup>

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> This day Holten was appointed chairman of the committee "To confer with the commander in chief on the peace arrangement," which was also instructed "to report the proper manner of receiving him." PCC, item 186, fol. 117. In this capacity he apparently set about immediately to ascertain the availability of housing for Washington in the Princeton area, as the following August 8 letter from George Morgan to Holten is clearly a response to Holten's queries on the subject.

"In consequence of your desire I have viewed several Houses suitable either for his Excellency General Washington, or for Foreign Ministers. The only difficulty is the time



these houses may be wanted for, as the proprietors do not choose to put themselves to the inconvenience of removing out, without a certainty of a year rent. With the certainty a dozen of the best houses in the neighborhood may be had. Mrs. Berrien, however, does not make that objection but that is four miles distant. She offers her whole farm of 300 & odd acres and all her buildings at the rate of \$15 month, to be paid monthly in advance, and for no longer a time than mutually agreeable. The rent to commence from next Monday, as she is ready to give immediate possession. There is no house in the village or neighborhood which has better rooms or conveniences around it. It has a large dining room, a tea room & a drawing room, with genteel furniture in each, which she will leave for the Generals use. I will inform you of further particulars when I shall have the honor to wait on you." *Danvers Historical Society Collections* 20 (1932): 46.

## Samuel Holten to William Gordon

Dear sir,

Princeton, Augt. 7th. 1783.

I have been favored with yours of the 17th & 24th ultimo, the last by Mr. Gerry, who arrived here two days since.

You are pleased to ask my opinion whether I think you will succeed in an application to Congress for access to their papers to complete your historical collection; upon consideration of the matter, I am at a loss how to form a judgment. I should suppose there will be opposition, but Mr. Howell thinks that your request will be complied with; However any services that I can render you will give me pleasure; but I shou'd [thin]k you had better get the recommendations you are pleas'd to mention & not to "petition 'till upon the spot."<sup>1</sup> I will endeavor not to be wanting in presenting your respects to Dr. Wither- spoon & making him acquainted with your intentions.

I have not time to add farther, than I am, with sincere respect your most obedt.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Gordon came to Princeton the following month to lobby for access to Continental documents for his history of the American Revolution, and a September 26 appeal from him (which is not in PCC) was referred on September 27 to a committee consisting of Holten, Theodorick Bland, and David Howell. The committee finally reported on December 18, but no action was taken on the request, and Gordon submitted a second petition to Congress on May 17, 1784, which received congressional approval the following week. See PCC, item 19, 2:425–27, item 186, fol. 128; and *JCC*, 27:427–28. See also Holten to Gordon, April 16, note; and Abiel Foster to John Langdon, October 2, 1783.

## James McHenry to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dr. Sir

Princetown 7 Augt. 1783

Your draught in favor of Mr. Hunt I find is for £256 &c which was the sum I received on acct. of Mr Chase's bill and sent to you some

time since. The other draught is for £226.8.6—and this is all I can pay to Hunt, because it is all I received and because I have not one farthing of money of my own. I have written to the Gentleman in Philada. with whom I left your draught to explain this matter to Hunt, & to pay him the 226 &c—till I can hear from you. You will be pleased to write me. I am Dr. Sir, yours, James McHenry

[P.S.] Mr. Carroll arrived here this morning<sup>1</sup> and I find upon enquiry that we are both in the same situation without money.

RC (MdAA: Executive Papers). Addressed: "Honble Danl. of St. Thos. Jenifer, Intendant of the Revenue, Annapolis."

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Carroll took his seat in Congress this day. JCC, 24:492.

## Charles Thomson to Robert Howe

Dear Sr.

Princeton Aug. 7 1783

I have had the honor of receiving yr letter of the 4 by Genl Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> As the war is now terminated by a glorious peace and the late disturbance among the troops effectually quelled & as the circumstance alluded to has not an immediate relation with the charges on which Mr Christie is to be tried, I do not, on Mature reflection think it necessary that even Mr Bailey<sup>2</sup> should be called on. If Mr C is found innocent I should be sorry that even a shade was cast on the character of a Man who has hazarded his life in our cause. And even if he is found guilty I do not wish the crime to be aggravated by a single circumstance foreign to this matter.

With great respect I am, &c.

FC (DLC: Thomson Papers). In the hand of Charles Thomson.

<sup>1</sup> In this August 4 letter, which is in the Thomson Papers, DLC, General Howe reminded Thomson that he had suggested "some hints of calling Mr Bailey as an Evidence against Mr Christie [Capt. James Chrystie, one of the officers charged in abetting the Pennsylvania mutiny]." "At the same time," Howe continued, "you mentioned to me another Person whose name I have forgot, and General Sinclair in a conversation I had with him inform'd me that you had mention'd to him also another Person. Please therefore to favour me with his name, & the name of any other Person or Persons who you know or Even imagine can throw any light upon this Affair, particularly in the civil line, and still add to the obligation by suggesting any Questions you may think ought to be put to them, or any other aid you can give me to help on an Enquiry Render'd intricate by as many accidental as perhaps design'd Contingencies."

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Francis Bailey, the Philadelphia printer.

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear sir,

Princeton 8th Augt 1783

A few days ago Mr. Bain calld on me in his Way from Rh. Island. His

Business to Philada it seems to attend the Tryal of an Admiralty appeal from the condemnation of the Schooner Speedwell. Some days before Mr Bain's arrival I had written a Letter which I delivered him for you.<sup>1</sup> I cannot think that Mr. Bains continuing at Philada could be necessary till the Tryal which may not come on for weeks after the Beginning of the Session. I could not even advise him what Lawyer he should retain. Your Brother last Year retained Mr Willson in an appeal from Newbern; was the Case one of my own I would full as soon employ Mr Lewis, who I think studies his Causes more diligently, & sticks to them very successfully. In a dangerous and valuable Case I should employ one of those Gentlemen and some Auxiliary. I confess that from the Papers I have seen (and I understand that you have seen a Copy of the Same Papers) I augur ill of the Cause. The Proofs on Record that have been in the Court are very suspicious if not direct to the Point. Wherefore if you mean to prosecute this appeal with Effect I think it will be incumbent on you to shew.

How did it happen that a Letter was on board the Schooner signed by Campbell representing that she was bound for New York on a Trade with the Enemy. Perhaps the Letter gives the Schooner another Name than that in the Register but it describes her otherwise and your Acct. Ct. if I remember well mentions her as the Property of Mr Campbel. How did the other Letter signed by Touton come on board which also describes the Schooner and declares her Destination for N York. How did those Letters come to be torn? The British Officers might have had Letters and have torn them, but they had no business for your Acct of the Outfit & Cargo or the a/c nor should they have torn it. Why was a Vessel of such value man'd by two Officers & two private Seamen only for so I think it appears. Why was she so near the Land! Tho I think this the weakest objection against her. For that may have been the safest Rout to shun Cruizers.

It does not seem to me that Mr Bain is a correct and clear Hand at telling a Story. If the Story is really a sound one and has a good Bottom it will bear a much cleaner Explanation than any that I have yet heard. I wish yourself or your Brother William would undertake to give me the History of this Adventure including such Circumstances as will explain all the difficulties I have proposed. I have mentioned them because I think the Court seems to have leant on them in the Condemnation. If you should be coming to the Northward yourself before the Tryal the Trouble of such a long Letter will be saved because you will be able in person to explain the Cause to the Lawyer. I have to repeat, if by chance I mentioned it before, that this cause will require being well nursed and that some new Evidence be produced or new Light cast on the Subject if you would set aside the Verdict of the Court below. I have stated candidly where I think the Case labours, in order that you, if possible, may relieve it. I have the Honor to be, Dr Sir, your obedt hble Servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Williamson to Blount, August 4, 1783, note. Donald Baine had been in Rhode Island representing Blount's interest in the seizure of the ships *Industry* and *Speedwell* for violating the grain embargo. Both were later released because they had been loaded before the embargo went into effect. See Blount, *Papers* (Keith), 1:59n.35, 76n.51, 81n.55.

## Daniel Carroll to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dear sr,

Prince Town Augt 9th. 1783

I reach'd this place only a few days.<sup>1</sup> I call'd on Mr. McClanaghan—he pay'd me 100 Dollars, & said he believ'd it was Abt the Balla due. If you think proper to send me a State of his acct. I will endeavour to have it setteld. Yr. instructions must be full—this money was anticipated & immediately deliver'd by me to the person in whose hands I had left the order. I did this relying on the Sum mention'd in your Letter to be in Mr. McHenry's hands. I was surpriz'd to find you had drawn it out of his hand—there has been I suppose some mistake, which will be sett right by the next post. Having occasn to bye a horse, I apply'd to Mr. Biddle for £15—he told me that he had pay'd the Sum you mention'd, but let me have the money which I engag'd to repay him either by an order on some person in Pha. or on yourself.

I cannot by this opportunity inclose the News papers. Nothing new. Mr. Sterret just from N. York<sup>2</sup>—says some Regts of foreign troops were abt embarking for Europe. Some of the British are on Long Island. It is thought the general embarkn. will not take place before the beginning of Octr.

I cannot yet guess what Congress will determine abt their seat.

I am, Dr. Sr. with esteem, Your Hble Sert, Danl. Carroll

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> See James McHenry to Jenifer, August 7, 1783, note.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Samuel Sterett, Pres. Elias Boudinot's private secretary.

## Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison

Dear Sir.

Princeton August the 9th. 1783.

I thank you for the new publication you sent me.<sup>1</sup> We have letters from Mr. Dana up to the 14th of April O.S. He has communicated his Mission to the vice Chancellor count Osterman and instead of being received, after a second communication, as he expected, he upon invitation visited the count, who made a verbal communication, in substance as follows<sup>2</sup>

1st. That her majesty could not consistent with the character of a mediator receive a minister from the United States 'till the conclusion of the definitive treaty between France, Spain and Great Britain

2nd. That she could not even then do it, consistent with the laws of Neutrality while his letter of Credence bore date prior to the acknowledgement of their independence by the king of Great Britain.

3. That she could not do it regularly while his letters of credence bore date before she herself had acknowledged their independence

4. That she could not do it consistently before a minister had been received from the United States in Great Britain.

Mr. Dana mentions something like, his being about to leave Russia as soon as, the season, will admit of traveling, and that he intends to send a memorial to the Count;<sup>3</sup> I assure you I fear, he will take for his guide the conduct of M. J. A.<sup>4</sup> on a similar occasion

I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant

Benjamin Hawkins

We have ten states, Mass., Rh., Con., N.Y., N.J., Pen., Ma., Virgin, N & S Carolina.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:266.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the new pamphlet by Meriwether Smith on the preliminary treaty of peace with Britain that Madison had recently received, for which see Madison to Edmund Randolph, August 5, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Dana's letters of April 6, 11, and 14, old style, or April 17, 22, and 25, new style, were read in Congress on August 8 and referred this day to a committee consisting of Samuel Huntington, Arthur Lee, and Ralph Izard. Count Osterman's "verbal communication" was contained in Dana's letter of the 14th (25th). See PCC, item 89, fols. 727-42, item 185, 3:73, item 186, fol. 117; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:381-82, 390-96.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of Dana's April 27 (May 8) memorial to Osterman was enclosed in his April 28 (May 9) letter to Livingston that was read in Congress on August 15 and referred to Huntington's committee. A second April 28 letter expressing doubt about the continuation of his mission was received September 4 and referred to the committee which reported September 10. It recommended that Congress "approve of the proceedings and conduct of Mr. Dana at the Court of Petersburg," but that Dana be instructed to return to the United States pursuant to his earlier request which Congress had approved the preceding April. See JCC, 25:545-46; PCC, item 89, fols. 743-68, item 185, 3:74, 77, item 186, fols. 117, 121; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:411-18. See also James Madison's Notes of Debates, April 1, 1783, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Mr. John Adams.

## James McHenry to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dr. Sir.

9th Augt. 1783.

By a letter written you the other day<sup>1</sup> I told you that I could not pay the order on me in favor of Mr. Hunt in its extent, because I had not



money, but that I would pay it as far as the draught you put me upon Biddle & Co. would go. You will releive me as soon as possible from this embarrassment—and while you do that send at the same time some money for Mr. Carroll and myself. I need not add that I am perfectly destitute—and that I find Mr Carroll nearly in the same situation.

I am Dr Sir your obt Se,

James McHenry

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> See McHenry to Jenifer, August 7, 1783.

## James McHenry to William Paca

Dr. Sir.

Princetown 9th Augt. 1783

I wrote you some days ago but lest the letter should miscarry I shall repeat its object.<sup>1</sup> It was that you should put it in my power to inform Congress in your name or the name of the Executive “that the public buildings were at the service of Congress, till they could determine upon their fixed place of residence, should they find it convenient to remove to Annapolis.” I pray that you may forward me this information as soon as possible. It may have influence. Mr. Carroll is with me. We write to the Mayor of Annapolis<sup>2</sup> to send us assurances of the inclinations of the corporation and citizens to do every thing in their power to make the place agreeable. Tell them to suit the price of boarding to the æconomical taste of the Eastern gentlemen.

With the most perfect regard I have the honor to be Dr Sir, Your Excellency's most ob sr,

James McHenry

RC (MdAA: Red Books).

<sup>1</sup> No other letter on this subject has been found.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but for the August 22 replies of Annapolis mayor James Brice and Governor Paca, see Maryland Delegates to Congress, August 27? 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Richard Peters

Dear Sir,

Sunday Aug. 10. 1783

I saw doct. Rush to day, He told me the Council has prepared their state of matters to be laid before the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> He says it differs in some very material points from the report of the committee; He has seen and read it, but could not point out the particular facts in which it differs from the report of the committee. From what I could collect several have seen & read it, for he says good judges who have perused

it with candour and coolness think that the honour of C will suffer by the publication of this state. It is drawn up he says in very mild language and with great respect for Congress, it is attested in the usual form in the name & in behalf of Council & accompanied with documents to support the facts as stated. He farther says that the State in general will espouse the side of Council. You know the man and can make proper allowances; but I confess I have some apprehensions that he is not altogether mistaken. If the state of facts as made by Council differs in any material points from the report of the Comee. Congress will be in a delicate situation, for they have grounded the propriety of their conduct & their justification on that report and the comee who made it are gone; and even if they were present I do not see what steps they could take to vindicate & support their report; They could only assert or deny; And if the Council assert or deny the contrary, it will be 9 or 10 against two. A public body against two individual members of C. Is this a situation for the representative Sovereignty of the US? I have reason to think that Some persons, who have no great cordiality for Congress or the Union wish that C may come to no determination respecting their return until this paper is published. I wish they may not be gratified. Sir F Bacon who indulged many singular opinions seems to think that the proverbs of Solomon were chiefly designed to be lessons of policy & that a statesman might reap great advantage by meditating on the Aphorism or proverb "the beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water, therefore leave off contention before it be meddled with."<sup>2</sup> But Solomon was a fool and Bacon an Ass compared to the wise men of Gotham.

I delivered your letter for Mr. P to Mr Delany, who also undertook to forward your letter to the Commissioners or treasurer of York. I hope you will favour me with a line to let me know what turn affairs are taking.

My health is not confirmed, though by a change of Air and exercise I hope I shall escape the fever which threatened me at Princeton. If any thing occurs that will render my Attendance necessary before the beginning of next week I shall be obliged if you will inform me of it.

With much esteem & respect, I am, Dear Sir, Your Obedt. humble  
Servt,

Cha Thomson

RC (PHI: Dreer Members of Congress Collection). Addressed: "Honble. Richard Peters, Princeton."

<sup>1</sup> This "message from the President and the Supreme Executive Council to the General Assembly," which was adopted by the council on August 18, is in the *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:654–66. Presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly on August 20 and referred to a committee which reported on the 27th, it was recorded in the proceedings of the assembly for September 3. Pennsylvania Assembly Proceedings (Third Session of the Seventh General Assembly), pp. 891, 904, 910, 916–25. DLC(ESR). Its publication in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on September 24 and the *Pennsylvania Packet* on September 25

led Alexander Hamilton to draft a response to the council's version of the Pennsylvania mutiny and Congress' removal from Philadelphia, for which see Hamilton to John Dickinson, September ? 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbs, 17:14.

## Abiel Foster to Meshech Weare

Sir.

Princeton August 11th. 1783.

Your Letter to the President of Congress, on the subject of Monies lent to the Continent, and issuing certificates for the interest due thereon; had been taken up previous to my arrival, and reffered to the Financier: his report has been presented to Congress, and referred to a Committee of that body.<sup>1</sup> From the comp[li]cation of Mr Morris's report, he does not seem fully to approve of the arrangement which would be agreeable to the wish of New-Hampshire; but as no debate hath taken place in Congress on the subject, I can not give any information what weight his opinion will have on the decision of the matter when the Committee make their report, I shall do all in my power to obtain a determination agreeable to the State I have the Honour to represent.

Rhode Island seems still opposed to the impost arranged & recommended by Congress, and probably will not come into that measure. Should this be the case, other means must be devised, if indeed they can be devised, for restoring Continental credit, and giving public Creditors confidence in the plighted faith of Congress.

No official account is yet arrived of the definitive treaty being signed, neither hath any other matter transpired, worth the communicating to your Honor. I must beg the favor that you will write to me by every opportunity, and communicate whatever may enable me to serve the State I have the Honor to represent.

I am Sir with the highest esteem, Your Honr very huble and most obedient Servt,

Abiel Foster

RC (MH: Weare Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:489-91; and Foster to Weare, September 3, note 2.

## James McHenry to George Washington

My dear General.

Princeton 11 Augt. 1783.

I am just now honord with your letter of the 6th.<sup>1</sup> You have indeed gone over a great deal of ground in a very short time.

The first motive for bringing you here was to get you out of a disagreeable situation, to one less disagreeable. The second was to get

your assistance and advice in the arrangements for peace. It may be necessary besides to consult you respecting promotions, and on a variety of military subjects. I believe, on the whole, that your being near Congress will be a public good. I send you the address to be made you from the chair which will serve to explain the intentions of Congress.<sup>2</sup>

Mrs. Berrian has offered her house which will be engaged for your reception. As there is no absolute necessity for your immediate attendance you may prepare at leisure for your removal.

Congress has received no acct. of the definitive treaty—but it appears pretty certain that definitive orders have been received at New York for its evacuation.

With the most sincere regard and respect I have the honor to be my  
Dear General, Your ob st, James McHenry

14th. As the president sends you a copy of the address it will be unnecessary for me to do it. Gen Lincoln carries it.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:82–83.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot's "Private" letter to Washington of August 12, 1783.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

My Dear Sir

Philada. Aug. 11th. 1783.

At the date of my letter in April<sup>1</sup> I expected to have had the pleasure by this time of being with you in Virginia. My disappointment has proceeded from several dilatory circumstances on which I had not calculated. *(One of them was the uncertain state into which the object I was then pursuing has been brought by one of those incidents to which such affairs are liable. The result has rendered the time of my return to Virga. less material, as the necessity of my visiting the State of N. Y. no longer exists. It would be improper by this communication to send particular explanations, and perhaps needless to trouble you with them at any time. An alliance of [ . . . ] is in general most inexpedient for both parties to them. For myself a delicacy to female character will [ . . . ]<sup>2</sup> under any [ . . . ] which may carry both, as the danger of being reminded of their Troubles [sc . . . ]<sup>3</sup> from a profession of indifference at what has happened. I regret [least? . . . ]<sup>4</sup> a more propitious turn of fortune.)* My journey to Virga. tho' still somewhat contingent in point of time cannot now be very long postponed. I need not I trust renew my assurances that it will not finally stop on this side of Monticello.

The reserve of our foreign Ministers still leaves us the sport of misinformations concerning the def. Treaty. We all thought a little time ago that it had certainly arrived at N. York. This opinion however has become extinct, and we are thrown back on the newspaper evidence

which as usual is full of contradictions. The probability seems to be that the delay arises from discussions with the Dutch. Mr. Dana has been sorely disappointed in the event of his announcing himself to the Court of ———.<sup>5</sup> His written communications obtain verbal answers only & these hold up the Mediation to which the Empress with the Emperor of G——y have been invited as a bar to any overt transaction with the U.S. and even suggest the necessity of new powers from the latter of a date subsequent to the acknowledgment of their sovereignty by G. B. Having not seen the letters from Mr. Dana myself, I give this idea of them at second hand, remarking at the same time that it has been taken from such passages only as were not in Cypher; the latter being not yet translated. Congs. remain at Princeton utterly undecided both as to their ultimate seat and their intermediate residence. Very little business of moment has been yet done at the new Metropolis, except a ratification of the Treaty with Sweeden. In particular nothing has been done as to a foreign establishment. With regard to an internal peace establishment, though it has been treated with less inattention, it has undergone little discussion. The Commander [in] chief has been invited to Princeton with a view to obtain his advice [&] sanction to the military branches of it, and is every day expected [t]here.<sup>6</sup> The Budget of Congs. is likely to have the fate of many of their other propositions to the States. Delaware is the only one among those which have bestowed a consideration on it that has acceded in toto. Several Legislatures have adjourned without giving even that mark of their condescension. In the Southern States a jealousy of Congressional usurpations is likely to be the bane of the system: in the Eastern an aversion to the half-pay provided for by it. New Jersey & Maryland have adopted the impost, the other funds recommended being passed for one year only by one of these States, and postponed by the other. Pa. has hitherto been friendly to liberal and federal ideas and will continue so, unless the late jar with Congs. sd. give a wrong biass of which there is some danger. Mass. has in the election of delegates for the ensuing year stigmatized the concurrence of those now in place, in the provision for half-pay, by substituting a new representation; and has sent a Memorial to Congs. which I am told is pregnant with the most penurious ideas not only on that subject but on several others which concern the national honor & dignity.<sup>7</sup> This picture of our affairs is not a flattering one; but we have been witnesses of so many cases in which evils & errors have been the parents of their own remedy, that we can not but view it with the consolations of hope. Remind Miss Patsy of my affection for her & be assured that I am Dr Sir,

Yr. Sincere friend.

J. Madison Jr.



RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:268–69.

<sup>1</sup> See Madison to Jefferson, April 22, 1783. For Madison's mutilation a half-century later of this opening paragraph concerning his broken engagement to Kitty Floyd, see Irving Brant, *James Madison*, 6 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941–61), 2:286–87, especially illustration.

<sup>2</sup> Approximately four words indecipherable.

<sup>3</sup> Three or four words indecipherable.

<sup>4</sup> Four or five words indecipherable.

<sup>5</sup> Madison later inserted "Russia." See Benjamin Hawkins to Madison, August 9, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> See the preceding entry.

<sup>7</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Samuel Adams, July 31, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Elias Boudinot

Sir,

Philadelphia Aug. 11. 1783

I have the honor of inclosing a copy of the Treaty with Sweden, with the Ratification of Congress to which I have affixed the Seal of the United States and to which you will please to add your signature.<sup>1</sup> I expect another copy will be sent me, in a day or two, which shall likewise be sealed and forwarded to your Excellency.

As soon as I arrived in town, I went to the Office and found, in its proper Apartment, the last report of the committee on the peace Arrangement, which upon its delivery was carried into the office to be copied.<sup>2</sup> I take the liberty of enclosing it in this packet together with the copies which were making out for the states when Congress was adjourned from Philadelphia. Had the paper been mislaid or even lost I trust the candour of the house would have found a sufficient apology in the time when it was delivered in, the circumstances which immediately followed, the sudden and precipitate removal of the papers and the derangement that necessarily took place in the Office.

It has been my Study not only to preserve the papers entrusted to my care but to have them so arranged as to be ready to be produced whenever called for. But in the present confusion I fear that will not be the case; nevertheless I have a confidence that I shall experience the indulgence of the house, until Order and Method can be again restored.

With all due respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's Most obedient & Most humble Servt,

Chas Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 49). FC (DLC: Thomson Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:457–77.

<sup>2</sup> In the FC, which he heavily revised, Thomson continued: "Your Excellency will perceive by the endorsement, that although no particular day was assigned, it was to be taken into consideration as soon as nine States met. For this reason, that there might be no delay, I took it out of the bundle of reports which lie before Congress for

Consideration [and] lodged it in the office. I judged it proper to order, to prevent delay, copies to be made.

"I take the liberty also of enclosing in this packet the last report of the com'ee on the peace arrangement with the copies thereof which were making out in the Office when Congress was adjourned from Philada."

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton 12th August 1783.

Your Excellency's favours of the 6th inst. gave me great pleasure,<sup>1</sup> as they announced your safe arrival after so expeditious & fatiguing a Journey.

The Resolution of Congress requested by your Excellency was forwarded several days since,<sup>2</sup> but it cannot answer your expectations. Congress wished to have your Excellency's personal aid at forming the peace arrangement whenever that Report was called up; but your disagreeable situation arising from the unexpected and unaccountable delay of the definitive treaty, hastened the measure of requesting your Excellency's attendance, that you might, by a change of place, be in some measure relieved from the inconveniencies attending your present local situation. However Congress have instructed me to inform your Excellency, that it is their wish that you would make your attendance entirely agreeable to your own conveniency, unless you hear further from them.<sup>3</sup> They have directed a House and standing Furniture to be taken for your Excellency within three or four miles of this place, in case it should be agreeable for you to remain here a few weeks; but they by no means wish to hurry you in your Journey, unless the Definitive Treaty should suddenly arrive, of which I shall do myself the honor of giving you the earliest intelligence.

I have no doubt, from very good information, that the substance of the Treaty, if not an authenticated copy, is in New York, tho' sent previous to the ratification, which, I suppose, is delayed to give Sir Guy all the time that can be conveniently done.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Very humb. Servant, Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). In a clerical hand and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Washington's letters are in PCC, item 152, 11:413-22; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:83-86.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the resolution directing Washington "to attend Congress," for which see Boudinot to Washington, July 31, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See also James McHenry to Washington, July 31 and August 11, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir,                      Private.                      Princeton Aug 12th. 1783.

With this your Excellency will receive my public Letter of this Date. That your Excellency may be informed of every Act of Congress, relating to yourself personally, I do myself the honor of enclosing for your private Information, a Copy of an Address proposed to be delivered to your Excellency on your Attendance here,<sup>1</sup> in Case it should precede the definitive Treaty. I also enclose an Act of Congress,<sup>2</sup> calculated to hand down to Posterity the attention of your grateful Country, for Services that never can be repaid. Every public Testimony to your Excellency's just Merit, gives me a most sensible & lasting Pleasure, as it is a living Evidence that public Gratitude, for essential public Services, is not yet quite driven from our political World.

I have the honor to be with very great Esteem & Respect, Your Excellency's Most Obedient and very Hble Servt,

Elias Boudinot

P.S. Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the most affectionate Compliments to Mrs Washington.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The copy of this presidential address in the Washington Papers is filed under the date August 26, with the address Washington returned to Congress during his "Audience" that date. It was the product of a committee, instructed on August 7 "to confer with the commander in chief on the peace arrangement" and "to report the proper manner of receiving him." The address had been "agreed to" by Congress on August 9, for which see PCC, item 19, 6:445-51, item 186, fol. 117; and JCC, 24:521-22.

<sup>2</sup> The August 7 "Act" resolving "That an equestrian statue of General Washington, be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established." JCC, 24:494.

## James Duane to William Malcom

Dear Sir    Princeton 12th August 1783

I received your friendly Letter of the 20th of July,<sup>1</sup> but not till yesterday. Where it has been detained so long I am at a Loss to conceive. When I passed near your neighbourhood lately it was not in my way to Congress, but on some preparatory business; which was necessarily to be transacted before I could leave my Family and my Journey was hastened on the Day to which you allude by a preengagement to dine at Head quarters. Your kind attention in returning home to meet me is a proof of your politeness which deserves my Thanks.

Before I take up the interesting Subject of your Letter I beg leave to inform you that I submitted to attend Congress this Summer with the utmost Reluctance, and from necessity only. I wished to devote my Time and Attention to my Fellow sufferers and Fellow Citizens and in assisting in those preparatory Deliberations which our common Interest and Happiness requires. But there was no alternative—unless I relinquished an object so near to my Heart. There would have been no Representation from our State—at a Period too when the Peace Arrangement, and the Security of our civil and military Creditors call for the United wisdom of our country to say nothing of those important Regulations which respect our Intercourse with & our Connections with foreign Nations.

I have not with me the Law which constitutes the great Council which, in the first Instance, is to regulate the police of the Southern District of our State: but confiding in your Judgement that their powers are competent I can safely Announce that their wishes must lead them to every Exertion in favour of Citizens who have hazarded and suffered every thing in the common Cause. What then should hinder our stating the Grievances under which we must too probably Labour with the Firmness becoming Freemen and why should we doubt of receiving every support which we ought to ask or they to grant? I will not entertain a suspicion but that the regular and legal way which you have in Contemplation will prove effectual. If Violence should be recurred to, I should fear with you Consequences as painful as the Calamities of any period of the war. I find that the Meeting you mention has taken place and that you are one of the Committee; the Resolutions not published; and from the nature of the subject I can conjecture Reasons to justify the Reserve. If there is no impropriety I shall be glad to be informed of the Views & Sentiments which prevailed in that interesting Conference.

We hear nothing of the definitive Treaty: No Intelligence from our Ministers, nor from Individuals; No Conjecture even from a publick print; which in the least relieves our Solitude on Account of the Detention of the Capital portion of our State. Is this not mysterious and even alarming. I confess it is a point on which I am become extremely troubled for I feel with you that months now are more tedious than the most critical Years of our arduous Conflict; and is it to be wondered at when we alone of the whole federal Union are still in the painful Situation of Exiles and can fix no Period for our return to our beloved Home. I hope you still hold your Resolution to visit us at this place as I wish much to converse with you on the State of our internal politics.

I did not delay a moment in transmitting your Letter to the Financier who remains at Philadelphia.

Be pleased to Present my respectful Compliments to Mrs. Malcolm and our Friends in your neighbourhood, and believe that there is no Man more sincerely disposed to serve and oblige all his suffering Fellow Citizens who have stood forth in the defence of our Liberties than, Dear Sir, Your most obedient & very humble Servant,

Jas. Duane

FC (NHi: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Malcom's July 20 letter concerning the return of New York City "exiles" is in the Duane Papers, NHi. For Malcom's subsequent involvement in reestablishing civil government in New York City, see also Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:147-53.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir

Philada. Aug. 12. 1783.

The arrival of yesterday's mail has not enabled me to acknowledge the rect. of a favor, perhaps the post office may be again in fault.<sup>1</sup>

Our late belief of the arrival of the Defin. Treaty at N. York has become utterly extinct. From the tenor of the Newspapers the delay seems to be the effect of discussions with the Dutch. The inclosed letter from our friend Hawkins provides for the article of Russian intelligence.<sup>1</sup> I understand from Mr. Mercer who is here on business as well as myself that Mr. Dana's despatches were in part undecypher'd when Mr. Hawkin's transcript was made. The Legislature of Masts. have sent a Memorial to Congress wearing a very unpropitious aspect on the grant of 1/2 pay to the army and in other respects breathing a penurious spirit which if indulged will be fatal to every establishment that requires expence. They profess great poverty, and have declined any decision on the Revenue propositions of Congs. Rhode Island did not even bestow a consideration on them. Mr. H——<sup>2</sup> from the latter State after being informed of the course taken by Va. said that her backwardness very much emboldened the States that were disinclined to a Genl. Revenue. Congs. have voted Genl. W. an elegant Bronze Statue. He has been invited to Princeton as well to relieve him from the tedium which he suffers on the North River as to make use of his Counsel in digesting a peace Establishmt. We shall probably be reinforced by Mr. Jones in a few days.<sup>3</sup> I shall give you notice when my departure will make it proper for your correspondence to be discontinued.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:273.

<sup>1</sup> See Benjamin Hawkins to Madison, August 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> That is, David Howell.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, August 24, note 1.



## John Montgomery to William Irvine

Dear Sir

Prince Town 12th Augt. 1783

I have wrote to you Sevrall times Sinc I Came to this place<sup>1</sup> the last went by Major Ward and Covred Sundrie news papars you will no Doubt think it Strange that Congress Continue here, I think so too but it is owing to Some Desiging men in Congress who woud Sacrifice the intrest and peace of the united States in order to Carrie thire Schems. Some Delagats from the Estron Stats wish Congress to go to New York as soon as the English may leave it which is Exspcted Soon, perhaps about the first of Octbr. and we are to stay at this place untill that time whoever the the Returning to Philada. or Stay here will be Determined nixt Wensday, that is too morrow and I think I may venture to say that Congress will not go back to Philada. We Exspect genrl Washington here in a few Days. A house is taken for him about five miles from town he is to assist Congress with his advice on the peace arangment. The Difinitive treaty is not yet arrived. Sir Gay is bringing in all his out posts and making Evry neassarry preparatons to leave New York. Thire is now ten States represented in Congress and they will Soon take up the affair of the westren Countray and I flatter my selfe that the proper measures will be adopted to prevent the iragular Settlement of those Lands. Inclosed you have the latest news papars. Shoud be glad to hear from you offen.

I am Dear Sir your assured frind and Humble Servant,

John Montgomery

RC (PHi: Irvine Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Only Montgomery's letter to Irvine of July 26 has been found.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir,

On publick service, Princeton, 12th August, 1783.

We yesterday received the enclosed Communication from the hon'l. Mr. Izard,<sup>1</sup> who is sensibly affected with his mother Mrs. De Lancey's situation, and has pressed us earnestly to interpose as far as propriety will admit. As we are wholly unacquainted with the Principles on which Mrs. DeLancey's property is supposed to be sequestered, we coud give Mr. Izard no other satisfaction than a promise to transmit her Case to your Excellency, and an assurance of your inflexible Regard to Justice, good order and the publick Faith. We think it our Duty to put the Subject into such a Train of Enquiry as will vindicate the Honour of the State and enable us to answer Complaints and re-

move Prejudices. If there is any Law by which her Property is forfeited, or her Rights of Citizenship taken away, it will have its Operation: but if she is evicted by Violence and entitled to Protection, we have no doubt but her grievances will be heard and as far as possible redressed. Can it be thought a Crime deserving the Penalties of Confiscation, or any high Degree of public Indignation, that a Widow in the Decline of Life retired from the midst of the most active scenes of War to a place of Safety. In this Light is Mrs. DeLancey's Case represented and this she insists is her only offence.

We have no Account of the definitive Treaty. No Intelligence of any kind from our ministers or private Letters which embarresses all our measures more than words can express. As soon as anything transpires worthy of attention we shall not fail to communicate it to your Excellency.

With the utmost Respect we remain Sir Your Excellencys most Obedient and most humble Servants.  
Jas. Duane.

[P.S.] When these dispatches were made up Mr. L'Hommedieu was abroad which prevented his Signature.

Reprinted from Clinton, Papers (Hastings), 8:234–35. FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> Not found; but see Ralph Izard to George Washington, June 8; and Ezra L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 3, 1783. Ralph Izard was married to Alice De Lancey, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Colden De Lancey.

## Committee of Congress to Robert R. Livingston

Sir Princeton August 13th. 1783

Congress have lately receivd Sundry letters from Mr Dana at Petersburg, partly in cypher, he refers to the cypher which was Sent you by Mr Adams's son, his words are

"I make use of the cypher I Sent you (the Secretary for foreign affairs) by Mr Adams's Son having laid yours asside for the reasons there mentioned, your printed one has not come to hand with your letter."<sup>1</sup>

The Committee to whom these letters are referd request you would be so kind as to favour them with the Cypher referd to as soon as may be.<sup>2</sup>

I am in behalf of the Com, with much Esteem & Respect, your  
Humble Servant, Sam. Huntington

RC (PHC: Roberts Autograph Collection). Written and signed by Samuel Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> For this passage from Dana's April 17 letter to Livingston, see Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:382.

<sup>2</sup> For the report of Huntington's committee, see Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison, August 9, notes 2 and 3.

## Arthur Lee to James Warren

Dear Sir,

In Congress, Princeton Augt. 13. 1783

I had the honor of writing to Mrs. Warren relative to Your Son's object.<sup>1</sup> I have now to add that it is not probable any question on the subject will come on 'till the new delegation takes place of the present;<sup>2</sup> therefore it would be prudent to impress them before they leave your State, in his favor.

Our removal to Philadelphia, tho' much urg'd, has not yet been effected; but such is the influence of art & cultivation over right & judgment that I cannot promise a vote will not at length be obtained for that pernicious measure.

Will you have the goodness to inform me, whether any thing has been done relative to the land voted to me;<sup>3</sup> & how the paper-money, of which I troubled you with a parcell to receive the interest, is now circumstanced. Whether it is funded, has deprettiated or apprettiated.

We have not a word from any Minister in Europe relative to the definitive treaty, which is not a little surprising. Mr. Dana was well at Petersburg in April, when he informed us that the Empress woud not receive him 'till the ratification of the definitive treaty, & a new Letter of credence is sent dated posterior to the acknowlegment of Our Independence by the british Crown.<sup>4</sup> This seems to be an over delicacy. Please to present my best respects to Mrs Warren, Mrs J. Adams, Mr. Bodwoine, & Mr. S. Adams. Farewell,

A Lee

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Letters).

<sup>1</sup> Not found; but for Winslow Warren's application for an appointment as consul in Portugal, see Samuel Holten to Warren, July 15, 1783, note.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the new Massachusetts delegation, for which see Stephen Higginson to Unknown, July 21, 1783, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> For Lee's Massachusetts land grant, see these *Letters*, 18:440, 442n.2, 19:710.

<sup>4</sup> See Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison, August 9, 1783.

## Theodorick Bland to George Weedon

Dear Sir:

Princeton, Aug. [14], 1783.<sup>1</sup>

At the request of the Paymaster General, I take the liberty to introduce to you Mr. Dunscomb, one of the gentlemen in the department, whose business in our country is officially to forward the settlement of the accounts of our line. A service, I presume, not unacceptable to our officers and soldiers, and, therefore, I presume he will meet from you every facility in your power, as well as every necessary introduction, to render his acquaintance as useful to the public and as agreeable to himself as possible, during his stay in Virginia. Time does not

at present permit me to enlarge on public affairs; indeed, there is little interesting, stirring—no definite treaty yet arrived. We expect our great and good General here in a few days. Congress has this day rejected a motion to return to Philadelphia—six states against two—Virginia in the negative. I am told this is contrary to the sense of the State—is it so?

Adieu. Yours, affectionately,

Theo<sup>k</sup> Bland.

[P.S.] Nothing has been yet done in the land affairs.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>1</sup> This date has been established from Bland's reference at the end of the letter to the rejection "this day" of David Howell's August 11 motion "to return to Philadelphia," for which see *JCC*, 24:508–9.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Adams

Dear sir.

Princeton, 14th Aug., 1783.

I have not been honor'd with a line from you (except in your public capacity) since I did myself the pleasure of addressing you last.<sup>1</sup>

The definitive treaty is not yet come to hand, neither have we any accounts, that makes it certain that it is yet finished, notwithstanding we are in daily expectation of it.

General Washington having signified to Congress, that his present situation was not very agreeable, while waiting for the definitive treaty, & frequent applications to him upon matters that he is not authorized to act upon; therefore, he has been invited by Congress to attend them in this place, that they may avail themselves of his assistance in forming a peace arrangement, or as some call it a peace establishment;<sup>2</sup> but upon carefully attending to the confederation, I can't find that Congress have much to do upon this subject, as it seems to be left with the several states to keep up such a number of troops as Congress shall approve of; however I find we shall not all think alike upon this subject.

We have letters from Mr. Dana, dated sometime in April, by which it appears not probable, that he will enter into a commercial treaty with the Empress, as there is some objections, namely, that his commission was dated before the B. King acknowledged our independence, & that the Empress is invited by France, Spain, & G.B. to guarantee the definitive treaty when it is finished & that G. B. has not yet received a minister from the U. S. & therefore it might not be adviseable, at this time, to receive Mr. Dana in his public capacity; I hope he will leave that Court before he receives farther orders from Congress, as I feel myself too independent to ask favors of this kind, even of her imperial majesty.

I take it you are well acquainted with what took place in Philada. that caused Congress to adjourn to this place; and we have spent part of several days debating the question whether we shall return, but I think it is not likely that seven states will be in favor of returning at present, notwithstanding the address of a large number of the citizens of Philada., the invitation of the Supreme Executive of the state, & the great influence of a certain number of gentlemen; so that you may suppose a number of us are determined not to return, if we can help it; and I believe you will not be much at a loss for the reasons of our conduct.

I find that 'tis the opinion of some persons that commutation was not the only reason that operated against the reelection of the delegates from Massachusetts,<sup>3</sup> & that some change was thought necessary for political reasons, but you, sir, that are well acquainted with the secrets of state, can I suppose, give me information; and others are of opinion, that it originated nearer Philada. than Boston; but I have no doubt that communication operated in the minds of the major part that voted.

The more I am personally acquainted with Doctr. Lee, the more he rises in my esteem. I was, lately, in hopes to have had his company in the same house with me, which he was desirous of, but we could not bring it about, and he has taken a chamber, on the other side of the street, & I believe we shall be neighbourly.

Mr. Gerry arrived here last week, has been to Philadelphia, & returned yesterday, & is to take his seat this day.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect, your most obedient:

S. Holten

P.S. Two of the sergeants are under sentence of death, that were concern'd in the late mutiny in the city of Philadelphia; but I do not expect that any of the sentences will be carried into effect 'till the whole trials are gone through with.<sup>4</sup> We have determined the question, as to returning to Philada., & there appeared but two states in favor of the return, (viz.) Pennsyla. & Maryland. North Carolina dividd.<sup>5</sup>

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Holten to Adams, May 14, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot's "public" letter to George Washington, August 12, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See Stephen Higginson to Unknown, July 21, note 1; and Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> The following day Congress suspended these sentences until the complete court martial proceedings against all the leaders of the mutiny had been received, for which see *JCC*, 24:509–10; Elias Boudinot to Robert Howe, August 18 and September 13; and James McHenry's Speech, September 13, note.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 24:509.



## Samuel Holten to Benjamin Wadsworth

Revd & dear Sir,<sup>1</sup>Princeton, State of  
New Jersey, 14 Aug. 1783

I have been favor'd with your agreeable attention of the 30th of June, but it did not come to hand 'till more than a month after the date, what prevented my having the pleasure sooner, I am not able to say.

You are pleased among other just observations to say "tho we are blessed with peace, this is still a world of trouble"; this will apply to us as a nation, as well as to each individual; and it is to be lamented by the good people of these states as a frown of providence that so soon after hostilities ceased, & before the definitive treaty is come to hand that one of the principal states in the union, should be so much dissatisfied with their national Council as to remonstrate against their proceedings, in two instances, namely, commutation to the officers of the army in lieu of half pay for life, & the salaries granted by Congress to their civil officers; and as I verily believe, both Congress & the state I have the honor to represent, are actuated by the best motives to promote the public good, it gives me real concern to find that they differ so much in sentiments upon these matters; the difficulties Congress have had to encounter in the course of the late war, can be better conceived of by you, than expressed by me, but from my personal knowledge, they have been very great, and at some period of the war, they appeared to be almost insurmountable, and I consider that at such a period as I have last mentioned, Congress were obliged to promise the officers of their army half pay for life, if they would continue in their service to the end of the war and one year's full pay to each private. I have said obliged, I mean that at that time it was thought the best thing that could be done to keep the army together & after the greatest deliberation, as the officers were endeavouring in large numbers to resign their commissions; but if Congress at that time could have commanded money sufficient or procured credit, it might have answered the purpose, by paying them their wages, that was then due, but that not being the case, they were obliged to promise & pledge the faith & honor of their constituents to make them good. This leads me to consider what the present Congress has done, that is so disagreeable to my constituents, as very few of the members that now compose Congress were concerned in making their engagements to the army, & not one of us from Massachusetts; and when the officers had reason to think that the war was drawing to a close, they made application to Congress, setting forth their services, sufferings & the

promises that had been made them, & requesting payment, or some further security to be given them; and as they understood, that some of the states in the union did not consider half pay for life, in a favorable point of light, they were willing to make a commutation & settle the matter; the delegates from Massachusetts, supposing that a commutation with them would be much more agreeable to their constituents, and in favor of their interest, for several reasons that might be mentioned, took great pains to find out what would become their due according to the common period of mens lives, & finding that 22 years upon an average was the time that all seemed to be agreed in that they would live, therefore we should have to pay them 22 years half-pay or eleven years full pay & then after great deliberation it was thought advisable to offer them five years full pay, in such securities, as Congress gave their other creditors which you will take notice is less than one half of what would become their due, according to our own cast; and now, sir, I submit the matter to your judgment, & every other honest man that is acquainted with the subject, whether the present Congress have made a good bargain and how far the delegates from Massachusetts have been to blame in assenting to the same; but it is said that Massachusetts is not in favor of half pay, commutation or anything else, except their wages, if so, I have to lament that they did not signify their pleasure by instructions to their delegates, which would have been the rule of my conduct, and I should not then have considered myself personally answerable for the consequences.

As to the other matter the Honble Court has remonstrated against, there may be, & I believe there is, just grounds of complaint in some instances, but it should be considered, that it is much more chargeable living at foreign Courts in Europe, than people that are not acquainted with living abroad, & the business of foreign ministers, are apt to imagine, & notwithstanding the salaries that have been given to the public officers attending business when Congress sits, it has been difficult to get gentlemen of character in the several states to remove to Philadelphia & attend the public business, and for this very reason we have been obliged to appoint nine persons living near the place where Congress sits, in order to get the business done; but I believe Congress would do the delegates from Massachusetts the justice to say that they have always been attentive to the interest of their constituents in making grants.

There seems to be something peculiar respecting the settlement with the army as it respects the delegates from Massachusetts for about the same time that their constituents were signifying their disapprobation of their conduct, part of the army<sup>2</sup> were so dissatisfied as to surround the house where Congress were assembled & placed guards at their doors for several hours, because no more had been done for them; & I assure you, sir, our situation for some time was disagreeable

as the soldiers seemed to be prepared for the worst purposes; however, at that time I went out with several other members of Congress, & used every argument I could think of to convince them of their wrong proceedings, & to prevail with them to return to their barracks. I was sensible of danger, but was determined to do everything in my power to prevent the shedding of human blood, and it ought to be considered as a favor of providence that this unhappy affair proceeded no farther, & that some of the principal promotions [promoters] are likely to be brought to justice.

It gives me concern to hear that any of my good neighbours have got into difficulties, & wish it was in my power to afford them assistance. Several other matters, I intended to have noticed but must omit them 'till my next. As an apology may be thought necessary for the length of this tedious epistle already, but I shall only observe that there is much satisfaction in writing, with freedom, to a particular friend.

I am, my dear sir, with sincere respect, your obliged friend, & very humble servant  
S. Holten.

Reprinted from *Danvers Historical Society Collections* 26 (1939): 92–94. FC (PPIIn). Fragment in the hand of Samuel Holten, final page missing.

<sup>1</sup> For the identity of the Reverend Wadsworth and his relations with Holten, see these *Letters*, 10:321n.1, 12:329n.3.

<sup>2</sup> FC ends here.

## John Francis Mercer to James Madison

Dear Sir

[August 14, 1783]

Before I left Phila. I made enquiry for a Bill on me for 200 Dollars & wch had been presented & accepted, but by whom had entirely escaped my recollection—according to the perverse order of human affairs a Letter waiting here informs me of what I wished to know there—it is in the hands of a Mr. J. Ross, whom I have directed to apply to you & request the favor of you to discharge it.

The Question for the return to Phila. had been decided in the negative prior to my arrival. I must think a worthy colleague,<sup>1</sup> hurried this matter on with an unbecoming precipitation—& I am at a loss to reconcile with his professed, candor & openness, his making a motion with an intention of voting agt. it, supported by Mr. Howell the inventor of this ingenious, & honourable device.<sup>2</sup> This said worthy Gentleman Mr. Howell, made a motion seconded by our other colleague Mr. Lee, to strike out Government after cofœderal & insert Union, in an Act of Congress<sup>3</sup>—this will give you the complexion of our affairs.

Mr. Laurens writes us from London dated the 17th of June, & suggests that there is no prospect that the mission of Mr. Hartley wd. terminate either in a commercial or definitive Treaty.<sup>4</sup>

It will be well for you to advise Mrs. House what steps she should take—had I any Idea that the sentiment of Congress could be so absurdly fixed I would not hesitate to give my opinion that she should remove to where they may plan their residence.<sup>5</sup> I am no doubt disposed by my desire of living with her myself. Does my friend Mrs. Trist pursue the plan of her Indies expedition. I wish she wd. write me when she hears from Havanna.<sup>6</sup>

My best Respects to Genl. Howe & the Gentn. of his family. The Gnl. will receive official notice of the present aims of Congress which supersedes the propriety of my writing.<sup>7</sup> Come & bring Mr. Jones—your presence wd. be of essential utility.<sup>8</sup>

I am with respect [&] esteem Dr Sir, Yr. mo. Ob. Sv

John F. Mercer  
14th

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Endorsed by Madison: "Augst. 14. 1783. Jno. F. Mercer." Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:277–78.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Theodorick Bland.

<sup>2</sup> The motion had in fact been offered by David Howell and seconded by Bland. See *JCC*, 24:506–9.

<sup>3</sup> For Howell's August 13 motion, which was actually seconded by William Ellery and not Arthur Lee, see *JCC*, 24:504–5.

<sup>4</sup> As Laurens' letter was read in Congress on August 15, Mercer must not have completed this letter until the 15th. See the following entry, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> The proprietress of the boardinghouse where Madison resided, Mrs. Mary House, had suffered a considerable loss of income when the congressional delegates who boarded with her left Philadelphia. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 6:375–76, 382.

<sup>6</sup> For Eliza House Trist's effort to reach New Orleans, via the West Indies, to rejoin her husband, Nicholas Trist, a British medical officer, see *ibid.* See also Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 8, 1783, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Robert Howe, August 18, 1783.

<sup>8</sup> Madison and Joseph Jones attended Congress the week of August 25. See *JCC*, 24:521n.1, 525.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir,

Princeton Augt. 14th. 1783

It is three posts since we have had the honor of hearing from your Excellency, which alarms us about your health.

The Assembly in their last Session passd an Instruction to us, which we have not receivd. It relates to the Accounts of Mr. Finie.<sup>1</sup>

It is now a year since a Commissioner was appointed to settle the Accounts of the State with the U. S. We should be obligd to your Excel-

lency for informatron whether any such Commissioner has been in the State, and whether the Accounts are ready for Settling.<sup>2</sup>

Congress have not yet determind any of the points submitted to them on the part of the State.<sup>3</sup> No Advice from our Ministers abroad relative to the definitive treaty, have reachd us. The Empress of Russia has declind receiving our Minister as inconsistent with her character as Mediatrix, 'till the definitive treaty shall have been signd, A Minister receivd in G. B. from the U. S., & letters of Credence sent bearing a date subsequent to the acknowledgment of our Independence by G. B.<sup>4</sup>

The question for adjourning to Philadelphia, after long debate & mature consideration, was carried in the negative by Six States to two. We have the honor of inclosing a copy of the yeas & nays on this important question.<sup>5</sup>

Two of the ring-leaders in the late Mutiny have been condemn'd to death by their Courts-martial.<sup>6</sup>

We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most Obedt Servts.

Theok. Bland Jr.

Arthur Lee

John F. Mercer

P. S. Augt. 15th. 1783.

A Letter is just read from Mr. Laurens, dated London June 17 informs that the Mission of Mr. Hartley will not in all likelihood terminate in a commercial treaty—that the present Ministry is tottering & the restoration of Ld. Shelburne as prime Minister he apprehends woud embarrass the Negociation. The british Court he says has very much changd its tone with regard to reciprocity in commercial stipulations, & seem inclin'd to have them all in their own favor. He makes no mention of the definitive treaty. But Mr. Fox assur'd him that orders were actually sent for the evacuation of N. York.<sup>7</sup>

A. Lee

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Lee except for the first sentence of the postscript written by Mercer. Signed by Lee, Bland, and Mercer. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:274–75.

<sup>1</sup> The delegates were mistaken for while the assembly's June 4 instructions had dealt with accounts in general they did not specifically mention those of William Finnie. See Virginia Delegates to Harrison, July 5, note 3; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:293.

<sup>2</sup> For the attempt of Zephaniah Turner to settle Virginia's Continental accounts, see *ibid.*, p. 276n.3.

<sup>3</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Harrison, July 5, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Benjamin Hawkins to James Madison, August 9, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> See Theodorick Bland to George Weedon, this date, note.

<sup>6</sup> For the suspension of these verdicts, see Samuel Holten to Samuel Adams, this date, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Laurens' June 17–18 letter with its several enclosures was read in Congress August 15 and referred to a committee chaired by Stephen Higginson. Its work super-



seded that of another committee chaired by Thomas FitzSimons which had been appointed May 6 and instructed August 5 "to prepare a plan of a com[mercial] treaty with G B & instructions for negotiating peace & to report what other treaties of commerce it may be proper to propose." The latter was discharged August 26 and its work assigned to Higginson's committee which reported September 1. Congress took no immediate action on the report, however, assigning it instead to a committee appointed September 12 and chaired by James Duane which was instructed to consider voluminous dispatches received that day from the ministers abroad. See *JCC*, 25:531-32; *PCC*, item 89, fols. 287-306, item 185, 3:75, item 186, fols. 99, 116, 118; Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:396-97, 442-44, 491-93; and Madison to Randolph, September 13, note 1.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin

Sir,

Princeton 15 August 1783.

I had the honor of your favor of the 7th of March last enclosing the treaty between the United States and the King of Sweden, the ratification whereof has been retarded for want of nine States present in Congress. This Act has now taken place, and I am honored with the commands of Congress to transmit it to you for exchange, which I now have the pleasure of doing, and hope it will meet with a safe and speedy conveyance.<sup>1</sup>

On revising the Treaty a manifest impropriety struck Congress in the Title of the United States being called of *North America*, when it should have been only *America*; and also in the enumeration of the different States, wherein the Delaware State is called "The three lower counties on Delaware." As there is no such State in the union, Congress were at a loss how they could ratify the Treaty with propriety, unless they should alter the transcript, which might be liable to many exceptions; they have therefore, to avoid all difficulties, passed a separate Resolve, empowering you to make the necessary amendments. A certified copy of this Resolution I do myself the pleasure to enclose.<sup>2</sup>

Congress are intirely at a loss to account for the silence of their Commissioners at Paris since February last, being without any official information relative to the Treaty with Great Britain since that time.

I had the honor of writing you very fully on the 15th of July last, giving the reasons for our removal to this place at length, which I hope got safe to hand.

Congress having determined not to fix the place of their permanent residence till the first Monday in October next, is the reason of deferring the appointment of a Minister for Foreign Affairs till that is done.

I have the honor to be, with high respect, & Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient & very humb. Servt.

Elias Boudinot

P.S. I have sent by this Oppertunity, the News Papers to this Date.

RC (DLC: Franklin Papers). In a clerical hand, and signed by Boudinot.

<sup>1</sup> Franklin's March 7 letter to Robert R. Livingston is in PCC, item 82, 2:361-64; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:276. For the enclosed treaty and its ratification, see JCC, 24:457-77.

<sup>2</sup> See JCC, 24:477.

## Committee of Congress to Robert Morris

Sir [Princeton, August 15-20<sup>?</sup> 1783]

I am requested by the Committee to whom is referred your Report on the Queries of the Commissioner appointed to settle Accounts in the State of Pennsylvania, to desire you will inform them as soon as possible whether any and what Engagements under the sanction of Congress are grounded on Requisition for Money from the several States made without particular Estimates. If any such Engagements subsist, you will please to give a particular State of them together with the Requisitions on which they are made.

I have the Honor to be, Sir, your obedient huml Servant,  
(Signed) Abra. Clark

P.S. Please to direct your Answer to Mr. Lee or Mr. Gerry as I shall probably be Absent.

Tr (DNA: PCC, item 137).

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written on behalf of a committee consisting of Abraham Clark, Elbridge Gerry, and Arthur Lee, appointed on August 15 to take into consideration a report from Morris to Congress on the settlement of Pennsylvania's Continental accounts, for which see JCC, 24:511-12; and Morris to the President of Congress, August 12, 1783, in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), vol. 8 (forthcoming). This text of it was enclosed in Morris' first response to the committee, requesting to know "what Object they have in View and to explain to me their Wishes," for which see Morris to Gerry, August 21, *ibid.* For Morris' comprehensive response to the committee's requests and an analysis of the issues at stake in the committee's work, see Morris to Gerry, August 26, *ibid.*

## Committee of Congress to Charles Thomson

Sir Princeton 15th Augt. 1783.

Inclosed is an Application from the Delegates of the State of Rh. Island &c which has been committed.<sup>1</sup>

It appears that the Schooner good Fortune of which George Hardwick was Master was captured on the high Seas by the Brig Unity of which Edward Coffin was Master and the Brig Providence of which Benju Bailey was Master and carry'd into Cape Francois where she was

condemned by a Court of Admiralty, Liberty being granted to the said George Hardwick to appeal to *the deputies of the US at Paris*.

You will be pleased to examine the Journals and Files of Congress that we may know whether there are any Proofs that such appeal has been made.

By Concurrence and Direction of the Committee.

Hu Williamson, Chairman

P.S. Be so good as take an early Opportunity to report to the Committee the Result of your Enquiries.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78). Written and signed by Hugh Williamson.

<sup>1</sup> The "Application" from the Rhode Island delegates had been received August 5 and referred to Hugh Williamson, James Duane, and Samuel Holten. See PCC, item 186, fol. 116.

<sup>2</sup> In his reply Thomson curtly reminded the committee that he could not determine if "any communication was made by the ministers or deputies at Paris respecting the matter in question" because their letters were lodged among the papers of the secretary for foreign affairs which had been "sealed up" when Robert R. Livingston left office. See Thomson to Livingston, June 4, and to Williamson, August 19, 1783. The committee included a copy of Thomson's "answer" in its August 25 report recommending that the president immediately inquire of the ministers at Paris whether the owners of the *Good Fortune* had registered an appeal with them "and what further Steps, if any, have been taken." When Congress took up the report on September 22 the Rhode Island delegates moved instead that "the secretary be directed to examine the Journals and files of Congress respecting this affair" and to deliver "a certificate of the result of the examination," but the move was defeated and the committee's report was adopted. There is no evidence, however, that President Boudinot ever wrote to the ministers abroad on this subject. See *JCC*, 25:597-601; and PCC, item 20, 1:235-46.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

PrinceTown, August 15, 1783.

Upon the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter,<sup>1</sup> I left Home as soon as I could, with any convenience; which was the first of this Month, and arrived here the sixth, a few Days after Colo. Hambleton was gone. Having been informed before I left Middletown that you was in Company with General Washington to the Northward, I came the most direct road by Kings Ferry, otherwise I should not have omitted calling on your Excellency at Poughkeepsie. Mr. Duane informs me that General Scott has received a sum of Money to enable him to attend Congress, tho' there is no probability of his coming on. I hope this will not put it out of your Power to supply me with a small sum; if it should, you will be so kind as to let me know it soon, that I may have opportunity to procure it elsewhere. I have now a Ballance due to me from the State, for my Attendance in Congress, to the amount of £121.10.0. I

have had no opportunity since the passing of the act for the paying and auditing the accounts of the Delegates, to lay this Account before the Auditor of the State; and it is not likely, if I must be present at the auditing, that I shall be able to present it for payment till after we get into New York: it would much oblige me if your Excellency will retain in your Hand, Out of the Monies directed to be loaned for the payment of such Accounts, a Sum sufficient to discharge this demand, when the Account shall be produced properly audited.

We have as yet no Account of the signing of the definitive Treaty or of the Time the British expect to leave New York. It is a long Time since advices have been received from our Commissioners at Paris. Congress do not seem at present to be hurried with Business. A Peace Establishment, which has been reported and on which General Washington is to be consulted (who will be here in a few Days) is a Business of much Consequence and ought soon to be perfected; but I fear delays will be made & some of the eastern States, if I am not much mistaken, will oppose the keeping of any Troops on the Frontiers especially those of New York.

It is ordered that an equestrian Statue of General Washington be made by the best artist in Europe under the direction of the Commissioner of the United States at Paris, and erected at the Place where the Residence of Congress shall be established. Where that Place will be is very uncertain. Pennsylvania and especially Philadelphia are now exceeding anxious for the Return of Congress to that City. 'Tis no wonder: they now see that it makes an Add'n of 100,000 Dollars at least to The State P. Annum. 'Tis said if Congress do not goe back, the Union will be dissolved; the State of Pennsylvania will be so convulsed that they will not be in a Capacity of Contributing to the Necessities of the United States; they say if Congress would remove there but six weeks, to shew that there was no misunderstanding, all would be Peace & Quiet; & if they then removed, there would be no blame or uneasiness. 'Tis very doubtful to me if Congress ever return to Philadelphia and it is as doubtful where they will agree to have their Place of residence. I believe they will remove from this Place before winter, as tis thought they cannot be accommodated in that Season of the Year.

I shall do myself the honor of writing to your Excellency frequently during my residence here and am with great Respect & Esteem Your Excellencys most Obed't and very Humb. Ser't.

Ezra L'Hommedieu.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:237–39.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Governor Clinton's June 9 circular letter to New York's non-attending delegates, L'Hommedieu, James Duane, and John Morin Scott, urging their attendance at Congress, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 202–3.

## Elias Boudinot to Azariah Dunham et al.

Gentlemen,

Princeton 16th August 1783

In answer to the very respectful address (which you did me the honor of enclosing to my care) of the Inhabitants of New-Brunswick and its vicinity,<sup>1</sup> I am directed by Congress to inform those respectable Citizens, "that Congress with pleasure received their congratulations on the glorious and happy success of the War; are obliged by the affection and respect for the Federal Government expressed in their Address, and highly approve their patriotic disposition to promote order, harmony and peace throughout the United States."<sup>2</sup>

The honor of this communication gives me great pleasure, as it is an additional testimony to the persevering & worthy conduct of my Fellow Citizens of New-Jersey.

I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16). Addressed: "Azariah Dunham & others, a Committee of the Inhabitants of New Brunswick."

<sup>1</sup> Dunham's August 5 letter to Boudinot enclosing New Brunswick's August 4 invitation to Congress to select "the Banks of the Raritan" as the "proper place for their Residence," is in PCC, item 46, fols. 95-99.

<sup>2</sup> For this August 12 resolve, see *JCC*, 24:501-2, 504-5.

## Daniel Carroll to Thomas FitzSimons

Dear Sr.

Prince Town Augt 16th. 1783.

I take the liberty of inclosg a Bank Note for 40 Dollars, & request you to buy a ps. of linen for me proper for Shirts. I woud prefer a good ps. of Holland from 30 to 40 yds, such as woud be abt. 3/3 Stg Prime Cost. I shall want cambric suitable for Ruffles for 6 of the Shirts.

When shall we See you? You have doubtless had the history of this week—better than I can give it you.

We yesterday receivd a letter from Mr. Laurens from London dated the 17 & 18 of June.<sup>1</sup> Not a word of the definitive Treaty. Mr Hartley had *full powers* to do nothing with our Comsrs. respecting Commerce. Mr Fox assurd him on the 14th of June that Sr. Guy had possitive orders to evacuate N.Y. The Ministry was tottering, the late Premier woud come in if a change took place, & our affairs might be embarassd. Vaughn is with you—he is intelligent, & I dare say well informd; what do you collect from him? Please to present my Comps. to Mrs. Fitzsimmons & Mr Stretch.

Yrs. Dr sr, very Sincerely,

Danl Carroll

RC (WHi: Signers of the Constitution Collection).

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, note 7.



## Abraham Clark to James Read

Sir<sup>1</sup>

Prince Town Augst 16. 1783.

I most sincerely congratulate you & Mrs. Reed on her safe delivery & the incrise of your family by one to bear your Name.

Our long suspense about the definitive treaty is now removed, as it appears by Letters lately recd. that no treaty was concluded the middle of June. The definitive treaty seems to have been out of sight, the attention of the ministry of Britain, as well as our Ministers, appears to have been confined principally to a Commercial treaty.

As your Legislature are now meeting, we are told their first work will be to investigate the proceedings of Congress in removing from Philada. For my part I cannot suppose Pennsylv. claims an exclusive Right to Congress and will undertake to determine where they ought to sit, nor can I believe their good sinse will suffer them to interfere in the matter. Whether the Council did right or not in refusing to call out the Militia, is a subject that had much better be forgot than investigated; what was done is past & cannot be undone. The Council I am told deny that the facts stated by the Committee are truly represented, should any dispute arise on that Account, it must be between the Council & the Committee, in which the latter would have the advantage, as the former refused to confer by writing as was requested by the Committee to prevent Mistakes.

I had proposed to have gone to Philada. yesterday, and enjoyed the pleasure of seeing my friends a short time, but my indisposition of body prevented; the very sudden changes of weather hath given a Shock to my crazy constitution so far as to render it imprudent to carry my self further from home at present.

I am, Sir, your Humble Servt.

Abra. Clark.

RC (Facsimile, *Stan V. Henkels Catalog*, no. 1418 [1928], item 67). Addressed: "Colo. James Reed."

<sup>1</sup> James Read (1743–1822), brother of former delegate to Congress George Read, and a commissioner of the middle department navy board from 1778 until its dissolution in September 1781, had been secretary in the Marine Office since January 1782. See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 1:169n.10, 4:3.

## Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin

Sir,

Princeton August 16 1783

Yesterday we received Letters from Mr. Lawrens dated London June the 17th.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fox informed him that positive orders for the removal of the British forces from New York were actually dispatched. The fears of the Ministry respecting the trade of America begin to subside

and as Mr. Lawrens observes "Reciprocity appears now to mean enjoyment on one part, & restrictions on the other, this change may have been wrought by the sudden & unexpected arrival of divers ships & cargoes from different parts in the United States." We long foresaw & feared this evil, but it was impossible with effect to offer a check to it, the Merchantile interest about Congress being so Powerful & opposed to the least suspicion of our immediate free trade with all the world. The natural consequence of such precipitancy, I fear will be, unless Congress should be able wisely to interpose, as Mr. Lawrens observed "enjoyment on the part of Great Britain and restrictions on ours." We may well imagine that the British Ministry will studiously avoid entering into any commercial stipulations with us, until they have well weighed all the advantages & disadvantages, attendant thereon, and until it shall be in their power in some measure to dictate such stipulations. It is already known that Mr. Hartley who was sent to treat at Paris about a Commercial Treaty, is only an instrument for gaining time, if I may so express it. It is at least probable "that the present British Ministry; from some late accounts, are in a tottering state, and should the late premier receive the reins which were plucked out of his hand, I apprehend every thing in his power will be attempted to embarrass our proceedings."

We have not received any dispatches from our Ministers at Paris or from any other quarter respecting the definitive treaty. Inclosed is a Copy of the order of the British King in Council.

I have the honor to be &c.

Benjamin Hawkins

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, note 7.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert Howe

Sir

Princeton 18th August 1783

I have the honor to enclose an Act of Congress of the 15th instant, which had the second reading this day. By this you will see that it is the pleasure of Congress, that the Sentences against the Mutineers should not be carried into execution till the whole proceedings of the Court Martial shall be laid before them and ten days allowed for their deliberations therein.<sup>1</sup>

I must beg the favor of your acknowledging the receipt of this as soon as possible, as it respects the lives of American Citizens.

I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:509–10.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir

Philada. Aug. 18. 1783.

I have not this week any more than the last the pleasure of acknowledging a favor from you. Perhaps I may find one at Princeton when I get there. On Thursday a question for returning to Philada. was put and decided in the Negative by a large majority. The friends of the measure foreseeing its fate, and supposing that a negative declaration cd. answer no good purpose and might an ill-one, withdrew it. The more moderate opponents concurred in the inexpediency of proclaiming unnecessarily an aversion in Congs to Philada. But some of this class were so keen in their hostility, that a motion was made by two of them to return, who on the question voted agst. their own motion. The public will not I believe fix on this proceeding as one of the brightest pages of the Journals! The abuses to which such an artifice may be extended are palpable. The merit of it in this application belongs to Mr. Howel of R. I. & Mr. B——d of V. The motion was first made by Mr. L. but in the course of the transaction devolved on Mr. Howel.<sup>1</sup> I know of none that will read with pleasure this affair unless it be the Executive of Pa. and those who wish to refer the removal of Congs. to *other motives* than the national dignity & welfare.

Cong. have letters from Mr. Laurens of the 17th June but they decide nothing as to the definitive Treaty. We have no reason however to impute the delay to any cause which renders the event suspicious. It is said that the British Councils grow more & more wary on the subject of a Commercial Treaty with the U. S. and that the spirit of the Navigation act is likely to prevail over a more liberal system.

S. Carolina we learn has agreed to the Impost on condition only that the revenue be collected by her own officers, & be credited to her own quota.<sup>2</sup> It is supposed that she will agree to exchange the valuation of land for the proposed rule of numbers: But on this point R. I. is even more inflexible than on that of the Impost. I pity from my heart the officers of the Eastern line, who are threatened by these prospects with disappointments which the Southern officers have no Idea of. From much conversation which I have lately had with some of the former, and from other information, there appears great reason to believe that if no *Continental provision* be made for them they will not only be docked of their half pay, but will run great hazard of being put off with regard to a great share of their other pay on the pretence of their States that they have already advanced beyond their proportion.

I expect Mr. Jones every moment.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:281–82.

<sup>1</sup> For the roles played by David Howell, Theodorick Bland, and Arthur Lee in defeating the move to return to Philadelphia, see *JCC*, 24:484–85, 506–9; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 168–71.

<sup>2</sup> This information was incorrect, for the South Carolina assembly did not agree to the proposed impost until the spring of 1784. See Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 7:130.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, August 24, 1783, note 1.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Tuesday. August 19. 1783

I arrived safe yesterday about half after 10.<sup>1</sup> As we had several showers on the road I was very uneasy about you. If the showers reached you, I hope you took care to have the apron up and the curtains drawn. I shall be anxious to hear from you.

I find the president is not likely to find a house. He had cast his eyes on the house where Mr Smith lives, which it seems belongs to the president of the College. Some intimation was given to the P. that doct Witherspoon would rent this house as he lived in his own house. Whether the doctor from a laudable desire of improving his income had it in contemplation to turn out his son-in-law & daughter & rent the house to the Pr. for a high rent, or whether any drew that conclusion from the prevailing temper of the doctr I will not undertake to say, but the P without farther ceremony applied to Mr Smith & informed him that he understood Mr W intended to rent the house. This was a thunder clap to Mr S. He said he had heard nothing of the matter. Mr. W had not mentioned it to him. He did not know where to go with his family. He had put himself to inconvenience to accommodate Members as much as he could, but he supposed he must give up his house. Possibly the trustees might think they had a right to let it as the presidt. of the College did not live in it himself. You can easily judge the feelings on both sides.

I am, your affectionate husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, from Philadelphia, where Thomson had been since August 9 visiting Hannah, locating official papers left behind in his office upon Congress' adjournment to Princeton, and mobilizing support among Pennsylvania officials for a formal invitation to Congress to return to Philadelphia.

## Charles Thomson to Hugh Williamson

Sir,

Aug 19. 1783

I have had the honor of receiving your letter of the 15 in which you are pleased to inform me that, "it appears the schooner Goodfortune

of which George Hardwick was master was captured on the high seas by the brig Unity of which Edward Coffin was Master and the brig Providence of which Benjamin Bailey was master, and carried into Cape Francois where she was condemned by a court of Admiralty, liberty being granted to the said George Hardwick to appeal to the *Deputies of the United States at Paris*" and you desire that "I will be pleased to examine the journals and files of Congress that you may know whether there are any proofs that such an appeal has been made" And in a postscript you desire "I will take an early opportunity to report to the comee" on the application from the delegates of Rhode Island &c "the result of my enquires."<sup>1</sup>

You are sensible, Sir, that the correspondence between Congress and their deputies or ministers at Paris was carried on by the Secretary for foreign affairs and that when Mr Livingston resigned, the papers of his Office, in which were deposited all the letters & communications from the Ministers of the United States at foreign courts, were sealed up. In that State I received them into my care until a Successor to Mr Livingston should be appointed. If any communication was made by the ministers or deputies at Paris respecting the matter in question, I presume it is lodged among those papers; for I do not find any mention of it in any of the letters received from them since Mr Livingston left the Office.

With all due respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient and Most humble Servt.  
Cha Thomson

RC (DNA: PCC, item 20).

<sup>1</sup> For Williamson's letter and the disposition of this case, see Committee of Congress to Thomson, August 15, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Samuel Mather

Revd. & dear Sir,

Princeton August 20th. 1783

I have been honored by the receipt of a Pamphlet, entitled "an Aged Minister's dying Legacy to the united States" which you have been so kind as to enclose to my address.<sup>1</sup> Permit me Sir, to acknowledge my Acceptance of it with Gratitude.

Every attempt to improve the late glorious Success, in a War so unequal; to the best Interests of the Citizens of these States, meets my hearty Concurrence and warmest Approbation. I have been in the midst of the principle Scenes of Action, during the whole Contest. I have not been a bare Spectator. I have carefully and attentively watched & Compared the Steps of divine Providence thro' the whole; and as the result, I can assure you, that our Success has not been the effect of either our Numbers—Power—Wisdom or Art. It has been manifestly the Effect (I was going to say miraculous Effect) of the astonishing and unparalleled Interposition of a holy God in our



favour—of that God who speaketh & it is done—who commandeth and it cometh to pass.

I do not mean in the least, to derogate from the Bravery, wisdom, Patience & Perseverence of one of the most deserving Armies that ever graced any Country. As well might we decry the Merit of Moses, in conducting the Children of Israel thro the Wilderness, as I am clear that our political Salvation is not at all inferior to theirs. My Meaning is that in no Instance has our Numbers, Power, Wisdom or Art been such, that in the Judgment of rational, enlightened Judges, Success could have been reasonably depended on, independent of the special aid & overruling direction of Heaven.

In many Instances, our Misfortunes have been our Happiness, and often our Mistakes & Blunders have been the cause of our succeeding beyond the most sanguine Hope. Had it not been for the Loss of Ticonderoga, we should never have had the british & Hessian Standards to have graced the Victory of Saratoga—And had not our Troops have been totally routed at Cambden, York Town would not have added the haughty Cornwallis to the american Trophies.

I most earnestly pray, that your Labours may be blessed beyond your most enlarged Expectations, and that at last you may receive the plaudit of “well done good & faithfull Servant, enter into the Joy of your Lord.”<sup>2</sup>

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Revd & dear Sir, Your most Obed and very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

RC (MHi: Miscellaneous Bound Collection).

<sup>1</sup> For Mather's *The Dying Legacy of an Aged Minister of the Everlasting Gospel, to the United States of America* (Boston: Edes & Gill, 1783), see Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, no. 18,032.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 25:21.

## Hugh Williamson to James Iredell

Dear Sir:

Princeton, August 20th, 1783.

It has been represented by some of the Trustees that Edenton appears to a majority of the Board to be the most proper place for erecting the seminary to be called Smith's Academy.<sup>1</sup> . . . It will ever be in our power hereafter to remove our Academy to another place, should the people in and near Edenton become inattentive to the first command, and not have children to educate. . . . Within the last two months, five boys have come to this town from N. Carolina to a Grammar School. Much divination is not required to foretell that they must draw at least £400 per annum in hard money out of the State. The Grammar School here is taught by two lads who are themselves students in the College. By such industry they bear their own expenses. Is

it not probable that our Academy would be at least equal to such a school? It is true the school is kept in one of the apartments of the College; and the boys have the advantage of all the inspiration that may be supposed to proceed from such walls. As the general observance of law, the peace of society, and the honor and prosperity of a State depend absolutely on the means that are used to instruct its inhabitants, I flatter myself the Trustees will consider what is best to be done on the subject, &c., &c., Dear Sir, your most obed't humble servant,  
Hugh Williamson.

MS not found; reprinted from McRee, *Iredell Correspondence*, 2:68–69.

<sup>1</sup> See Williamson to Iredell, February 17, 1783, note 2.

## Elias Boudinot to John Pierce

Sir, Princeton 21 August 1783  
In answer to your letter of the 12th instant I am to inform you, that Congress, by their Act of the 16th of May last, intended, that all the Chaplains now serving with the Army should receive the commutation of Captains.<sup>1</sup>  
I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Paymaster General Pierce's letter is not in PCC, but for the resolve at issue, see *JCC*, 24:345–46.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Dear Sir, Private Princeton August 21st 1783  
It is but this moment that your Excellency's Letter of the 14th Instt. has got to Hand.<sup>1</sup>

The alarming illness of Mrs. Washington gives Mrs. Boudinot, my self & Daughter, real distress, our Prayers shall not cease for her recovery. E're this I hope your Excellency has recd. mine by the Secretary of War, which will inform you of the Intentions of Congress, that you should make your Journey here entirely agreeable to your own Convenience & Leisure.<sup>2</sup>

Since that Letter, we have recd. Letters from Mr. Laurens of the 14th & 18th June.<sup>3</sup> By these we are convinced that there is no definitive Treaty yet arrivd in New York. The Substance of his Letters is, "That he had seen Mr Fox who made a Question whether the American Ministers were authorized & disposd to open our Intercourse or Commerce

on Terms of Reciprocity." To Answer this, our Ministers immediately to wit, on the 29th Aprill made a proposition of several plain Simple Articles full to that Purpose, and tendered them for Execution to Mr Hartly—who at first approved of them, but after some hesitation acknowledged he had come to Paris without his Powers. He sent an Messenger to London with the proposition—and after a waste of 3 weeks, he returned with an Answer that they could not be agreed to.

21st May Mr Hartley proposed Terms altogether inadmissible, but could not produce either Commission or Instructions for to compleat any Thing. Mr Laurens went to London from whence he writes and makes the following Observations "My former Assurances have undergone a wonderful refinement. Reciprocity seems now to mean, Enjoyment on one side, and restrictions on the other. This Change may have been wrought by the unexpected & sudden arrival of divers Ships & Cargoes from different Ports in the united States. The british Minister at Paris candidly assured me that he was of this Opinion". Mr Laurens mentioned to Mr Fox his wish to stay a few days at Bath, but he feared that his Presence would be necessary at the signing of the Treaty. Mr Fox answered by assuring Mr L. that he might safely remain at Bath for some Days without danger—from which Mr L. concluded that there was not any thing likely to be done speedily. Mr Laurens says that the present Ministry is likely to be of a very short duration.

I have the honor to enclose three Letters to your Excellency committed to my Care from different Quarters.

Shall I presume so much on your Excellency's time, as once more to beg your attention, to the two Cannon that was designed for the *Compte De Grasse*.<sup>4</sup> I feel myself much hurt by the assurance I was led to give him that they should be sent to him by the Duc de Lazun, and which I was not able to effect.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the most affectionate regards for Mrs. Washington, most devoutly praying for her immediate recovery.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Your Excellency's  
Most Obed & Hble Serv,  
Elias Boudinot

P.S. Congress have recd official Information from Sir Guy Carleton, that he has positive orders to evacuate New York without delay.<sup>5</sup> Mr Laurens mentions the same Thing, as told him by Mr. Fox.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Washington's letter is in PCC, item 152, 11:431–33; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:102–3.

<sup>2</sup> See Boudinot's first letter to Washington of August 12.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Laurens' letter (a single document) was actually dated June 17 and 18, for which see Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> See Boudinot to the comte De Grasse, April 23 and June 14; and Boudinot to Washington, June 14, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Carleton communicated this information in an August 17 letter to Boudinot, which was accompanied by six enclosures. The letter and three of the enclosures (Carleton to Robert R. Livingston, April 6; Livingston to Carleton, April 12; and Carleton to George Clinton, July 25) are in PCC, item 52, fols. 217–37. The other enclosures (Carleton to Washington, May 12; Washington to Carleton, June 2; and Carleton to Washington, June 10) are in PCC, item 152, 11:279–86, 309–12, 369–72.

## James Duane to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Princeton, 21st August, 1783.

We have at length letters from Mr. Lawrence, our Minister, dated in London the 15th of June.<sup>1</sup> He does not *mention* the definitive Treaty; but declares that Secretary Fox had assured him that positive orders had been transmitted to Sir Guy Carleton for the final evacuation of New York. Sir Guy too in his despatches of the 17th instant<sup>2</sup> says that the June packet lately arrived had brought him final orders for the evacuation of New York “and that he should lose no time, as far as depended upon him in fulfilling these commands.” “But that notwithstanding his orders are urgent to accelerate the total evacuation, the difficulty of assigning the precise time for this event was of late greatly increased. The violence of the Americans” he adds “which broke out soon after the cessation of hostilities increased the number of their countrymen who look to him for escape from threatened destruction; but that these terrors had of late been so considerably augmented that *almost all* within his lines conceived their safety to depend upon being removed by him, which rendered it impossible to say when the evacuation could be completed.” And again, “that he should shew an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honor and interest of the nation he served, to leave any of the *Loyalists*, that were desirous to quit the country a prey to the violence which they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend.” “That should these fears continue, and compel such multitudes to remove, he should *hold himself acquitted* from any delay in the fulfilling his orders and the consequences which may result therefrom”; and that he cannot avoid adding “that it made no small part of his concern that Congress had thought proper to suspend to this late hour the recommendations stipulated by the Treaty, and in the punctual performance of which the King of Great Britain and his ministers had expressed such entire confidence.”

In the course of his reasonings he refers to his correspondence with General Washington, with your Excellency, and our late Secretary for foreign Affairs; but he only transmits his own letter to your Excellency of the 25th of July. A Committee has these communications from Sir Guy under consideration. I endeavored from my memory to give them a detail of your correspondence; which induced a strong desire

on their part to be possessed of the whole: for I had also informed them that you had it in contemplation to lay it before Congress. I have a further reason for wishing that the transmission of these papers may not be delayed. Since *part* of the correspondence is among the archives of Congress, it is proper that the *whole* should be there; and the more so, as the materials it affords may be of public utility. The only proofs which Sir Guy has furnished are deposition[s] of And. Fowler, Edmund Ward, and Lieut. Col. Hunt.<sup>3</sup>

A Minister or Agent is arrived from Hamburgh, but has not yet reached Princeton. His business is to settle a commercial treaty. The Ambassador from the States General is on his passage to Philadelphia.<sup>4</sup> We have ratified a Treaty with the King of Sweden. It is reported that the Emperor and the King of Denmark have appointed their Ambassadors for our Court, but you will be pleased to set this down as *report*. The Court of Spain has received Mr. Carmichael as our Minister or rather *Charge des Affaires* in the absence of Mr. Jay: but Russia continues cold towards Mr. Dana, at least, undecided.<sup>5</sup>

Accept this small collection as the news of the day. At an important period it may justly be asked how it happens that nothing more satisfactory is communicated? It is not my fault, but we really hear nothing interesting from our ministers. I have been in pain lest I should forfeit your Excellency's opinion of my vigilance and attention; but believe me though I was drawn from home unreasonably, out of my routine, and to my great prejudice, to attend Congress this summer, I shall discharge my duty with alacrity; and embrace every opportunity to convince you that I am with great respect, and personal attachment, Dear Sir, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

Jas. Duane

P.S. I entreat your Excellency to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Attorney Col. [Genl.] Benson, and Judge Hubbard [Hobart]. You will naturally conjecture that the recommendation directed by the Treaty is now brought on the tapis.

Tr (MH-H: Sparks Collection).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Henry Laurens' letter of June 17, for which see the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Guy Carleton's July 25 letter to Clinton was among the enclosures the British commander sent to President Boudinot on August 17, for which see the preceding entry, note 5.

For the appointment of the committee on Carleton's letter, which consisted of Duane, Benjamin Hawkins, Stephen Higginson, Ralph Izard, and Arthur Lee, see *JCC*, 24:517n.1; and *PCC*, item 186, fol. 119.

Copies of the "*whole*" of Clinton's correspondence with Carleton referred to here, including enclosures such as the depositions of Andrew Fowler, Benjamin Hunt, and Edmund Ward, are located in *PCC*, item 52, fols. 169-72, 179-202, 205-12, 233-74. The letters themselves, running from May 7 to August 19, and a few of the enclosures, are also in Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:165-68, 175-77, 183-91, 203, 207-16, 239-45.



<sup>4</sup> The references are to Johann Abraham de Boor, representative of the Burgomasters of Hamburg, and Pieter Johan van Berckel, the Dutch minister, for whom see Elias Boudinot to van Berckel, October 24, and to the Burgomasters of Hamburg, November 1, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> For William Carmichael's March 13, 1783, account of his reception by Spain in his "public character," see PCC, item 88, fols. 352–59; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:294–98. For Francis Dana's April 25 (14 Old Style) report on the difficulties he continued to experience in Russia, see PCC, item 89, fols. 739–42; and Wharton, 6:392–96. According to Secretary Thomson's Despatch Book, the letters were received by Congress on August 15. PCC, item 185, 3:74.

## James Duane to Mary Duane

Princeton 21st August 1783

I had the pleasure of writing to my dearest Polly by the last post.<sup>1</sup> We have since Letters from our Ministers and from Sir Guy Carleton and you may be assured he is under positive orders to evacuate New York. If he is not deceived almost All within his Lines demand his protection and insist upon a Passage to some place of Safety from an dread of the Resolutions of our Committees, and this he alledges as the Reason of delaying the Embarkation of his Troops. However in any Event he cannot stay much longer, and I hope some day in October will relieve us from this disagreeable Guest.

I long greatly to hear from you and I flatter myself I shall have a Line by this Post.

May God Almighty preserve you and our dear Children in perfect Health. Kiss and bless them for me and believe that I am my dearest Polly always, Your Affectionate & faithful Husband,

Jas. Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## James Duane to Robert Livingston

My dear & honourd Sir.

Princeton 21st August 1783.

I have waited with Impatience for some Intelligence worth your attention: but such a Dearth of every thing Interestg has prevailed that, at so critical a Period, is astonishing! We heard nothing from our Ministers from February, till last Fryday, after the Eastern Mail was dispatched. Even now not a Word is said of the principal object of our Solicitude—The definitive Treaty. Why it is delayed, or what are the real Impediments to its progress, we are still left to Conjecture. The

general Opinion is that the Affairs of the Dutch create the Embarrassments. Our Minister Mr. Lawrence informs us that on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, from London, that Secretary Fox had assured him that positive orders had been transmitted for the Evacuation of New York. This Fact is confirmed by Sir Guy Carleton in his Dispatches to Congress of the 17<sup>th</sup> Instant. He declares that his orders are urgent to accelerate a total Evacuation: but that the violence of the Americans has inspired such Terror that *almost all* within his Lines conceive their Safety to depend upon being removed by him, and that he should shew an Indifference to the Feelings of Humanity, as well as to the honor And Interest of the nation he serves to leave any of the *Loyalists* who are desirous to quit the Country a Prey to that Violence: He therefore declares that he holds himself acquitted from any delay in fulfilling his orders or the Consequences which may result therefrom. I make no Comment on Sir Guy's professions; to you it is unnecessary.

A Minister or Agent—for we know not his Character, is arrived from Hambourgh to negotiate a commercial Treaty with the United States. He has not yet reached Princeton. The Ambassador from the States General is certainly on his passage to Philadelphia. A House & Equipage have been for some time provided for him by his orders. Mr Carmikle the Secretary to the Embassy at Madrid, writes us that he has been publickly acknowledged And received by that Court as our *Charges des affaires*—but Russia has not paid the same respect to Mr Dana: her imperial Majesty's Attachment to Great Britain has led her to a cautious Conduct which gives us Just distaste. We have ratified a Treaty with Sweden; And it is reported that both Denmark and the Emperor have appointed Ambassadors for our Court; but you will be pleased to consider what relates to the two last Princes, as resting only upon Report.

I have so many Dispatches to make up that I have no time to enlarge.

We are likely to remain at Princeton 'till the beginning of October. How we shall receive with any Dignity or accommodate with Convenience the great Personages we daily expect, I am at a loss to conceive. For ourselves, who are *truly Republicans*, we can make a tolerable shift at this crowded Village—having been many years familiar with wants.

Be pleased to present my dutiful Respect to Mamma and affectionate Compliments to every Branch of the Family and to believe that with every Sentiment of the sincerest affection I am always—My dear & honourd Sir, Your dutiful Son & most obedient Servant,

Jas. Duane

## Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams

Sir, Prince Town Augt. 21. 1783.

Your Letter inclosing a memorial to Congress<sup>1</sup> informed us, that a Committee had been appointed by the Court, to correspond with us upon public Affairs, for the purpose of getting information as to some particular important Points—it certainly must be very useful both to the Court & their Delegates, to have such Correspondence kept up—the Legislature ought to be made acquainted with the plans & Doings of Congress, & their Delegates in Congress should be informed of the Views & measures of the Court as such information would prevent our interference of measures, & promote the good both of the Public & the State. We have been in daily expectation, since we had last the honor of writing you, of receivg a Letter from the Committee, stating the particular Points on which you wished to be informed, but as no such Letter has yet come to hand, we can only give you such information as we think may be useful & agreeable.

The Committee have not yet reported on your memorial,<sup>2</sup> but we have good ground to expect, that a reduction of the expence of the Civil List, will be reported & adopted by Congress as some Offices may now be abolished, others rendered less expensive by reducing the Salaries of the Officers, the expence of that List we think may be reduced one half, without incurring any inconvenience. Congress have decided on the Question of returning to Phila., their were seven nays, two Ays & one divided, Maryland & Pensilvania Ay, North Carolina divided.<sup>3</sup> This decission We conceive must be agreeable to the States & useful to the public, for the members will be more free from influence, while they remain here, than they can be in Phila. or in any large commercial City. It is expected that Congress will remain here, at least, till the time shall arrive, when they are to make choice of a place for their permanent Residence; & many are desirous that this Town, or some good Situation in this State, may be their choice. As the residence of Congress will necessarily give additional weight to that State in which they shall permanently be fixed, it is thought more eligible, to throw that weight into a scale which may now be rather too light—it had better be given to a small than to a large & influential state; & as this State is convenient in its situation, has but little Commerce, & abounds with fine healthy places for such an establishment, many gentlemen appear desirous of remaining in it. We expect that Our Assembly will give us their Sentiments on this subject, Congress having notified all the states, of the time when they are to make their election, & communicated the several Cessions which have been pro-

posed, by those states that wish to have Congress reside with them, in order that each state may have an opportunity, of stating its reasons in favour of, or against any of the places proposed.

Nothing has yet been done as to the old money, the Question was to have been agitated last week, but two States, Pennsylvania & Maryld. left Congress as soon as they had decided not to return to Philadelphia. Eight States only remaining on the Floor, that Question is necessarily delayed till another State shall arrive, which is daily expected.

The Papers we sent you inclosed in Our last Letter, will show you the intention of Congress & of the Superintendant of Finance, relative to the Soldiers that were furloughed,<sup>4</sup> nothing more than the three months pay is to be expected. No permission will be given to the States, to pay to their own Troops any money on account of the requisition for 1782, it is however expected, that Our State will be obliged to make some payment to Their Line, though the sanction of Congress is refused. Maryland has paid five months pay to her Troops out of that Tax, & it is thought more eligible, that the States should make such payments, if found necessary, even without applying to Congress for permission, as did Maryland, than that Congress should authorize their so doing, contrary to the opinion of the Office of Finance.

It was stated in the instructions We received, that the Massachusetts Troops, "had received no payment previous to their being furloughed & were not furnished with even the means of Subsistence on Their way home," upon this information We called for an explanation of this Conduct, it being very far from the intention & widely different from the manner, in which the other Troops were sent home. Returns have since been received from the pay master general in answer thereto, by which it appears, to Our mortification, that the greater part of them had received the full amount of their Notes in goods from the Contractors Stores, previous to their being marched off, & at Their own request a part of them did not take goods, & the Notes having then not arrived at Camp, they left powers with their Officers or Paymasters, who have since received the Notes. Rations were allowed to them all, while on the Road, & the provisions delivered to them from the magazines. We shall send you Copies of these returns from the Pay master for your information.

By Letters from Mr. Laurance & Mr. Adams to the middle of June We learn, that no Commercial Regulations had then been agreed upon between Our Commissioners & the British—the Ministry appeared to be very undecided on this Subject, & were supposed to be in a tottering situation. Mr. Laurance who was then in London, imagined that a change of ministers would soon after take place, but neither he nor Mr. Adams say one word about the definitive Treaty—perhaps the instability of the then ministers may account for the delay, both as to the definitive & the commercial Treaties—it is not uncommon for

them in such Circumstances, to delay coming to any decision in so important Questions. It being very material that Our Assembly should have full information as to the Doings of Congress in general, & more especially their foreign Negotiations, & as many papers must be furnished in order to give such information, We have concluded upon having a Clerk for a month or a two to take the necessary Copies.

We have directed the Superintendant of Finance, to lay before us the necessary Estimates, for framing a new requisition on the States, for the Interest on the Debt for the year 1784, there being no prospect of the States adopting the late recommendations, to provide for the payment of the Interest—no State has yet adopted the plan, except in part only, nor is there much probability that they will any of them do it as recommended.

This was intended as an official Letter at first, but my Colleagues being out of the way & the mail about to be closed, I must seal it without their Signatures. I intend soon to return home, as Mr. Gerry has taken Seat, when I shall have the honor in person to give you such information as you may wish for.

I am Sir with respect your most obedt. & very huml. Servant  
S. Higginson

P.S. the Advertisement in the inclosed paper, respecting Mr. Morris's Notes, should be reprinted that the Soldiers may know what measures are taken to redeem the Notes.<sup>5</sup>

RC (NN: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Adams' draft of his July 17 letter to the Massachusetts delegates is in the Adams Papers, NN.

<sup>2</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Massachusetts Assembly Committee, September 11, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> For this August 14 vote, see *JCC*, 24:509.

<sup>4</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Pursuant to a July 30 congressional directive, the superintendent of finance had ordered the publication of the following "Advertisement" on August 16.

"That the receivers in the several states have long since been instructed to take all notes signed by the Superintendant of finance, in payment of taxes; and also to take up all such notes whenever tendered, if they have public money in their hands." See *JCC*, 24:480; and the *Pennsylvania Journal*, August 20, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah:

[August 21, 1783]

I have received your letters dated Monday 12 o'clock and Tuesday 10 o'clock at night and acknowledged the receipt of them. . . . Mr. Read was misinformed respecting the adjournment. They met on Monday but they might as well have adjourned till this time for any



business they have done. I am very apprehensive that nothing but some calamity will awaken the states to a sense of their situation. . . .

The President of Congress has not provided a house for himself nor is [*it*] likely he will find one here to suit him. I find Elizabethtown has been talked of at his table as a proper place for the residence of Congress. He has a house there which he says has twenty rooms and which he will let for the use of the President. It is true the place is infested with mosquitoes in summer and lying low and near marshes may be liable to intermittents in the spring and fall, but these are trifling when it is considered that by fixing the residence of Congress there the value of his estate will be increased and he will have an opportunity of letting his house at a good rent. But yet I am inclined to believe this will be opposed by his colleagues; for Mr. Condi[c]t has found a lodging in this town at 3 dollars a week which enables him to lay up money. And there is reason to fear that at Elizabethtown, which is so near New York, it will cost him at least four. This would be a clear loss of 52 dollars a year which is no trifling consideration, and which I daresay will have due weight with some others. There are other weighty considerations which might be mentioned.

Your loving husband,

Chas. Thomson.

MS not found; reprinted from an Associated Press despatch of January 13, 1921 (furnished to the Carnegie Institution of Washington), Edmund C. Burnett Papers, DLC.

## Elias Boudinot to George Clinton

Sir

Princeton August 22d 1783

The State of New York being concerned in the Subject Matter of the enclosed report & resolutions will be a sufficient apology for my troubling your Excellency with this official Copy.<sup>1</sup>

We have received formal Notice from Sir Guy Carleton of his having positive Orders for the evacuation of the City of New York, as soon as possible.

I have the Honor to be with very great Esteem, Sir, Your most Obedt & Hble serv,

Elias Boudinot

RC (NjP: Boudinot Papers). Endorsed: "Augt. 22d. 1783. Presidt. of Congress Letter covg Act of the 9th relative to Canadians of Hazens Regt." LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> At this point in the LB, an asterisk was inserted to key the following note in the margin: "Resolutions requiring public Archives, records &c. of Sir Guy Carleton," for which see *JCC*, 24:517-18. However, it seems clear from the endorsement on the RC that Boudinot also enclosed resolutions of August 9 requesting New York to continue to subsidize the families of Hazen's Canadian regiment, for which see *JCC*, 24:496-98; and Boudinot to George Washington, July 24, note 1.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

PrinceTown, August 22, 1783.

Since I did myself the Honour of writing to your Excellency last Week, we have received Letters from Mr. Lawrence (who is in England) as late as the 17th of June; who says, that a few Days before he wrote, I think it was the 14th of the same month, Mr. [Charles James Fox] assured him, that Orders were actual gone for the Evacuation of New York, and Mr. Lawrence does not seem to doubt it. This Information respecting the definitive Treaty is not so favorable; in short he says nothing about it further than is connected with the Treaty of Commerce. He informs that after Mr. Hartley had been in Treaty with our Commissioners at Paris for near a Month, it Appeared that he had no Powers to ratify any One Thing. The Commissioner's from the United States made Proposals to the British Commissioner respecting the Regulations of Trade between the Two Nations; as the British Commissioner had no Powers to agree he proposed sending the same to his Court; he did so, and they were there rejected. At present it seems far from British Policy to make any Treaty with America on the Principles of Reciprocity. They have now every advantage of our Commerce without any obstruction on our Post, given to others.

Mr. Lawrence observes that if a Change of the Ministry in Great Britain should take Place, which he does not think unlikely, our Affairs with that Kingdom will probably be greatly embarrassed.

The Day before yesterday we received Dispatches from Sir Guy Carleton informing that he had received orders to leave New York, which he should do as soon as he could, but he was not able to determine when, being, as he says, obliged to provide for great Numbers, who by the Threats of Committees, and the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Sequestration, are greatly alarmed and are afraid to stay in the Country. He complained loudly against the State of New York for suffering the Commissioners to bring Actions of forcible Detainer against Persons in Possession of their own Farms in Westchester, by which means many have been lately turned out of Possession and subject each to Costs of about ten Pounds, he has sent on the Records of Two or three Tryals: some of the Correspondence between your Excellency & himself he has also transmitted. He finds fault that the Legislature of the State of New York has not been convened. I conclude the Reasons he would urge for calling them and the Reasons why it would at present be improper for them to meet. All these Papers are committed to a Committee.<sup>1</sup> I forgot to mention that he endeavours to justify his Conduct in carrying of the Negroes. Mr. Parker went thro' this Place Two Days ago on his way to Philadelphia, being employed by Sir Guy to procure a Number of Transports for his governments Service.

Last Week a Question, whether Congress should adjourn the last of this Week, to meet at Philadelphia the first of next Week, being put, & the ay & no being called, it passed in the Negative, two States only, Pennsylvania & Maryland, voting in the Affirmative. Notwithstanding this Vote I should not be surprised to find Congress in Philadelphia before Winter. The Expectation of the sudden Arrival of M. Van Borkel is now urged for their removal to that City, where he with the other, foreign Embassadors, who will probably be over this fall, can be better accomodateed than in this Place.

With respectful Compliments to Mrs. Clinton, I am with great Respect & Esteem Your Excellency most obed. Sert.

Ezra L'Hommedieu.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:245–47.

<sup>1</sup> See James Duane to Clinton, August 21, note 3.

## Jacob Read to Walter Dulany

Sir,<sup>1</sup> PrinceTon, 22nd August 1783

The Inclosed Came to hand just At the Moment the Stage for New York is Setting off. I feel great pleasure in having it in my power to further any intelligence to you of your friends—And tho I have not the honour of an Acquaintance beg leave to Assure you that from a former great friendship and particular Intimacy between our Ancestors I am led to entertain the greatest respect and frindship for every person of the Name of Dulany. I Shall therefore be extremely happy if you will do me the honour to use my Services in any manner you may please with a perfect Assurance that while here or in any other Situation in Which I can prove Serviceable I Shall feel the greatest Satisfaction in rendering you my best Attentions.

I am with respect & regard, your most obedt. and most Humble  
Sevt. Jacob Read

RC (MdHi: Dulany Papers). Addressed: "Major Walter Dulany, City of New York."

<sup>1</sup> Maj. Walter Dulany, Jr., nephew of Daniel Dulany of Maryland (1722–97), had traveled to England to study at the Middle Temple in 1770, but returned to serve as a loyalist officer during the war. He was restored to full citizenship rights in 1785, however, when he took the oath of naturalization. See Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955), pp. 300, 324–25, 330.

## Elias Boudinot to John Adams and Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sir, Princeton 23d August 1783.

Having a Nephew (Mr. John M. Pintard) connected with the House

of Mr. John Searle and Co. Merchants, Madeira,<sup>1</sup> who has earnestly requested an introduction of this House to your Excellency, I do myself the honor of complying with his desire, as from my long knowlege of the Character of Mr. Searle, I am certain any services you can with propriety render the Company will be extremely well placed, and will be confirming an obligation on me; as their extreme attention to those American Prisoners, who have been carried into that Island, and their singular attachment to the American cause, when in the midst of our struggles and difficulties, render this notice of them, but a payment of gratitude for their disinterested services.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,  
Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very humb. Servt

Elias Boudinot.

RC (MHi: Adams Papers). RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to John Searle, May 19, 1783.

## Abiel Foster to Josiah Bartlett

Sir, Princeton August 23d. 1783

I arrived here on the 27th Ultimo., after a very uncomfortable Journey in a most severe heat, from the ill effects of which I am now recovered to a good State of health, and have been able to attend Congress every day, one only excepted. The representation from the States is small, there being seldom more than eight present, & often not more than seven. I have taken the liberty to write to the Honble President,<sup>1</sup> and to suggest the propriety of furnishing a representation from New Hampshire, in case Mr. Langdon declines to come on, sooner than the time to which the General Court stands adjourned; this I have done not only from my own Opinion on the subject; but from the general Opinion of the other Deligates, who conceive it, at this time, very important to have a full representation.

The question for returning to Philadelphia, has been several times debated, and at length negatived; notwithstanding that the Executive of Pennsylvania, has, thro the Deligates of that State, expressed its wish for the return of Congress to its former Seat. No assurances have been given of protection should there be any occasion for it in future. I therefore presume, you will be of the opinion Congress could not with propriety return, under these circumstances. The General Assembly of Pennsylvania is now sitting, whither it will cast any censure on the Executive, or give any assurances to Congress of aid & protection against insult in future, time only can discover: should this step be taken, yet the difficulties which have heretofore attended all attempts to remove from Philadelphia, may possibly recurr so forceably, as to prevent a return to that City. I hope in the course of next week, Congress will determine on the application from New Hampshire, relative to the Loan

Office Certificates. In the present week I have omitted to call for the report, as I was satisfied the States present, would not have determined it agreeable to the wishes of my constituents.<sup>2</sup>

This day his Excellency General Washington arrived here from the Northward, he will tarry some time, & then proposes to retire to his Plantation in Virginia. Sir Guy Carleton hath given information to Congress, that he has received orders for the final evacuation of New York, but hath said nothing respecting evacuating the other posts within the United States, however that may possibly be also in his instruction.

I enclose the last Philadelphia Paper, and beg the favor that you will send me any thing which may be interesting especially whatever may enable me to serve the interests of the State I have the Honr. to represent.

There seems little hope that the late recommendation of Congress with respect to impost, will be adopted by Rhode Island, parhaps not as it stands, by some other of the States: the consequence will be unhappy to public credit, and induce a necessity of other expedients, if indeed they can be devised, for providing for the public Debt. I am Sir with great respect & esteem your very humble & most obedient Servant,

Abiel Foster

RC (NhD: Bartlett Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Foster to Meshech Weare, July 30, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Foster to Weare, August 11, and September 3, note 2.

## Arthur Lee to James Monroe

Dear Sir,

Prin[c]eton, Augt. 23d. 1783

Your favor of the 8th is before me, & I am much concern'd to hear of your ill health. But the mountain Air will I hope speedily relieve you. There is no account of the definitive treaty, nor do I indeed see any great necessity for it, as the preliminaries serve all the purposes of a treaty & if G. B. chuses to break with us, the latter woud be no more an obstacle than the former. But there is no danger She will attempt any rupture with us shortly, as the annl. interest of her debt amounts to £9,008,931. This year She has been oblig'd to add 26. Milln. to her debt in order to borrow 12. Miln. Every Account from N. York confirms me in my opinion, that it will be evacuated in three months. The numbers of Refugees gone, & to go, amounts to 22 thousd. Genl Washington arrivd here this day, in exceeding good health. He made an observation which perfectly coincides with my sentiments; & which I woud to God, the People of America had considerd in time. It is, that in persecuting the Tories we were playing Sr. Guy Carelton's game, since he must wish to increase the Colony of Nova Scotia & di-



minish the People of the U S. I must add, that it is obvious nothing can be more pleasing to the King of England than our taking such measures as will add to the number of his subjects & diminish ours. It is so far repairing the loss His Crown sustains from our success. Besides, it places those Loyalists, whom he must love, in the light of a persecuted People, & therefore ensures to them more liberal contributions from the Parliament & People of England. At the same time it wounds our national character, by holding us up as a vindictive, persecuting People, & which we flatter ourselves that we are avenging ourselves on the Refugees, we are in fact serving them. If you think the publication of these sentiments will serve our Country, you will, I hope graft them upon others & commit them to the press.

It is said here, that Mr. Hardy has given his opinion, or written it to some Correspondent here—that we ought to return to Philadelphia. I own this surprises me, as I can conceive no step more unworthy of or more injurious to Congress.

I am of opinion with you that tobo. will rise, therefore I wish you to use your discretion in the sale of it. I am sorry to have an instance in a person of Genl. Nelson's character & fortune, how little trust one can repose in that compliance with engagements in money or tobo. I enclose a Letter on the subject which I beg you to contrive to him.<sup>1</sup>

With every deference to the wisdom of those who orderd it, I must be permitted to think that the issuing the proclamation you mention was a very injudicious measure. I am sure it will at least have very injurious effects on our trade.<sup>2</sup> Remember me if you please to Messrs. Lomax, Randolph & Hardy. Mr. Jones is not yet arrivd here, though we have expected him some days. Adieu, A. Lee.

P.S. I am much obligd to you & the Treasurer for the Bill you enclosd.

RC (DLC: Monroe Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> Lee is undoubtedly referring to Gov. Benjamin Harrison's July 2 proclamation prohibiting the return to Virginia of British citizens or loyalists who fled or were expelled during the war "until the determination of the Legislature on this subject can be known." See *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 3:504–5.

## North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin

Sir, Princeton August the 23d 1783

Since our last private letters, we have received the enclosed of the 17th instant from Sir Guy Carleton. The other six numbers are these refered to in Sir Guys Letter: These enclosures with these we formerly sent, make the whole of the correspondence on this Subject.<sup>1</sup> We observed on the 16th<sup>2</sup> that Congress had received letters from Mr.

Lawrens dated London June the 17th informing them, Mr. Fox had given him assurances that positive orders for the removal of the British forces from New York were actually dispatched. These are the orders alluded to probably in Sir Guy Carletons letter, and if, as he seems to assert, it is to depend on Congress and the respective Legislatures to facilitate the evacuation, by abating the fears of the Loyalists; it naturally follows, that altho' Congress should earnestly recommend the completion of the 4th, 5th & 6th articles of the provisional treaty, the British forces could not be removed from New York until the British General knew the effect of such earnest recommendation, & how much the fears of the Loyalists were abated: as he observes, he should shew an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honor & interest of his nation, to leave any of the Loyalists that were desirous to quit the Country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend. As this Letter warrants no other conclusion the evacuation cannot possibly take effect til late in the fall or perhaps early in the ensuing Spring. Congress have judged proper to suspend the recommendations stipulated by the treaty,<sup>3</sup> as well as the sending forward the treaty to the several States, altho, it is ratified: and whether they will do any thing further in this business until they hear from their Ministers at Paris, is at present uncertain. We are well satisfied that your Excellency must be in a very disagreeable suspence respecting the whole of this important affair, and we lament, it is not in our power to remove it having received no letters from our Ministers at Paris since February. Mr. Lawrens informed us that the British Ministry from *late* accounts are in a tottering state, and should the late premier receive the reins which were plucked out of his hand, he apprehended every thing in his power will be attempted to embarrass our proceedings. Eight years experience is sufficient to teach us, that we have every thing to fear, & nothing to expect from the British Empire, but what springs from our own, & the generous exertions of our Magnanimous ally. Certainly the explanation given by Sir Guy Carleton of the article respecting the negroes, is not warrented if we understand the language it is expressed in; and we should have supposed it to spring from the politics of the British Court had not the General avowed it as an opinion of his own, and you will observe his reasoning on it, is as fallacious as their whole conduct has been deceitful & wicked.

The fears of the British Ministry respecting the trade of america begin to subside. Their boast of perfect reciprocity while they were reduced and compelled as it were, for their political safety to enter into the provisional treaty with us, appears now to mean enjoyment on one part & restrictions on the other. Mr. Lawrens supposes this change to have been wrought by the sudden & expected arrival of divers Ships & cargoes from different parts of the United States into England. We

long foresaw & feared this evil, but it was impossible with effect to offer a check to it: the mercantile interest about Congress being so powerful & opposed to the least suspicion of an immediate & free trade with all the world. Every circumstance proves our precipitancy to be extreme folly: and unless Congress should be able wisely, and immediately to interpose, no treaty can be made, that will bind all the States, as no treaty could be made, that would in every thing suit the different interests of all the different States.

The Contractors for supplying the Spanish navy & army, have given a preference to the Americans to supply them with such articles as are wanted, Vizt. Masts, spars, Tar, pitch, grain and rice. We submit to your Excellency whether as our State, will (unrivalled by the United States) be able to furnish the greatest part of these articles, it would not be prudent for the Legislature to attend to the Inspection Laws. If we should be guilty of any frauds, the Spaniards will certainly reject our commerce and depend for supplies from the Baltic.

We have the honor to be &ca,

Benjamin Hawkins

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> For Carleton's August 17 letter and its enclosures, see Elias Boudinot to Washington, August 21, note 5. These documents are also in *N.C. State Records*, 16:867-77 (although the letter from Carleton to Washington dated May 31 is actually one of May 12). For the enclosures "formerly sent," see North Carolina Delegates to Martin, June 17, 1783, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Benjamin Hawkins' letter to Martin of August 16.

<sup>3</sup> See James Madison's Notes, May 29 and 30, 1783.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Prince Town Augt. 23d 1783

We have been honor'd with Yrs. of the 9th Inst.<sup>1</sup>

Sr. Guy Carleton writes in a letter to Congress dated Augt. 17th that the June Packet lately arrived has brought him orders for evacuating that Place—and that he shall loose no time in fulfilling his Majesty's commands—but he adds—that notwithstanding his orders are urgent to accelerate the Total evacuation—the difficulty of assigning the Precise time for that event is of late greatly encreased—which he attributes to—the effects which the Proceedings of the Committes &c. have had on the Loyalists, who concieve—he says—the safety both of their property and their lives depends on their being removed by him. For this he appeals to the Gazettes, and daily publications in the U. S.—and he further adds—he should shew an Indifference to the feelings of humanity as well as to the honor and Interest of the Nation he

serves to leave any of the Loyalists that are desirous to quit the Country a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much reason to apprehend—on which grounds he appears to Justify himself for any delay in the evacuation which may take place. He also expresses his Surprise that Congress have not officially interposed their authority to restrain the Violences he speaks of, and taken other steps to carry into execution the terms of the Treaty. He appears however to think that no blame is imputable to himself, in the glaring infringement of the 7th Article in suffering so large a Number of Negroes to be carried off under the flimsy pretext that they were declared free by the Proclamation of his predecessors, previous to his arrival and the Signature of the treaty from whence he draws this Singular conclusion that they could not possibly be the objects of the negotiation. The official information of the evacuation being soon to take place however, suggested to us the propriety of hastening a demand of the records, papers &c. belonging to our State and its Citizens, which Congress agreed to in the form of a General resolution comprizing those of all the other States.<sup>2</sup> We have no doubt but yr. Excellly. will take the necessary steps to avail Yr self of the demand as far as concerns the State of Virginia.

There seems to be no expectations of the definitive treaty being speedily concluded. The Powers of Europe seem to have their attention fixd on the War between the two Imperial Courts and the Porte,<sup>3</sup> and on forming Peace establishments, which indeed are so large with respect to their Marine that it may be calld, not improperly Arming for peace.

With respect to the return of Congress to Philadelphia which Yr. Excellly. seems to fear—I believe you may be perfectly at ease on that score, as all Ideas of that sort seem to have vanishd, since the great Majority appeard on the Vote we had the honor to transmit you on that Question—in our last. We have the Honor to be, Yr. Excellly. most obedt. Servts,

Theok. Bland jr.

J. F. Mercer

A. Lee

P.S. We are this day honord with the Compy. of his Excellly Genl. Washington, who will remain some time here at the request of Congress.

We could wish yr. Excellly. wd. be pleased to transmit a Succinct State of the Sums Granted by our assembly to Congress, together with Sessions or dates of each grant, and the requisitions under which they were granted, and the purposes to which they have been appropriated in the several grants.<sup>4</sup>

Theok. Bland jr.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> On August 21 Congress had adopted an Arthur Lee motion, based on the 7th preliminary article of peace, that directed Washington apply to the British commanders at New York and Quebec "for the immediate delivery, to persons authorised to receive them, of all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the United States, or to any of their citizens, which may have fallen into the hands of any of his Britannic Majesty's officers during the course of the war." See *JCC*, 24:517-18. Congress further directed that copies of the resolution be sent to the states, for which see Elias Boudinot to the States, September 3, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the Austrian and Russian war against the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>4</sup> For Harrison's failure to receive this letter and his request for another copy of it, which the delegates apparently failed to provide, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:372-73.

## Hugh Williamson to John Mease

Dear sir,

Princeton 23rd Augt. 1783

Signum vitæ and other hard words apart, I am ready to admit that it is possible and not very improbable that Mrs Mease may be afflicted with a Schirrus Uteri but I have not yet considered this as certain and have as I admit shewed Conservation which tended towards giving any opinion on that particular Symptom. You must certainly know what is meant by any Part being schirrous. The Part so affected is generally considerably enlarged and hard & is often unattended by any Pain. It is a particular kind of swelling very distinct from inflammatory swellings. Thus you have seen the Breast of a woman giving suck greatly inflamed and swell'd with much Pain. Such swellings are being inflammatory tend to suppuration & soon terminate. You may also have seen one of the Breasts of a Lady who formerly had given suck having no milk in it at present but hard and greatly enlarged continuing in that form during Life, this is generally of that kind which are call'd schirrous swellings. Such swellings often affect the Uterus, and perhaps they are more hurtful there than in any other Part of the Body because they generally affect or prevent the Regular System of a womans good Health meerly by their Situation. But I have frequently known strong appearances of that Complaint when it did not Exist. There are also Instances of the Parts adjacent to the Uterus being schirrous while it was free. Now on a supposition, of what by the way, is very true, that there is not any person living, my own sisters not excepted, for whose Health I am more solicitous than for Mrs Mease's: you may wonder why I have appear'd more inquisitive on this Subject; But you are to observe it is one of the Things which like fate you need not be very solicitous about; for Enquiries do not prevent & I presume that medicine did never remove it. There are however Instances, many of them, of its being attended for Years together with a considerable Degree of good Health. Such



Health is only to be expected from, what I so earnestly recommended, Good Air and Exercise. I hope she may recover before Winter such a degree of Strength as not to be in danger of sinking into that low State we saw her last Spring.

Be pleased to present Mrs Mease with my Respects and be assured that I am with the utmost Esteem Your obedt Hble Servt,

Hu Williamson<sup>1</sup>

RC (PHi: Conarroe Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Williamson wrote to Mease again on September 3 about Mrs. Mease's health, explaining that if they planned to remain in Philadelphia a few days he might visit them on the 5th or 6th. Etting Washingtoniana Collection, PHi.

## James Duane to John Potts, Jr.

Sir

Princeton Augt. 24th. 1783.

The Appellees in the appeal on the condemnation of the Brig St. Antonio, Capt Andrew Dumont, in the Court of Admiralty at Boston, have prayed Congress to grant them an Order for authentic Copies of the Papers produced by the Appellants & receivd by the Court of Appeals as Evidence in that cause.<sup>1</sup>

As Chairman of the Committee to whom that Petition was referred I am to desire you to inform me whether it is the practice of the Court to give such authentic Copies after judgment to the Parties requesting them, & whether any application has been made for such Copies, in the above case, by the Appellees, or by any one in their behalf and whether if no Application has been made, but shoud hereafter be made there will be any Obstacle to the Delivery of such papers.<sup>2</sup>

I am, Sir, Your most huml Servt,

Jas. Duane

RC (NH: Duane Papers). Written by Arthur Lee, with conclusion and signature by Duane. Addressed: "Potts Esqr., Register of the Court of Appeals, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> For the context of this letter, see Elias Boudinot to John Hancock, April 8, 1783, note. A committee consisting of Duane, Daniel Carroll, and Arthur Lee had been appointed on August 15 to take into consideration petitions from the owners of both the Massachusetts privateer *Patty* and its prize the *San Antonio*. The former, who were attempting to evade a Continental court of appeals decree setting aside a Boston admiralty court condemnation of the brig *San Antonio*, had petitioned Congress for copies of "all the Papers produced at the Court on the last tryal . . . that they may have opportunity to apply to the Court of his Catholic Majesty" against the owner of the Spanish brig, Don Antonio Argote. For these petitions, plus the court of appeals writ of attachment against the owners of the *Patty* and a letter from Francisco Rendon supporting Argote's petition, see PCC, item 42, 7:165–68, item 78, 19:443–53.

<sup>2</sup> In his September 4 reply, Potts reported that "it has invariably been the Practice of the Court to give authenticated Copies of any Papers either *before* or *after* final Decree to either of the Parties requesting them; & without any other Application than to the Register." PCC, item 59, 3:63–66. For the report of Duane's committee on this case, which was submitted to Congress on September 10, see JCC, 25:546–48.

## David Howell to Moses Brown

Dear Sir,

Princeton 24 Aug. 1783.

I have the Satisfaction to inform you that I have enjoyed a good State of health ever since I left home—that I have been well received by my friends in Philadelphia as well as in the jersies—and that I am treated with sufficient respect in Congress.

The question of adjourning to Philadelphia hung a long time by the eyelids; but is at length decided in the negative. It may be expected that those who still wish a return to Philadelphia will continue to obstruct business here as much as may be in their power. Pennsylvania, Delawar & Maryland are at present unrepresented: as are also Georgia & N. Hampshire. Owing to an incomplete representation little business has as yet been done: nor is there a prospect that much will be done 'till the new Delegates arrive next November.

For what intelligence is passing I must refer you to my Letter of the 19th to Gov. Bowen.<sup>1</sup>

My Situation here is very agreeable to me. I am among my friends & old acquaintance: & I will take upon me to say that few young men ever had more friends in their native Country than myself.

The air in this place is good & the Situation pleasant. While suffocating heat, sickness & frequent Deaths take place in Philadelphia; a Salutary, free air, & general healthfulness prevail in this little village. Some of the Southern Gentlemen are so pleased with their present residence that they have it in contemplation to purchase Seats here. It is even called the Montpelier of America.

Next October is assigned to fix on the place for the permanent residence of Congress. It is very doubtful whether any seven States will be able to agree upon any one place; but untill seven do agree this will be the place. There are some considerations of weight in favour of this State & even of this Spot. It is nearly in the center of the population & wealth of the U.S. This is a small State & therefore its influence is not to be feared. It never will be a very wealthy State, not being calculated for commerce: it may therefore preserve the purity of its manners as long as any; & even its Liberty, for corruption follows luxury, & luxury wealth.

Altho' this State is in favor of the Impost, it is simply because of their consuming the imports of other States: they do not join in the views of those who mainly support that measure. They wish to retain their Constitution & the confederation, in other respects, unimpaired. They are against half-pay, high Salaries, pensioners, &c. as much as N. England. They wish not to add to the powers of Congress—they are jealous of the designs of Pennsylvania—they always have joined us in the question of the Western Lands.

As the question of the permanent residence of Congress is of great moment; I pray you to write me fully your Sentiments thereon—I wish to have the most unreserved communications from my Constituents on all material points. Pray speak to my friends to write me & let them know that their Letters will come to me & mine return to them free cost. I believe no State writes less to its Delegates than R. Island. I can say in great truth that I wish to serve the State in its essential intrests; but if I err for want of knowing their wishes, I shall wash my hands of all blame.<sup>2</sup>

I pray you to mention me to my friends & to communicate to as many as you may see fit the Substance of this Letter. You may also inform them that I am fully of opinion that few if any States in the Union will comply with the late revenue recommendations of Congress. Several States have had them under consideration. Some have partially complied. Their acts I propose to send to the State as soon as they may come to hand—to the end that you may not be imposed upon in regard to the doings of other States as you was last year. Notwithstanding the promptness & boasting of Pennsylvania it will appear that our State has contributed more to the cause than they have in every point of view—in money, men, loans [&] Specifics—and another fact will also app[ear]—that State, in the first stages of the war, when m[oney] was of value recd more out of the Treasury t[han] any other, (I trust) in the Union. With wha[t] ill grace then have they set themselves to villify oth[ers?]<sup>3</sup>

I know not how far a Letter of this kind may be agreeable to you: but I have ventured to write you thus freely knowing that you have also a venture on bord the ship, tho you decline standing at the Helm. I [trust?] you will accept it as a testimony of the great regard & esteem, with which I am, Dear Sir, your sincere friend & hble Servt,

David Howell

P.S. I have enclosed you an order on Mr. Benj. Hopper (in whose hands I have placed a Security) for the amount of your note & an act of Pennsylvania.

RC (RH: Moses Brown Papers). Addressed: "Mr. Moses Brown Providence."

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> In Edmund Burnett's text of this document, the remainder was mistakenly supplied from Howell's August 6, 1782, letter to Brown, as a result of an unfortunate transposition and misfiling of the third pages of the two letters. See Howell to Brown, August 6, 1782, note 1; and Burnett, *Letters*, 6:427, 7:280.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the arguments set forth in Arthur Lee to the Public, July ? 1783.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada Aug. 24. 1783

Mr. Jones who arrived the beginning of the week<sup>1</sup> acquainted me with your abortive mission to Maryland which I had not before heard of. To this absence from Richmond I impute your silence by the late mails. I hope for the pleasure of a line by the mail now on its way,<sup>2</sup> which will not however be acknowledged till the ensuing week, as I am about returning to Princeton where it will find me too late for the post of this week. All that I have now to tell you is that Sr G. Carlton has notified to Congs. his having recd. orders for the evacuation of N. York; but he specifies no time fixed either by the orders or by his own plans. He repeats his lamentations touching the Loyalists and insinuates that the proceedings of the people agst. them are a proof that little or no Govt. exists in the U. States.

With great affection I am Yr. frd &amp; Svt

J. M Jr

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:289–90.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently August 18 or 19; Madison was writing on a Sunday. See also Madison to Randolph, August 18, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:286–87.

## Elbridge Gerry to Nathaniel Peabody

Dear sir,

Philadelphia 26th of August 1783

In Compliance with your Request, I have made Enquiry about Colo Lee, & find that he is in Virginia as far from this Place, on the one Side as Atkinson is on the other.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore keep your Note untill it can be sent by a safe Conveyance, or delivered to your order.

The Court of Madrid has at length given a publick Reception to Mr. Carmichael, but he has not been presented, in Expectation that Mr. Jay who was then at Paris, would repair to Madrid, & in quality of Minister, thro' the Formalities of the Court.

A Treaty of Commerce is ratified with Sweden, & one is on the Tapis with Denmark, but the Empress of Russia has acted cavalierly with Mr Dana, who in his Turn has conducted with great Spirit, Address, & Dignity.

I wish You was present, as a Member of Decision is much wanted on the New Hamshire Seat to form a Representation. I remain sir in Haste your Friend & humble serv,

E Gerry

RC (NN: Myers Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a reference to Richard Henry Lee. Atkinson, N.H. was Peabody's hometown.

## David Howell to Thomas G. Hazard

Dear Sir: <sup>1</sup>

Princeton 26 Aug. 1783.

Letters from Mr. Dana At St. Petersburg, dated March last afford little hopes of his being received at that Court in character of a minister from the U.S. Her imperial Majesty seems resolved to carry her principles of neutrality to the utmost extent. She requires that Mr. Dana's letters of credence should be dated after the recognition of our independence by the Court of G. Britain; & even after a minister from us shall be rec'd at the British Court. This however is the purport of several conferences betwixt the Count de Ostermonn & Mr. Dana. British counsels prevail, at least with the minister—perhaps they fear an interference of trade. Mr. Dana has leave to return & may be soon expected. I know not what business we have with her imperial majesty. Her friendship would cost us a least 11,000 Dollars a Annum, for that is the salary of a Foreign Minister, & the expense of his secretary, clerk, & would make a round sum in the whole.

A letter from Mr. Carmichael dated Madrid April last makes mention that he had been rec'd at that Court in quality of *Charge des Affaires* in Mr. Jay's absence—that he had had the honor to dine at the table of the Count De Florida[blanca] with the Diplomatic Corps. Thus Spain has come in at the 11th hour—& of course an ambassador &c is to be kept up at the Court, the expense of which can be calculated easier than the benefit. On Mr. Jay's return to Madrid (but I hope he will have more spirit than to return after the neglect with which he was so long treated by that —— Court) he will be presented to his Majesty with customary formality.

A letter has been rec'd lately from a Mr. Robert Montgomery,<sup>2</sup> at Alisant, wherein he makes mention that in consequence of an authorization, I suppose from our Minister at Paris, he had addressed the Emperor of Morocco, on the subject of a treaty of amity & commerce—that he had received a friendly answer—That the Emperor was desirous of cultivating the Frindship of the U. S.—and that for this purpose he had sent an Envoy to our Minister at Paris. It will undoubtedly be of some consequence for us to be on good terms with the coast of Barbary: & it must give you pleasure to find that affairs are in a good train for that purpose.

His Danish Majesty & the Elector of Saxony have also thro their ministers signified their disposition to be on good terms with us. Thus have we lived to see the day when the U. S. are not only allowed rank among the nations of the earth; but from the renown of their atchievements all nations are ambitious of testifying their regard to us & of forming those treaties, which may lay a foundation for a friendly



intercourse in future. In short, our trade is the object of the commercial speculators thro'out Europe; and the power of the U. S. it is thought will one day materially affect the ballance of power in Europe. It will perhaps be our best policy not to connect ourselves too intimately with any European power—thus while all have their hopes they will also have their fears & we shall be safe.

A letter has also been rec'd from Mr. H. Laurens, dated London June. He says that after Mr. Hartley had had some conference with our Ministers jointly & severally on the subject of a commercial treaty to be entred into with the British Court, our ministers delivered Mr. Hartley a paper containing some propositions to form the basis of the treaty on principles of reciprocity. Mr. Hartley after some time returned another paper to our Ministers with proposals somewhat different—and on Mr. Hartley being strictly questioned whether he was authorized to enter into a treaty with us on the grounds of his own propositions, he replied that he was not; but that he would write to his Court for such power, provided his propositions were agreeable.

It appeared on the whole that Mr. Hartley was not duly authorized. His object seems to have been only to sound the minds of our ministers & to make report to the British Court. It further appears that the Court of London are not in haste to establish any treaty of commerce with us. Their King is cloathed with a kind of discretionary power in regard to their trade with us. The principles of their commerce are so extensive & complicated that many things are to be attended to, many intrests to be consulted & many persons to be pleased in the affair of a treaty of commerce with the U. States. The British seek a preference in our trade. This no nation ought to have. It is the present policy of Congress (& long may it remain!) to be at peace & have a free, unfetter'd trade with all the World.

The Masachusetts State has presented a memorial to Congress against the commutation of half-pay & against the high salaries of the civil list of Congress. They speak a plain language—as plain as they spoke to the British Court. They observe that they fear that in the resolve for commutation Congress did not sufficiently attend to the public good—the rules of equity—or to the spirit of the Confederation. That such high salaries do not agree with the republican principles, which the people of that State inherit from their ancestors—And that for these reasons they have withheld their assent to the Impost. Why did they not first grant the impost & then remonstrate against high salaries? It is in contemplation, at least with some of us, to reduce the civil list in number, as well as salaries. Two Ministers, at the most, would be sufficient to reside in Europe—with some Consuls in the principal commercial States. Necessity should the impost not be

granted will compel Congress into economical measures (and I am sorry to give it as my opinion that nothing else will) for they will not have money at command, the grants of the States being strictly appropriated to pay the debts of the U. States. And while the States retain the command of their own purses, Congress will find themselves under the necessity of paying some little attention to their wishes; otherwise would it be should Congress be vested with power to collect & appropriate a great & permanent revenue.

By late letters from So. Carolina it appears that their Gen. Assembly are now sitting—that there is no danger of their complying with the impost &c agreeably to the recommendation of Congress. They are ready, say they, to pay their quota agreeably to confederation; but they insist on a separate credit for all the money they pay. It still remains uncertain what Virginia will do. Maryland, N. Jersey, &c have partially complied; but such compliance is nugatory, for the resolves say that every tittle must be complied with—that you must drink the whole of the bitter cup—even to the very dregs. A General compliance, I believe, is already despaired of by the most sanguine advocates of administration: & in consequence certain gentlemen look as we say somewhat chopfallen. It is given out that *nothing but a general concession will bring us right*. Quere, have not late measures a great tendency, on that principle to reduce us to order? Measures are in train to enable the Loan officers to issue certificates for intrest due on L. O. certificates & other liquidated debts due in the respective state, which certificates are to be receivable in payment of the Quota on the requisition of the 4th of Sept. last for one years intrest. Also that officers liquidate all outstanding certificates agreeable to the Continental Scale & issue new certificates in their stead. It is also ordered that the Superintendent of Finance lay before Congress an estimate of intrest to become due in 1784 to the end that Congress may make another requisition for intrest on consitutional grounds. This will I hope give a fatal blow to the second impost as the requisition of the 4th of Sept. last did to the first. The intrest ought to be paid & if it can be paid on constitutional principles the public creditors will be contented. Every opposition seems to be given by certain gentlemen to attempt to pay our debts unless it is done precisely in their way. Viz, it must be collected by a penal ordinance enacted by Congress & by Continental officers situated in the several States (to support the national dignity) and sent to Philadelphia (to be counted over & pocketed by ——) & then sent back again if any may be spared to the several States to pay the very men who paid the tax in the first instance. It is easy to see the tendency of this innovation on our Constitution; & I cannot but fully confide that the good sense of the States will revolt at a measure so replete with chicanery, nonsense & abuse. I cannot but consider it as a special interposition of divine Providence in favour of the Liberties of

this country that Congress should be driven out of Philadelphia at this juncture. The Atmosphere of that City is unfriendly to Liberty. They speak great swelling words of vanity in their address to Congress; but I am told it is fact that they were the last to favour *the Independance* of the U. S. & I know it to be fact that their contribution in men, money & Specific have been among the lowest in the Union. True it is they have loaned much, but to good advantage & for which we are to pay them thro' the nose. It will be found too on examination that the State of Pennsylvania has recd more out of the public Treasury than perhaps any other State & that they have drawn immense sums into their coffers by the residence of Congress among them.

Matters are taking a favorable turn in sundry respects since Congress have been in this place. We seem to be emancipated from the bondage & dictation of a certain office.<sup>3</sup> I cannot but hope that the plan laid for *giving a tone to our federal government*, as gentlemen chose to express themselves will be discomfited. For my part I like well the *tone* in Confederation: & hope the *free tone* of that important instrument may never be altered for the *tone of Tyranny*.

The Situation & air in this little village are highly agreeable to me as well as to many others. Several of the Southern Gentlemen have it in contemplation to purchase seats here. It is even called the Montpelier of America. We shall at least stay here till seven states can agree upon another place, which will not I presume soon take place. There are several considerations in favor of establishing this place as the permanent residence of Congress. It is nearly in the center of the population & wealth of the U. States. It is situated at an equal distance betwixt the two great cities of Philadelphia & New York—In a place of safety; as one or the other of those places must first fall into the hands of an enemy before they could penetrate here. The State of N. Jersey, as subsisting by agriculture & having no great marts for trade, can never be very wealthy and of course will longest preserve a simplicity of manners & republican principles for wealth begets luxury, luxury corruption & a general depravity of manners, fatal to the freedom of any country. N. Jersey being a small State cannot extend a dangerous influence into the public counsels; the effects of which we have sadly experienced in the City of ——— pray be so kind as to favour me with your sentiments at large on the subject of the permanent residence of Congress. October, you know, is appointed for the determination of that important question. I hope you will stimulate my other friends to write me. I am ready to answer any letters I may receive & to give any information in my power. I write frequently: but receive few answers. Quaer, do my friends know that their letters would come to me on free cost? It is necessary that I should know in order to conform to the wishes of my Constituents; & I can say with great truth that I came here to serve them & not myself.

General Washington has lately been to the northward as the papers must have informed you. His object was partly to avoid the disagreeable situation in which he was; without a command—harrassed by daily applications without the means of granting any requests to his suffering & brave troops—and *partly* to survey the theatre of some of the most brilliant events during the war; but *chiefly* to make the necessary arrangements for taking possession of the British Posts on our northern frontier as soon as they should be evacuated. Baron Steuben is gone to Canada to demand the posts & to execute the necessary orders in that affair. It is thought necessary by many to keep up some garrison on those frontiers for the present; especially as no peace is yet concluded with the Indian nations who have joined the British in the late war. The Six Nations, or those of them who have been in arms against us, are anxious to make peace. The Oneidas & Canugas have in their behalf sent a Belt & a talk to General Schuyler at Saratoga, who has laid their application before Congress. The General in the mean time has written them friendly answer. He advises them immediately to restore to us all prisoners in their hands—to send four or five Sachems, with as many warriors of each nation, to attend a council fire at such place as he shall appoint, &c. The General is for making peace with them & suffering them to live on their own lands.

The Commander in chief was lately requested to attend on Congress as soon as might be convenient after his return from the northward. He arrived in this place last Saturday. He was welcomed by the Inhabitants by the display of colours & the firing of 13 cannon. He has recd an address from this Town & its vicinity & the President & faculty of the College, to which he returned a very suitable answer. Congress was desirous of conferring with the General on the peace establishment in contemplation as well as on the subject of Indian affairs.

You ought to be informed that a report now lies on our Table recommending an ample military establishment to be kept up in time of peace.<sup>4</sup> This has met with obstruction. The State of Rhode Island is not willing to establish a chain of forts to protect the western settlements of Virginia & other States against the Indians, which settlements are on lands which of right should belong to the U. S. and to protect N. York in the Fur trade, &c. Other States join us in this sentiment. We maintain that the Confederation gives Congress no power to make any military establishment in time of peace; however desirable such power might be, & that, if it be necessary for Congress, it is to be asked of the States. But a difficulty arises, if Congress have power to establish an army of 500, they may of 5000 men they being the only judges of the force necessary to answer the purpose: So that they may at any time increase their standing army to a size dangerous to the particular States & Employ such army to obtain additional powers or grants from the States. Especially if they should also be vested with the



power to levy, collect & appropriate a permanent revenue in addition to that of raising men; for these two powers, Viz that of raising men at their pleasure & paying them without the yearly grants of the people, being both united in one body would render that body dangerous to the freedom of the particular States: & in time, however good & virtuous the present members of Congress may be supposed, that body might degenerate into lordly aristocrats.

The Gentlemen, who are most sanguine for this military establishment in time of peace, have also been most sanguine for inviting the General here & for conferring with the General on these heads. If they imagine him to be in favour of their plan I hope they may find themselves disappointed. I have ever reposed the utmost confidence in the Generals patriotism as well as in his military abilities. His circular letter I confess has alarmed me extremely. He has therein lent the advocates of                    the full influence of his name & character. Such an interference in civil matters I did not expect. It may be some Gentlemen expect to get the Sunshine of the Generals name also to a peace establishment. In this I hope they will fail: but should they succeed in this manoeuvre as in the other I shall only lament that the greatest man in the World should be left to give such evidence of his being *but a man*. In military measures I bow down to the General; but when he steps from the ground, I consider him only as a citizen; and whatever reverence I may always feel for that name, so dear to me, I shall take the liberty to                    his opinions as freely as I would count money after my Father—and should I find him wrong I dare say that all good men will applaud my caution.

This day having been previously appointed for a private audience with his Excellency. He came into town betwixt 11 & 12 from an house about 5 miles off, which had been previously engaged for him during his stay with us; at 12 O'clock he was introduced into the room where Congress was sitting, being the College library, by two members of Congress & conducted to a chair near, & on the right hand of the President. Agreeably to the established *Etiquette* the members kept their Seats without any gestures of Salutation, either on the Generals entering or leaving the room. The President sat in the same manner & covered. A short & suitable address was read to his Excellency by the President sitting & covered, the General standing & uncovered—to which his Excellency returned a proper answer & was then reconducted to the door. Congress then adjourned, the door was thrown open & the General his two aids, General Du Portail, Colonel Armant, &c. entered the room & received the compliments & cordial congratulations of the members of Congress. The members rising from their seats, walking the floor & joining in promiscuous conversation with their visitants. It was now about one O'Clock & the President informed the members that the General was going to his House & that



their company would be agreeable; whereupon the company filed off in parties & walked to the Presidents house about half a mile & spent an hour very agreeably in Company with the General & his suite. The General & his Suite then returned to his quarters & the members of Congress to their Lodgings to dinner, it being betwixt 2 & 3 O'Clock P. M. You will see the Presidents address & the Generals answer as well as these abovementioned in the public papers, to which I must refer you, not having copies.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Guy Carleton has lately informed Congress that he has received positive orders to evacuate New York; but that he is under the necessity of providing for the Security of the refugees, who daily increase, on account of the threatening publications in the Country—That being under the necessity of providing more transports to convey them to a place of Security than he expected the intended evacuation will be thereby retarded unless the fears of the refugees should be happily abated by the temperate proceedings of Congress, or of the States. Several members of Congress highly blame the proceedings of the people against the return of the refugees & you will soon see an earnest recommendation to the States to comply with the articles of the treaty in that respect: But (by the by) we do not expect it will have any effect, or that the refugees will return.

I pray you my good friend to be so kind as to present my respects to your good Lady & to all my acquaintance in the Town of New Port, who may enquire after my welfare—to my friends also in Narragansett, & particularly to your Brother Enoch Hazzard—to Mr. Jonathan Hazzard & to Judge Phillipps.

You have my consent to shew this letter to any of your friends; or to make such use of it as you may see fit for the public good. I hope inaccuracies will be candidly excused as I write in haste & have not time to copy. Should the Genl. Assembly be convend before October, you will be so kind as to shew this Letter to such as you may think fit.

I have only to pray you to excuse me for writing you so long a Letter in so poor a hand; [...] myself [...] of Esteem. Your sincere friend & hble Servt,

David Howell

P.S. Should you think the intelligence in this Letter of sufficient consequence you may permit a good writer to copy it & hand that copy to any of your friends.

Tr (RHi: M-Ho859d).

<sup>1</sup> Thomas G. Hazard of Newport, R.I., had been a member of a committee of the Rhode Island assembly appointed to investigate Congress' January 1783 charges against Howell for unauthorized disclosure of foreign dispatches. The committee's report had exonerated Howell and praised him for his diligence in providing useful information to state officials. See Staples, *Rhode Island*, pp. 427–28; and Elias Boudinot to William Greene, January 16, 1783, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the June 7, 1783, letter of Robert Montgomery, American merchant in Alicante, Spain, to Congress which is in PCC, item 78, 16:455–58. The letter was endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Steps by him taken to bring about a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco. Read Augs. 18. 1783. Referred to Mr Clarke, Mr Williamson, Mr Gerry. Comee. discharged 26 Decr 1783." The reception of Montgomery's letter and the subsequent appointment and discharge of the committee are not mentioned in the journals, although a number of documents related to Montgomery's efforts to trade with Morocco are in the PCC, especially item 59, vol. 2 and item 78, vol. 16.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the office of the superintendent of finance, Robert Morris.

<sup>4</sup> For Congress' resumption of debate on the army's peace establishment the next day, see *JCC*, 24:524–26. For an analysis of this debate and a discussion of its context, see Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), pp. 45–53.

<sup>5</sup> See *JCC*, 24:521–23.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to Peter Curtenius

Dear Sir

Prince Town August 26. 1783.

Inclosed I send you my Account against the State for my Attendance in Congress: it has not been in my Power since you was authorised by the Law to Audit the Accounts of the Delegates, personally to lay mine before you. At present I do not see any objection you will have against auditing this Account altho I should not be present; if there is no impropriety in the Measure, I have to request, that, as soon as you shall have audited the Account, you will by the first safe Conveyance, transmit the same to Governor Clinton, who has monies in his Hands for the Purpose of Paying such Accounts. I fear I shall be so long detained at this Place, that, unless my Account can be audited and presented for Payment without my being obliged to Attend at your offices, I shall not be under equal advantage, of receiving the Ballance due to me, with the Gentlemen whose Accounts are already audited.

I am sr. with Respect and Esteem your most Obedient Servt.

Ezra L'Hommedieu

### ENCLOSURE

The State of New York to Ezra LHommedieu, Dr	
To Attendance in Congress from the 18th Day of July	
1781 to the 21st of October both Days included with the	
travelling Days being in the whole 95 Days at 40/ per Day	190.0.0
To my Attendance in Congress from the 17th of August	
1782 to the 8th of December both Days included with	
the travillings Days being in the whole 124 at 40/	248.0.0

Cash paid at Phila:

To A small Chest or Box for the Purpose of Securing the State Papers	2.0.0	
To Loss on the half Joes I received of the Treasurer in the Sum of 120 [...] advanced to me in July 1781	1.5.5	
To Cash advanced for Books purchased for the State in Philadelphia	4.7	
	3.10.0	3.10.0
		441.10.0

By Cash advanced by the Treasurer of the State in July 1781 for which I gave a Receipt.	120.0.0	
By An order on Mr Sands & Morris's Notes received of Colo Hay State Agent in August 1782.	200.0.0	320.0.0
		£121.10.0

August 1783. I do hereby certify on my Honour that the above Account is just & true, Errors excepted, Ezra LHommedieu

RC (VtU: McCullough Collection). Addressed: "Colo. Peter T. Curtenius, Auditor of the State of New York." Enclosure (Andrew Fiske, Shelter Island, N.Y., 1979). In the hand of Ezra L'Hommedieu.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Curtenius, a New York City merchant and the state's commissary of military supplies during the war, was currently serving as auditor of New York. See Martha J. Lamb, *History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise and Progress*. 3 vols. (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1877-96), 2:89, 368, 382.

## Maryland Delegates to Congress

[August 27? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

The delegates from the State of Maryland have received letters from his Excellency Wm. Paca Governor of the said State, and the honorable James Brice Mayor of the City of Annapolis, bearing date the 22d August,<sup>2</sup> by which they are authorised and requested to make the following communication to Congress.

The Governor and the supreme Executive council of Maryland will receive the highest pleasure in rendering Annapolis agreeable to Congress should it be their Will to remove to that city till a place can be fixed upon and prepared for their permanent residence. The Governor proposes Immediately to give up his house to his Excellency the President of Congress, and the council, to withdraw from the State house to some other appartments in the City—so that the State house, and government house will be for the immediate use of Congress and their officers. The Governor particularly expresses that he thinks

Congress may rely upon every exertion of the citizens that may serve to promote their ease and convenience.

The honorable the Mayor assures Congress that the corporation and citizens of Annapolis will do every thing in their power to render the City agreeable, and to accommodate the members of Congress in a manner suitable to their dignity should they think it expedient to remove to Annapolis until they can determine upon a place for their permanent residence.

MS (DNA: PCC, item 46). In the hand of James McHenry. Endorsed by Charles Thomson: "Information by the delegates of Maryland of the disposition of the Executive of that state & of the Mayor of Annapolis to accommodate Congress if they should think proper to remove to that City until they shall fix on & prepare a place for their permanent residence. Read Aug. 27. 1783."

<sup>1</sup> See above, and PCC, item 185, 3:76.

<sup>2</sup> Not in PCC, but for the delegates' solicitation of these letters, see James McHenry to William Paca, August 9, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Wednesday Aug 27 1783

Yesterday I received your letter No. 1. and acknowledged the rect. of that dated Friday.

The general had his Audience. I must inform you that before he arrived the etiquette for receiving him was settled as follows.<sup>1</sup>

"The General on receiving his Audience shall be introduced (it ought to have been expressed the General shall be introduced to his Audience) by two members & placed in a chair near and on the right hand of the president. The President to be covered and to speak to the general in his seat, and to receive his address sitting. The members of each state during the conference to sit together & keep their seats, uncovered as usual. The two first members present of the committee appointed to confer with him are to introduce the general."

The members being all seated and the President having heightened his seat [with] a large folio to give him an elevation above the rest, the general was introduced & upon entering the room bowed to the president & then to the members on the right & left who all returned the bow sitting. He was then conducted to his chair, but upon being addressed by the president he arose & stood while the president read the speech that had been prepared. As soon as it was finished, he made a reply & having finished he bowed to the president & members and immediately withdrew. I enclose a copy of the speech and the reply for your satisfaction. When you have read them please to seal them up and send them to Claypole as directed.

Mr. Jones & Mr. Madison arrived yesterday afternoon. They inform me to my great satisfaction that our Assembly are proceeding with great wisdom and moderation & that they have determined to adopt the measures recommended by Congress for discharging the debts and supporting the honor and credit of the United states. This is not only sound wisdom & policy but it will be taking a noble revenge of those who wished to provoke them to rash measures. I am confident there are some who will be deeply wounded by this conduct, and I shall rejoice in proportion to the keenness of the pangs they feel.

I really cannot form any opinion about the return of Congress. If public good or private convenience governed the votes of all the members it would be easy to form a judgment. I wish most sincerely to fall upon some plan that will make the time pass more agreeably to us both. You may be assured that the visit you mention was planned before & without any knowledge of or view to present circumstances. It was to avoid the rage of the dog star: as soon as that sets which will be next Monday week the visitant returns. I shall with great pleasure meet you at Bristol & have a room prepared for your reception. You will please to drive up to Bassonets.

I am much pleased with Robert's present plan & future prospects: so far from thinking him whimsical I consider him as a prudent man, fixed in his purpose to provide for his family and accommodating himself to circumstances as they arise. I think he would be to blame if he refused so advantageous an offer. It has my hearty approbation & I sincerely wish him success.

I thank you for your care of me and shall be much obliged for the jacket. What an amazing change in the weather! I am told you had a plentiful rain on Monday evening. We had none here. The wind was high and the lightening though distant appeared to be very sharp.

I desired Bond, if he had occasion to go to the office, to call for the key; but I think it would have been best to have brought it back & left it with you. He passed through this place yesterday on his way to New York.<sup>2</sup> As the passengers dine at Brunswick, his stay was so short that I did not see him. William proceeds in his snail pace of copying. I have not had an Opportunity of examining his performances the two days past. But I think he will improve as much as if he were with Tod. We had heard of the death of Galloway but not of the marriage of his daughter. I would not wish her as much disappointment as her father experienced but if she be happy it will be more than she deserves.

Adieu my dear Hannah, take care of your health. I am with sincere affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> For the official account of Washington's audience with Congress, see *JCC*, 24:521-23.



<sup>2</sup> George Bond, the deputy secretary of Congress, had recently petitioned Congress for "leave of absence for ten or twelve days, for the purpose of going into the city of New York on some private business. My having been exiled from that city almost seven years will I trust be a sufficient apology for troubling Congress at this time for leave to visit it." See *JCC*, 24:519n; and *PCC*, item 78, 4:403.

## Samuel Holten to John Hancock

Dear Sir.

Princeton 28th Aug. 1783.

The honble Court having been pleas'd to appoint a committee "to correspond with the Delegates,"<sup>1</sup> therefore I consider it uncertain whether I shall have the honor of addressing your Excellency, with my Colleagues, upon public business, while I continue a member of Congress, and altho' the sense of my constituents signified to me will always be the rule of my conduct in their affairs; yet I can't find myself willing to omit doing myself the honor & pleasure of writing to your Excellency.

General Washington sometime since signified to Congress that his situation was not very agreeable at head quarters while waiting for the definitive treaty, which caused an invitation from Congress to attend them in this place; he arrived here, with his lady & family, a few days since & on Tuesday last had a private audience with Congress, which is ordered to be published; but as we are at a distance from a printer, I do not expect to be able to forward it by this post; it seems the Genl. is determined to retire into private life as soon as the definitive treaty is concluded, or the British army leaves this Country.

The definitive treaty is not yet come to hand, & I consider it uncertain when it will, as our ministers at Paris in their last letters do not so much as mention it.

Great pains have been taken to prevail with Congress to return to Philada. but the members yet severely feel the situation they were in when surrounded by armed soldiers with fixed bayonets who seemed to be prepared for the worst purposes. I have with perfect respect, the honor to be your Excellys most obedient servant.<sup>2</sup>

FC (PPIn). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to Samuel Adams, July 31, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Holten also wrote another letter this date to an unknown recipient. The following incomplete draft of this letter is in the Holten Papers, DLC.

"I have lately understood that you are not in favor of the commutation made by Congress with the officers of the army, and as your Judgment upon important matters always had, so I trust it ever will have great weight with me; therefore I shou'd have taken it kind as a friend, if you had been pleas'd to have mentioned to me, in your letters the reasons you have for not being satisfied with the proceedings of the present Congress in the instance above referred to.

"I take it you are sensible I was not in Congress when the promises were made to the officers for half pay for seven years & afterwards ex[change]d for life, and you may recollect that I never mentioned it as having my approbation but the contrary; however upon examining more fully into the matter I found that by Genl. Washingtons letters to Congress and other state papers about the time the engagements were made to the officers that it was considered as the most expedient & best measure that could be devised not only to keep the army together but of putting an end to the war, as our enemies would be induced to believe that we should be able to keep our army in the feild, notwithstanding our paper money was failing & little or no credit to procure supplies or money to pay our army; upon these principles I understand Congress acted at that time, and I have good reason to think it has been one means of bringing the late war to so happy a period! And now, Sir, you will permit me to make some observations upon the proceedings of the present Congress, respectg. the commutation, that has been made with them, in making which I consider myself personally concernd. having given my assent to the same; when [the] officers perceived that the war was drawing to a close they made application to congress setting forth their services & sufferings & the promises that had been made them & the situation of the army in general & as they understood half pay for life was disagreeable to some of the states, they were willing to make a commutation & settle the matter; Congress finding that the promises had been made them & the faith of the united states were pledged to make them good, thought it adviseable to endeavor to make a settlement with them, but in order to do this, great care & attention was necessary to find out what wou'd become their due according to the common. . . ."

## Charles Thomson to George Washington

Sir

Princeton August 28th. 1783

I have the pleasure of enclosing an Act of Congress for erecting an equestrian Statue in honor of your Excellency.<sup>1</sup> The Bearer Mr. Wright is recommended to me as an Artist skilled in taking Busts,<sup>2</sup> & As I am anxious to execute in the best manner the part assigned to me in this agreeable business, I take the liberty of introducing him to you and requesting the favour of your Excellency to admit him to try his talents. I must also beg the favour of your assistance in giving the fittest description of the events which are to be the subject of the basso relievo.

With the greatest esteem & respect, I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most obedt. & most humble servt.

Cha Thomson.

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For this August 7 "Act," see *JCC*, 24:494-95.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Joseph Wright, son of the celebrated American artist Patience Wright. The statue of Washington was to be "executed by the best artist in Europe," and young Wright was to make a plaster of Paris cast of the general for the work, which was never completed. See Fiske Kimball, "Joseph Wright and His Portraits of Washington," *Antiques* 15 (1929): 377-82; William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, ed. Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, 3 vols. (Boston: Goodspeed & Co., 1918-25), 1:150-56, 370-72; and these *Letters*, 7:57.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston

Dear Sir,

Princeton 29th Augt. 1783

I am much obliged by your kind favour of the 20th Instant,<sup>1</sup> and I can assure you that I shall consider myself richly repaid for any Letter I can possibly favour you with, by having the Satisfaction of a Line in return, if it goes no farther, than to inform me of the Health of Mrs. Livingston & family.

I wish I was able to give you any Satisfactory account of the definitive Treaty, which I am rather apprehensive is at a great Distance. The Conduct of our Citizens, by their resolves & violent Conduct, I am afraid will at least prevent any definitive Treaty from taking Place, if it does not precipitate us, altogether unprepared, into another War. We have not recieved a Line from our Plenepotentiaries since you left us, altho' we have had two or three separate ones on indifferent Subjects. The only one worth attending to, is from Mr. Laurens, dated the 18t June in London. He writes altogether relative to the Commercial Treaty, and says there seems to be a very different Conduct apparent in the English Ministry, than when he had formerly wrote. All is chicanne & evasion—and no desire of coming to an Issue. He says that if there was but one Commissioner at Paris instead of four, let that one be either of the four, that a decent resentment would certainly be shewn at the Treatment they receive. He foretels the downfall of the present ministry & that shortly. He greatly complains of our Ships forcing a Trade with great Brittain without any commercial Stipulations on their Part. I communicate this Intelligence with Freedom, knowing you will treat it as confidential. But I must on the other Hand tell you of a Vessel having arrived from Barbadoes at Philadelphia in 13 days—who brings Letters & the Capt says, that the Day before she sailed, the Ariel frigate had arrived there from England, with advice that the definitive Treaty was signed the 22d July. It is possible, but not very probable, and the Tricks of Trade makes us yet doubt.

Your late department remains in Statu quo and I see no probability of its being filled, till we get a place of permanent residence. There is a prevailing design which will certainly be accomplished, of reducing the Salary to 3000 Dollars. No one is yet named (altho it is the order of the day for this Day to make the Choice) who I think stands the least Chance. I wish most heartily, you was back again, if it could be consistent with your Duty to your family. All our foreign matters remain exactly as you left them—not a resolution, report or determination more or less. I am the only Minister for foreign Affairs, and all I do is to keep the Commissioners informed &c. Mr Dana is like to do nothing & I believe has left Petersburg by this Time. There is no disposition in Congress to do Business at this Place, tho' there are Ten States on the floor—still nothing is done.

As to the future destination of Congress, you know, it is almost as easy to tell the future Course of the winds. However if I may venture a Conjecture, I believe the struggle will be, between New York and New Jersey. I am apt to think some Village in Jersey near N York would be preferred. I sent your Letter by a safe Hand to Mr. Marbois, so that he must have recd it.

The medal I wrote you about, is at Philadelphia otherwise I should have sent it long since.

Sir Guy is at last about leaving the City, altho' he says the number of Refugees thrown on his Hands by the severity of our People, will detain him much longer than he wished, as he cannot think of leaving them to the Mercy of a People who have but little Government among them—tho these are not his words, they are clearly contained in his Meaning.

Now for a few words on my own private Business. Mrs. Boudinot has an unhappy Sister, who was Married to a Man that behaved very ill in this part of the Country when possessed by the british. He went off with them and Genl. Putnam insisted on her following her husband. He left her in New York & went for Scotland, where he remains and has left her to shift for herself. His whole Estate is forfeited & sold here. She is extremely distressed lest she should be insulted when our People take possession of the City. Shall I beg the favour of you in Behalf of an unhappy woman, to give her so much Countenance when you go into the City, as to prevent any insult or Injury being unnecessarily offered her. She takes in Gentlemen to board at present, and I suppose intends to continue it. Her Name is Mrs. Cochran and lives in King Street No. 19. I wish you to mention this also to General McDougal in my Name, as I know his humanity will lead him to oblige me.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan who does not so easily forget her Beaux, desire to be remembered to Mrs. Livingston & yourself in a very particular Manner—forgive this Scrawl as I am sure the reading will be a high Price for it.

I am Dr Sir Your very Hble Servt,

Elias Boudinot

RC (NHi: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Livingston's draft of this letter is in the Livingston Papers, NHi.

## Samuel Holten to James Sullivan

Dear Sir.

Princeton, 29th Augt. 1783.

I hope mine of the 18th of June with the inclosures came safe to hand, since which I have not been favored with any of yours.

You'll permit me to congratulate you, on your being appointed to a seat in Congress,<sup>1</sup> & may I not be permitted to consider you as my suc-

cessor, when I assure you that I know not the person that would have been more agreeable to me; the Honorable Court having thought proper to make a considerable change in the persons that are to represent them in Congress, it gives me Sensible pleasure to find that the Gentell Gentlemen that are elected, are men that have been firm in the cause of their Country from the beginning of the contest; & I have not the least doubt but they will be as attentive to the honor & interest of their constituents, as the Gentlemen I have had the honor to serve with, & as careful of the national faith and independence of the united States; however they will have great difficulties to encounter notwithstanding the war to be over. The definitive treaty has been expected for some time past but from the latest accounts that I have seen from Europe, I can't but say, that my expectations are much abated, and I shall not look for it 'till I hear further, for the last letters from our ministers at Paris, do not so much as mention it; and I believe a commercial treaty with G.B. or her imperial majesty is not much sooner to be expected than the definitive. However I feel myself too independent to sollicite favors of this kind, even of her imperial majesty.

Great pains have been taken to prevail with Congress to return to Philada. & upon the question whether we shou'd adjourn to that City, but two states appeared in favor of a return, & one divided; but 'tis difficult to get sufficient accommodation here, the members yet sensibly feel the situation they were in, when surrounded by armed Soldiers with fixed bayonets, who seemed to be prepared for the worst purposes.

By a late letter from Sir Guy Carleton it appears that he has orders to leave N.Y. but complains that he is greatly embarrassed by so large a number of the citizens of N.Y. being obliged to leave this Country, which he supposes is partly owing to the proceedings of many people in town meetings, &c. &c. and that he can't in justice leave those people behind if they incline to go, altho' it may prolong the time of the evacuation beyond his instructions.

I find that it is the opinion of some persons that commutation was not the only reason that operated against the reelection of some of us to a seat in Congress, and that some change was thought necessary in the present state of our affairs; yet I have no doubt after what I have heard, but commutation operated in the minds of a majority that voted but had it the same weight with our best politicians; I shou'd suppose not: however you Sir, being present, & well acquainted with the secrets of state, can form a better Judgment.

I am, with particular respect, your most obedient

FC (PPln). In the hand of Samuel Holten. Addressed: "Honble. Judge Sullivan."

<sup>1</sup> Sullivan had been elected on June 28 as a member of a new slate of Massachusetts delegates, but he never attended Congress. *Journal of the Massachusetts House*, June 28, 1783, pp. 132–34. DLC(ESR).



## Joseph Jones to Benjamin Harrison

Sr.

Princeton 30th Augt. 1783.

As nothing has occurred in the course of the last week<sup>1</sup> worth communicating or to render an official letter necessary, I do myself the honor to inclose for your perusal two of the last papers which contain the little news stirring, very respectfully I am, sr. Y. obed servt.

Jos. Jones

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Jones had just arrived at Princeton on August 26, accompanied by James Madison, after spending a few days in Philadelphia en route from Virginia. See Madison to Edmund Randolph, August 24, note 1; and Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, August 27.

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hon'd Sir

Princeton Aug. 30. 1783

I recd. great pleasure from your's recd. by the last post which removed the apprehensions excited by your preceding one regarding the state of my Mother's health.<sup>1</sup> I hope this will find her still further recovered. The time of my setting out for Virga. is still somewhat precarious; several matters being before Congs. which I wish to see first decided. An answer to this if not delayed will probably find me here.

The definitive Treaty is not yet come over. Sr. G. Carlton has notified to Congs. his receipt of final orders for the evacuation of N. York, but fixes no time at which they are to be carried into execution. Genl. Washington has been here some days at the invitation of Congs. & will be consulted on the provision necessary in time of peace for the security of this Country. I inclose you one of the latest papers containing the Address of the Presidt. to the Assembly of Pena. The latter have unanimously acceded to the late recommendations of Congs. with respect to revenue, and a change of the rule for apportioning the common burdens.<sup>2</sup> It is said they are also about to address Congs. on the event which occasioned their removal, & to provide expressly for the protection of Congs. in case they sd. deem Philada. the fittest place for the transaction of business untill a final residence shall be chosen.<sup>3</sup> What effect this may have is uncertain. We are exceedingly crowded in this place; too much so both for our own comfort & for the dispatch of business. Mr. Jones & my self are in one room scarcely ten feet square & in one bed. With my best regards for all the family, I am yr. dutiful son,

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:294.

<sup>1</sup> The editors of the *Madison Papers* could find no letters from Madison, Sr. to his son written before 1784.

<sup>2</sup> Pres. John Dickinson's August 18 message to the Pennsylvania assembly, recommending that Congress adopt a plan for restoring public credit and that the state assure Congress of its fiscal support, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of August 26, 1783. For the assembly's August 25 resolves proposing the revision of the 8th Article of Confederation to permit the readjustment of Continental quotas, which the Pennsylvania delegates presented to Congress on August 28, see *JCC*, 24:526–27.

These resolves were also the subject of the following letter of this date from an unidentified delegate, which appeared in the September 4 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* under the heading "Extract of a letter from Princeton, dated August 30."

"The resolves of the assembly of Pennsylvania, passed the 25th instant, are entered on the Journal of Congress: they are a great credit to that honorable house. Several delegates are sending copies of the resolves to their states, all of which, I hope, will follow the noble example."

<sup>3</sup> On September 1 the Pennsylvania delegates laid before Congress the assembly's August 29 resolutions affirming Pennsylvania's commitment to providing "speedy and adequate support and protection to the honor and dignity of the United States" should Congress choose to return to Philadelphia. See *JCC*, 25:530–31.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Princeton Aug. 30. 1783.

We hear nothing from Europe that can be depended on relative to the definitive Treaty, nor any thing from N. York as to the time of its evacuation. A Pamphlet has lately come over from G. Britain which appears to be well adapted to retard if not prevent a commercial Treaty, & which is said to be much attended to.<sup>1</sup> It urges an adherence to the principle of the Navigation Act by which American Vessels will be excluded from the trade between the separate parts of the Empire, and from all intercourse with the dependent territories. It undertakes to shew from an enumeration of the produce of the U.S. & the manufactures consumed by them, that those of G. B. recommended by the superior credit which her merchants can give, will be sufficiently sure of a preference in the American Market. And lastly it maintains that the interests of the States are so opposite in matters of Commerce, & the authority of Congs. so feeble that no defensive precautions need be feared on the part of the U.S. and threatens that in case they should refuse to let British Vessels exclusively carry on a Commerce between the U.S. and the W. Indies as far as the interest of the Islands may require, the Vessels of one State shall not be permitted to carry the produce of another to any British Port. The whole tenor of the reasoning supposes that France will not permit Vessels of the U.S. to trade with their Islands, in which there is *good reason* to believe they are not mistaken. The object of the French Administration is said to be to allow a direct trade between the U.S. & their W. India possessions, but to confine it to French Bottoms.

The Legislature of Penna. have unanimously adopted the Recommendations of Congs. both as to Revenue & a change of the federal rule for apportioning the common burdens.<sup>2</sup> They will also present an invitation to Congs. we understand, to resume their Sessions at Philada. if that place be judged most fit for the despatch of public business untill a permanent Seat be chosen & prepared; giving at the same time explicit assurances of support in case it should on any occasion be needed.<sup>3</sup> What effect this conciliatory proposition may have on the temper of Congs. is precarious. With some the complaisance shewn to the late recommendations of Congs. will be far from softening the dislike. With others Philada. will ever be obnoxious while it contains and respects an *obnoxious Character*.<sup>4</sup> Annapolis has siezed the present occasion to forward her views with respect to Congs. and has courted their presence in the most flattering terms.<sup>5</sup> During this contest among the rival seats, we are kept in the most awkward situation that can be imagined; and it is the more so as we every moment expect the Dutch Ambassador. We are crowded too much either to be comfortable ourselves or to be able to carry on the business with advantage. Mr. Jones & myself on our arrival were extremely put to it to get any quarters at all, and are at length put into one bed in a room not more than 10 feet square.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:295–96.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the pamphlet written by John Baker Holroyd, 1st earl of Sheffield, entitled *Observations on the Commerce of the American States with Europe and the West Indies; Including the Several Articles of Import and Export* (London: J. Debrett, 1783), which was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1783 by both Thomas Bradford and Robert Bell. Evans, *Am. Bibliography*, nos. 17,975–76.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Robert Morris, rather than John Dickinson as conjectured in Burnett, *Letters*, 7:282n.3.

<sup>5</sup> See Maryland Delegates to Congress, August 27, 1783.

## Maryland Delegates to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dr. Sir.

Princetown 30th Augt. 1783.

We wish to be advised as early as possible, what length you have gone in the purchase of continental bills of credit, and at what rate you have bought; and if you have not purchased to the whole amount of our States deficiency, at what exchange you have a certainty of obtaining the residue. It is absolutely necessary that our information be

explicit and immediate, as the question is at present before Congress, and as it is an important one for Maryland, who appears by the estimate to be deficient above 13 millions of dollars.<sup>1</sup>

We have the honor to be, Dr. Sir, with great esteem, your ob svts.

Danl. Carroll

James McHenry<sup>2</sup>

RC (MdAA: Red Books). Written by McHenry and signed by McHenry and Carroll.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a reference to the quantity of old emission money Maryland was still required to retire under the devaluation act of March 18, 1780, which was originally set at \$20,540,000. See these *Letters*, 17:360. Massachusetts, which had retired large sums of "old emission bills" at greatly depreciated rates, had long been pressing for a settlement of the states' accounts on this basis, but was opposed by states that were deficient in the retirement of the old currency. See *ibid.*, 7:391–94, 18:45.

<sup>2</sup> This day McHenry also wrote a personal letter to Jenifer in his capacity as intendant of the revenue, acknowledging receipt of £486.10 to be distributed among the Maryland delegates, and concluding that "There is no news. The General is with us, and we are all in good humor at present." Red Books, MdAA.

## New York Delegates to Robert Morris

Sir

Prince Town 30th of August 1783.

We have the Honour to transmit to you an Extract of a Letter from his Excellency the Governor of New York respecting the Settlement of the Accounts of the State & its Citizens; with the Public. We have frequently communicated to you the Embarrassments of our Government and the Discontents of our Citizens by the delay of a Measure in which they are peculiarly interested, and which they have very much at Heart. You see Sir, that we are again earnestly called upon to urge the Necessity of an immediate Progress in this important Business.

The Reasons expressed by his Excellency are too conclusive, and as far as respects the Collection of Taxes, too interesting to the United States, not to make a deep Impression, and they can require no Illustration.

Do us the Justice to beleive that we have not concealed from our Government the obstacle of which you formerly apprised us—That Men of Responsibility, Integrity and Experience could not be found to "accept the Office of Commissioner (under the Inconvenience of removing from their Stated Residence) for the Emoluments annexed to it, and that Congress were averse from enlarging their Salaries." But after the appointment of Colo Shelburn and his Acceptance, we hoped that all Difficulty, with respect at least to our State, had been surmounted; and we are to this Moment ignorant of the obstacles which have prevented his entering on the Duties of his office. Suffer us to express our Appre-

hensions that whatever may have been the Impediments which have so totally frustrated the settlement of the public accounts, experience seems to have shewn that the System now adopted is not likely to operate and it is submitted to your Consideration whether another should not be devised which may prove more effectual.

We flatter ourselves that your Answer will furnish us with such Information as will give some Satisfaction to the State which we have the Honor to represent.<sup>1</sup> We are with great Respect, sir your most Obedt. Humbl Servants.

Jas Duane

Ezra LHommedieu

Tr (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of Ezra L'Hommedieu. FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> On September 4, Morris reported to Duane and L'Hommedieu that he had not received the extract from Gov. George Clinton's letter, but that the "Business of settling Accounts is now in good Train." And on September 10, he directed Henry Sherburne, the commissioner for settling the state's accounts, to attend "to a Settlement of Accounts in the State of New York." Robert Morris Papers, DLC. See also New York Delegates to Clinton, September 8, 1783.

## Samuel Holten's Notes

[August ? 1783]<sup>1</sup>

In answer to the letter from Masstts. I shou'd suppose that these ideas might with propriety be held up to them, in answer to the half pay to the officers or commutation, that when half pay for seven years was promised them & after wards extended for life, that no doubt it was thought by Congress to be the best thing that could be devised at that time to keep the army together in the then embarrasd state of our affairs, not having money or public credit sufficient to support our just cause, & that the present Congress, finding that the promises had been made them & the faith of the united state[s] pledged to make them good, were of opinion that a reasonable commutation would be for the honor & interest of the future union, and more agreeable to the states in general.

With regard to the salaries of civil officers, it may be observed that the necessities of life have been very high during the war & particularly so where the public have wanted their business done, & notwithstanding the salaries that have been given it has been difficult for Congress to get Genm of character to remove to the place where they have sit to attend to public business & for this reason they have been obliged to appoint more Genm living near where the public business has been done; but however there may be some instances where the



Salaries might be lowered, now hostilities have ceased, & the charges of living less.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten, and endorsed by him: "Minutes for the committee that is pre[p]airing a letter to the state of Massachusetts."

<sup>1</sup> Holten apparently prepared these "Minutes" for the use of the committee appointed on July 31 to respond to the Massachusetts General Court's July 11 "Remonstrance" against the commutation of Continental officers' half-pay claims and the expense of the civil list, which submitted a report to Congress on September 2d. The structure of the report parallels Holten's notes, and the first three lines of his second paragraph are repeated verbatim in the next to last paragraph of the report, which is in the hand of committee chairman James Duane, and for which see PCC, item 20, 1:149-50, 159-60, and *JCC*, 25:609-12. No other information has been found on Holten's relationship with this committee, which consisted of Duane, Samuel Huntington, and Arthur Lee, but for its appointment and the evolution of Congress' response to Massachusetts' July 11 "Remonstrance," see Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Tayler

Dear Sir,

Prince Town Augst. 1783.

Contrary to my Expectation I am Obliged to attend Congress at this Place in the stead of Generall Scott who says his health will not permit his leaving home. It will be much against my Interest to continue here under my present Circumstances, but as I was in the Delegation I could not with Honour refuse giving my Attendance. A few Days before I left home I was favoured with your Letter informing (to my surprise) that the Commissioners had refused to comply with their Engagements to me respecting the Apprisement of the Land. I think no further Evidence is wanting to shew their Partiality and Interestedness. I am fearful that no Proff [Proof] that we can give respecting the former Owners of the Land, 'tho ever so clear, will leave any Effect upon them. Whoever our Opponents are it is evident that they mean to weary us out and Oblige to withdraw our Location. I wrote to you <sup>1</sup> the Measures I had taken to procure Information I hope you may have received it by this Time. I sent to Colo Floyd also <sup>1</sup> and desired him to obtain what information he could. I have by this Conveyance wrote to judge Rall <sup>1</sup> on the subject and requested him to transmit to you any Information he may have received. While [*he*] is exceeding Anxious to have this Land apprised & divided so that he may remove on it this fall as he thinks it will not do to make a Settlement at Onondago this year.

I observe what you mention about the soldier's Rights. As the Donation depends only on a Resolution of the last Assembly, tis a wonder if

this kind of Sale, if known to the Legislature, does not intirely defeat the Expectation of our Line & the good Intentions of the former Legislature. I beleive I shall take One or Two Thousand acres more of Fundys Land but do not well know how to get the money to him and I have forgot how much you told me he asked per Thousand. I should be glad you would inform me in your next Letter.<sup>2</sup> I expected to have had the Pleasure of seeing you & Mrs. Taylor at Long Island this Fall, but I now begin to dispair of it, there being no appearance of the British leaving new York very soon, tho I think it likely they will goe of[f] sometime in October. As soon as they leave New York, I shall return home & remaine on Long Island. We have no News about the Definitive Treaty as yet but soon expect to hear from our Commissioners at Paris from whom no Communications have been received for a long Time. With respectful Compliments to Mrs. Taylor I am Sr Your most Huml Sevt,  
Ezra LHommedieu

RC (PHi: Jenkins Old Congress Collection).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See L'Hommedieu to Tayler, September 16 and 20, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Congress

Princeton Sept. 1. 1783

The President desires to inform Congress that agreeably to the reference made to him on the       day of       <sup>1</sup> he has done all in his Power to procure a House for his residence in this Town, in order to remove his Family from Philadelphia and to give up the House there; but hitherto has not been able to Proceed. He thinks it is duty to give this information to Congress, as the reason of his Conduct in not complying with their wishes & to wait their further orders.<sup>2</sup>

RC (DNA: PCC, item 59). In Boudinot's hand, though not signed. Endorsed: "Read Sept 1. 1783."

<sup>1</sup> That is, the 14th day of August, for which see Boudinot to Congress, July 26, document note.

<sup>2</sup> As a result of Boudinot's efforts, he received from Elias Woodruff on September 18 the offer of a new house nearing completion, which he apparently accepted soon after, for which see PCC, item 78, 24:409–12; and Collins, *Congress at Princeton*, pp. 54–55.

A 32-page volume of Boudinot's presidential household expenses for this period is in the Emmet Collection, NN. It consists of an "Account of the Expenditures of the Family of the President of Congress, from the 4th Novr 1782 till the 10th Novr 1783," a "List of Furniture left in Philadelphia" when Congress fled to Princeton in June 1783, four pages of accounts for articles supplied the president by Thomas Stockton after the flight to New Jersey, and 23 pages of the accounts of Richard Phillips, "Steward to the President of Congress," April 1 to November 8, 1783.

## William Ellery to Benjamin Stelle

Dr Sir,<sup>1</sup>Phila.<sup>2</sup> Sept. 1st. 1783

I take the liberty to inclose to you, three tickets indorsed with my brother's name,<sup>3</sup> which he says are prizes; one with the name of my Aunt, and four with my name the fate of which we know not. I would be much obliged to you if you would examine into this matter, and receive the money for my brothers' tickets, if they should have drawn prizes of a low value; otherwise a certificate. If my Aunt's ticket or any of mine should have drawn prizes please to receive the money or certificates as they may be entitled.

We received your observations and shall make a proper use of them. No report has yet been made, on the report on your questions.<sup>4</sup> Great bodies move slow.

Mr. Howell hath received a letter from Dr. Arnold, dated Augt. 18th, in which he mentions that Mrs. Arnold, who was at his quarters, presented her compliments to him; in a letter to me, which was bro't by the same hand, and was dated Augt. 12th, he says Miss Crawford is in an *enterprizing* state of health and I have the pleasing expectation that my next will announce her arrival at my quarters.

From hence we conclude that they have committed matrimony, that She hath been *at*, and he *in* her quarters, and that by this time you might take up either of his feet. Oh Jonathan! Oh!

The Appearance of the Genl. and the Minister of France in, and the passage of two of the regiments which some time since went to Philadelphia, through this town, have added a brilliancy to it, and enliven'd the inhabitants; who do every thing they can to accommodate us. Our market flourishes, our streets are levelled, houses are repairing and building, and things look as if Princeton would become the fixed residence of Congress. I believe it will be difficult to move Congress from hence. All the States, including Pennsylvania, to the Southward must be present & united in order to effect a removal. I expect Pennsylvania will hold out some magnificent offer to Congress; but it will not do; The political air of that State, at present, doth not suit northern constitutions, and the influence of the great city is too powerful and extensive.

If you have any thing new please to communicate it. Present my regards to Mr. Marshall, to his wife and children & to Mr. Mumford; and to Mrs. Gibbons and her amiable daughter.

I am with sentiments of esteem, Yr. most hble servt.

William Ellery

RC (RPB-JH: William Ellery Papers). Addressed: "Benjamin Stelle Esqr. Commisr. &c at the Revd. Mr. Marshall's Fourth Street, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> Stelle has been identified at David Howell to Nicholas Brown, July 30, 1783, note 10.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Princeton.

<sup>3</sup> Benjamin or Christopher Ellery.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to Stelle's questions to Robert Morris for clarification of how he should proceed in the settlement of the Continental accounts of Pennsylvania, which was the subject of a recent letter from the superintendent of finance to Congress, for which see Morris to Elias Boudinot, August 12, 1783, in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), vol. 8 (forthcoming). See also David Howell to Nicholas Brown, July 30, 1783, note 10.

## Stephen Higginson to Turnbull, Marmie & Co.

Gentn.

Prince Town Sept. 1. 1783

Inclosed is a Bill drawn by Mr. Parker on yourselves & a Letter of advice, as I wish to have the money for it soon I must pray you to direct it & to send me the amt. in Notes of the Bank after deducting the discount, either by the post or some safe hand as may be most convenient to you;<sup>1</sup> in doing which you will much oblige your most huml Servant,

Stephen Higginson

P.S. If you have an oppy & can send me part in good guineas or half Jonnies, you will much oblige me.

RC (DLC: Jean Holker Papers). Addressed: "Messr. Turnbull Marmie & Co., Merchts, Philadelphia."

<sup>1</sup> Higginson also wrote the following brief letter to Turnbull, Marmie & Co. on September 8 concerning the enclosed bill.

"The Bearer hereof Mr. Cook will be kind enough to call on you & receive the payment of Mr. Parkers Bill for 5333 1/3 dollars which I sent you last week by Genl. Sinclair. I hope you have discounted the Bill at the Bank as I am in want of the money. If you can send me part of it in guineas or half Joannes that or an eight it will oblige me, & I shall be very happy in having an oppy of rendering you in return any Service in my power." Holker Papers, DLC.

## New York Delegates to Alexander Hamilton and William Floyd

Honorable Gentlemen,

Prince Town Sept. 1. 1783.

We enclose you an Extract of Dispatches from his Excellency our Governor received this Day, respecting the Instructions of the Legislature at their last Sessions for the Security of the Western Posts.<sup>1</sup>

You will be pleased to Observe that an official Report on a Subject so interesting to the State is deemed to be necessary; as well as a particular Detail of the Motives which influenced Congress, against the declared Sense of the State, to give Directions to the Commander in Chief for garrisoning those Posts with Continental Troops. This is a

Duty to which, not having been present at the Debates, we find ourselves incompetent. We can therefore only refer his Excellency and the Legislature to you, our worthy Colleagues, who being fully possessed of the Facts, can alone give the necessary official Information.<sup>2</sup>

With Sentiments of the most perfect Esteem and Regard we have the Honour to be Gent. Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

Jas. Duane

Ezra LHommedieu

RC (DLC: Hamilton Papers). Written by L'Hommedieu and signed by L'Hommedieu and Duane.

<sup>1</sup> For the enclosed extract of Governor Clinton's August 23 letter, which is in the Hamilton Papers, DLC, see Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:436n.1.

<sup>2</sup> For Hamilton's detailed explanation of this matter to Governor Clinton, written October 3 in response to this letter, see Hamilton to Clinton, July 27, note 4. See also L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 3, 1783.

## Connecticut Delegates to Jonathan Trumbull, Sr.

Sir, Princeton, Sept 2d. 1783.

We had the Honor to Receive your Excellency's Letter of the 23d of August & Observed the Contents. We have no Important News of late from abroad and but little at home.

Several weighty Matters are in agitation in Congress and but slow Progress made. Seldom more than seven or eight States assembled and one or two Dissenting Voices are fatal to all Proceedings.

The States of New Jersey & Mariland have granted the five Per Cent Duty on Importation. Pennsylvania have done the same and Instructed their Delegates to Subscribe the Proposed Alteration in the Confederation.<sup>1</sup> They have also Desired the Return of Congress to their Capital and Promised to Enable their Executive Council to Afford a Desired Protection in their State untill the Place of Permanent Residence of Congress shall be fixed.<sup>2</sup> The Massachusetts have Addressed Congress on the Subject of the Commutation and high Sallaries as Obstacles in the Way of a Compliance on their Part with the Requisition of an Impost,<sup>3</sup> whilst they and Rhode Island are Collecting Duties on Trade in their own way and applying the Monies so Raised to the Payment of their own Quotas. The Burthen of this being sustained by the Consumer must be Eventually Borne by the Industrious Inhabitants of our State in Proportion to the Goods we Purchase from them whilst we have our whole Quota to Pay without an Equal Advantage of a Tax upon Commerce. This Naturally suggests to us the Necessity of Promoting Trade in our own State and withdrawing it from those States whose Policy is as much as Possible to lay their Burthens



on us. This also is a Striking Proof of the Equitable Nature of a General Impost and of the Injustice that will take Place in Consequence of the Local and Illiberal Measures that will be Adopted by the Several States in their Separate Proceedings tending to Disaffection, Animosity and Disunion.

That the Superintending Power of Divine Government over the Affairs of Men Cannot be baffled by Designing Mortals is a most Consoling Truth to the Confident Heart.

We Shall be at the Assembly before the Session Ends in Octor if our Attendance here can be Dispensed with.

We are most Respectfully and with the highest Esteem, your Excellency's most Humble Servants,

Sam. Huntington  
Benj Huntington.

RC (Ct: Trumbull Papers). Written by Benjamin Huntington and signed by Benjamin and Samuel Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> For the Pennsylvania delegates' presentation of their assembly's endorsement of this proposed amendment to the Articles of Confederation on August 28, see *JCC*, 24:526–27. Although they failed to mention the matter, the Huntingtons had submitted Connecticut's similar resolution on this amendment to Congress on September 1, for which see *JCC*, 25:529–30.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 25:530–31.

<sup>3</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3; and Stephen Higginson to Samuel Adams, August 21, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to the States

Sir, Circular. Princeton 3d Sept. 1783

I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency the copy of an Act of Congress of the 21st ult. in which your State may possibly be interested.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be &c.<sup>2</sup>

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> For this resolve directing General Washington to initiate action to recover "all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the United States" which had fallen into enemy hands during the war, see *JCC*, 24:517–18; and Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 23, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter to Delaware president Nicholas Van Dyke, Boudinot also added the following exhortation to secure Delaware's representation in Congress: "I beg the attention of your Excellency to the representation of your State in Congress. It is a matter of great surprise, that when matters of the utmost consequence of the Union, are daily before Congress, that the State of Delaware can be so exceedingly inattentive to so important a concern. The Union hath suffered extremely by this inattention in several of the States. The most essential business to the welfare of the empire at large having been postponed and neglected for want of a more full representation. Permit me sir to beg your interposition as you well know the humiliating situation Congress are often in on this account." From a privately owned manuscript quoted in Burnett, *Letters*, 7:284.

## Abiel Foster to Meshech Weare

Sir, Princeton 3d. August [*i.e.*, September] 1783.<sup>1</sup>

The report of a Committee on your Letter respecting loan Office certificates, was this day taken up, and largely debated in Congress: this report stands perfectly agreeable to the wish of New Hampshire, and extends to the United States at large.<sup>2</sup> I hoped it would have passed with out opposition, and that I should have been able by this days Post, to have forwarded the resolution on the subject; but the representation being small & some opposition made to it; suggested the probability of loosing the Question on the report, & induced the advocates for the measure, to move for postponing, to adjourn, with out calling for the Vote on *(the report)* thereon.

Yesterday Congress received a Letter from Sir Guy Carleton,<sup>3</sup> together with the proceedings of a Court martial held in New York, for the trial of persons charged with counterfeiting & passing Mr. Morris's Notes, & other continental paper currency, two persons, one a refugee, the other a Britton, were reported to Mr. Carleton as concerned in this nefarious business; in consequence whereof, the refugee will be turned out of the City that the United States may take him, if the[y] can, the other will be detained. Mr. Carleton hath forwarded, with the proceedings of the Court Martial, a number of Types, copper plates and other implements, for the laudable business of counterfeiting Continental currency which are now deposited with Congress.

I have not had the Honr. to receive a Line from your Honr. since my arrival, I most earnestly wish to be informed on the subject of Mr. Langdons coming on, or what prospect there may be of my having a Colleague. I am Sir with perfect esteem & respect, your Honrs most humble Servt,

Abiel Foster

RC (MH: Weare Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Although clearly dated "3d August," this letter was apparently written on September 3d, the day after Congress received the letter from Sir Guy Carleton mentioned in Foster's second paragraph, for which see note 3 below. There is no entry in Secretary Thomson's journals for September 3; and August 3, 1783, fell on a Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> Weare's June 30 letter "respecting loan Office certificates" had been referred on July 16 to a committee (Oliver Ellsworth, James McHenry, and Richard Peters) whose recommendation that it be referred to the superintendent of finance was adopted by Congress on July 26. Superintendent Morris' report of August 1 was subsequently referred on August 5 to a second committee (Theodorick Bland, Richard Beresford, and Hugh Williamson) whose August 15 report was recommitted on the 18th. Bland's committee issued a second report on August 25 that was apparently taken up this day although Secretary Thomson made no entry in the journals for September 3 and the endorsement on the report does not indicate any action this day. Morris also made a second report on Weare's letter this day, but according to Thomson's endorsement it was "Delivered Sept. 4. 1783." See PCC, item 20, 1:29-32, item 64, fols. 230-37, item 137, 2:761-66, 3:57-60; and JCC, 24:445-46, 489-91, 513-14, 25:535-36.

The August 25 committee report "this day taken up" was also debated again on September 23 and recommitted the same date to a committee consisting of Samuel Huntington, Abraham Clark, and Elbridge Gerry, which subsequently reported on October 1, for which see *JCC*, 25:604-6, 637-38; and Foster to Weare, October 2 and 15, 1783. For a discussion of Robert Morris' position on the issuance of new loan office certificates for old, "including in such new certificates the interest which may have become due and be still unpaid on the old," see Report to Congress on a Letter from the President of New Hampshire, August 1; and Report to Congress on the Liquidation of Loan Office Certificates, September 3, 1783, in Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), vol. 8 (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> This September 1 letter, which is endorsed "Read Sept 2. 1783," is in PCC, item 52, fols. 9-12.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to George Clinton

Dear Sir,

Princetown, Sept. 3, 1783.

We have been favoured with your Answer to our Letter respecting Mrs. Delancey, which seems to be satisfactory to Mr. Izard.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis likely by this Conveyance you will receive our official Answer to your other Letter respecting the Settlements of the Public Accounts, & Garrisoning the Posts. We have wrote to Mr. Morris and expect his answer to Day.<sup>2</sup> We have also wrote to Colos. Floyd & Hamilton<sup>3</sup> to make the Report as we were not here, when that Business was under Consideration. A few Evenings before the Receipt of your Excellencys Letter, I was informed by My Colleague that such an Instructions had been left with him by Colo. Hamilton who received the same early from the Legislature and had suppressed it, so that it had not been known to any Person in Congress, he having determined that it was best for the state that the Posts should be garrisoned with Continental Troops. Whether Colo. Floyd was acquainted with the Instructions I am not able to learn. It was new to me. I having left the Assembly before the same was agreed on.

I was observing that I found many of the States disposed to have the frontier Posts garrisoned by the States in whose Territory they were, and not by the Continent, and that I should be glad to know the Sense of the State as it was probable this Question would turn up on discussing the Peace Arrangement, upon which the observation was made as above, and we then agreed as soon as an Opportunity presented to procure a Resolution agreeable to the Instructions as we supposed we had no right to Judge of the Propriety, of a Measure directed by the Legislature. No Possession will be taken of those Posts till next Spring, and 'tis thought by some they will not be given up under a Year.

Halderman has refused to permit Baron Stuben even to visit the Posts, alledging that he had received no Orders for evacuating them.<sup>4</sup> I think it necessary to mention what has been communicated to me in confidence, that the State of Virginia have it in Contemplation when-

ever an Opportunity presents to take Possession of Niagara, on Pretence that the Posts with Lands to the eastward of it are within the Limits of that State. Except that State makes a Cession of Vacant Lands to the United States, there is too much Reason to believe they will endeavour to carry this Plan into Execution.

I am glad to find it will be in your Power to supply me with Money. I cannot determine how long I shall continue here, tho' I think I shall stay 'till the British leave New York, which Event I expect will take place sometime in October. As I brought some money with me, I believe about 200 Dollars will answer my purpose; the Remainder you can keep in your Hands till such Time as I may want—it will be disagreeable to apply to the Legislature hereafter; if no opportunity presents to send the Money, I can borrow it here or possibly give an Order for the same.

I have sent my Accounts to the Auditor<sup>5</sup> with Directions (if he can Audit them without my being present) to transmit them to your Excellency. Congress still continue here & I think there is a greater Probability of their going Southward than Northward.

With the utmost Respect I am, Sir, your Excellencys most Obed't. Serv't.

Ezra L'Homedieu.

Reprinted from Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:248–50.

<sup>1</sup> See James Duane to Clinton, August 12; and New York Delegates to Clinton, September 8 (1st letter).

<sup>2</sup> See New York Delegates to Robert Morris, August 30, and to Clinton, September 8 (2nd letter).

<sup>3</sup> See New York Delegates to William Floyd and Alexander Hamilton, September 1, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, September 8, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See L'Homedieu to Peter Curtenius, August 26, 1783.

## Samuel Holten to Abraham Fuller

Dear sir.<sup>1</sup>

Princeton, State of New Jersey, 4th Sepr. 1783.

I shall make no apology for this address, farther than assuring you that personal respect is my principal motive.

As I know of no person that gives greater attention to public business, & preserves State papers better than your honor; I inclose you the pamphlet contain'g the address & recommendations of Congress to the several states, respecting our finances.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulties Congress have had to encounter in the course of the war, can be better conceived of by you, than expressed by me, but from my personal knowledge, they have been very great, and at some periods of the war, they appeared to be almost insurmountable; and I consider that at such a period as I have last mentioned, Congress were

obliged to promise the officers of their army half pay for life, if they would continue in their service to the end of the war, and one years full pay to each private; I have said obliged, I mean, that, at that time it was thought, by Congress & general Washington, the best thing that could be done to keep the army together, & after the greatest deliberation, as the officers were endeavoring, in large numbers, to resign their commissions; but if Congress at that time, could have commanded money sufficient, or procured credit, it might have answered the purpose, by paying them their wages, that was then due, but that not being the case, they were obliged to promise, & pledge the faith & honor of their constituents to make them good. This leads me to consider what the present Congress has done, that is so disagreeable to my constituents; as very few of the members that now compose Congress were concerned in making the engagements to the army, & not one of us from Massachusetts; And when the officers had reason to think that the war was drawing to a close, they made application to Congress, setting forth their services, sufferings, & the promises that had been made them, & requesting payment, or some further security to be given them; and as they understood that some of the states in the union, did not consider half pay for life, in a favorable point of light, that they were willing to make a commutation & settle the matter; The delegates from Massachusetts, supposing that a commutation with them, would be much more agreeable to their constituents, and in favor of their interest, for several reasons that might be mentioned, took great pains to find out what would become their due according to the common period of mens lives, & finding that 22 years upon a average was the time that all seemed to be agreed in, that they would live, therefore, we should have to pay them, 22 years half pay or eleven years full pay, & then, after great deliberation it was thought advisable to offer them 5 years full pay, in such securities as Congress give their other creditors, which you will take notice is less than one half of what would become their due, according to our own cost; And now, sir, I submit the matter to your judgment, and every other honest man, that is acquainted with the subject, whether the present Congress have made a good bargain, & how far the delegates from Massachusetts have been to blame in assenting to the same; but it is sd. that Massachusetts is not in favor of half pay, commutation, or any thing else, except their wages, if so, I have to lament, that They did not signify their pleasure, by instructions to their delegates, which would have been the rule of my conduct, & I should not then have considered myself personally answerable for the consequences.

There seems to be something peculiar, respecting the settlement with the army, as it respects, the delegates from Massachusetts, for about the same time that their constituents were signifying their disapprobation of their conduct, part of the army, were so dissatisfied as to



surround the house where Congress were assembled, & placed guards at their doors, for several hours, because no more had been done for them, and I assure you, sir, our situation, for some time, was disagreeable, as the soldiers seemed to be prepared for the worst purposes. I am, with very great respect, your most obedient; S. Holten

RC (MWA: Thomas Wallcut Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Fuller (1720–94), a Newton, Mass. schoolteacher, had served in the Massachusetts General Court 18 years. Francis Jackson, *A History of the Early Settlement of Newton . . . from 1639 to 1800* (Boston: Stacy and Richardson, 1854), p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Thursday Sept. 4. 1783

I have received your letter of Monday No. 4 and am glad to hear of your welfare and of your prudent precaution to guard against the sudden change of the weather. I am told there has been a frost on the north side of the hills round this town. We find a fire not only comfortable but necessary. I delivered William the letter you enclosed, but Page had been so careful in sealing it that it cost him a great deal of trouble to open it and after all his pains when it was opened it turned out like the three last days debates in a certain house—just nothing. I have directed W to prepare an Answer and have it ready to go by this opportunity. I wish to promote the correspondence, as I am inclined to think the correspondence between William and Page and the Journals of Princeton, should they descend to posterity, will be equally improving and diverting.

Mr. Wright informs me he has begun the bust of the general.<sup>1</sup> I hope he will succeed. He is to paint both the general and his Lady.

Give my respects to cousin N. Loyd. I hope she will spend some days with you. I slept so long this morning that I can only assure you that I am, with sincere affection, yr.

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See Thomson to George Washington, August 28, 1783.

## James McHenry to Margaret Caldwell

Friday [September 5, 1783]<sup>1</sup>

All Wednesday—all yesterday, and to-day deeply engaged in points of great national importance, so that I almost dispaired of a moments leisure to write to my Peggy. It is now 3 o'clock, our debates are over,

and the congress are to dine with General Washington; and, I, besides making one of the eaters, am to digest matters for a committee in which Maryland is nearly concerned, and which must be finished by to-morrow morning, or else I must not pretend to be the man of business.<sup>2</sup> Between this [ho]wever, and dinner time there is an hour, [in] which I think I can walk a mile, that is, to my quarters, make some alterations in my dress, and write to my Peggy of my safe arrival at Princetown. Could my charmer but have seen me when I got into the sulky, with what slowness I moved from the door, still looking back and lingering till I could see it no longer, you would have found an exact comparison for the twilight, that hovers and hesitates about the horizon and at last seems to quit the earth with reluctance.

Were I to add another sentence and simile I might keep at least thir[ty] great personages from dinner. I will, however, may God bless my dear P[eggy] and keep our hearts always united, and then we shall always be happy. Adieu adieu,

James McHenry

RC (MdHi: McHenry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> McHenry had just returned from visiting his fiancée in Philadelphia and wrote this letter on the "Friday" that Congress had been invited "to dine with general Washington," which occurred this day. See David Howell to William Greene, September 9, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> McHenry had served on a committee appointed to consider a proposal from the citizens of Elizabeth, N.J., offering the town as a permanent seat of Congress—probably the matter "in which Maryland is nearly concerned." See *JCC*, 24:521n; *PCC*, item 46, fols. 103–9; and Maryland Delegates to Congress, August 27, 1783.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson

Sir.

Princeton Sept. 5. 1783

We have the Honour to lay before the Honble Council Copies of sundry Papers relative to the Situation of Affairs with the Hostile Indians & respecting the Posts within the Limits of the United States on the Northern & Western Frontiers possessed by the Troops of His Britannic Majesty. These Papers are referred to Committees who have not yet reported.<sup>1</sup> When any Proceedings are had in Congress we shall duly lay them before the Council to whom we shall transmit any further Information which may be received on this Subject.<sup>2</sup>

We have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect & Esteem,  
your very obed Servants,

James Wilson

Richard Peters

John Montgomery

[P.S.] We also transmit a Copy of the Financier's Statement of the Payments made by the several States in consequence of the requisitions of Congress for the Year 1782.<sup>3</sup>

RC (PP: Carson Collection). Written by Peters and signed by Peters, Wilson, and Montgomery.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently letters to secretary at war Benjamin Lincoln from Ephraim Douglass of August 18 and from William Irvine of August 17, which were referred to a committee consisting of James Duane, Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Hawkins, Arthur Lee, and Richard Peters on August 19 and September 3 respectively. In addition, four of the five enclosures included with Douglass' report on his recent frontier mission (July 2 minutes of a council with the Six Nations, July 13 and 16 letters from Fort Niagara commander Allen Maclean to Douglass, and Douglass' July 16 response) may also have been included. See PCC, item 149, 3:135–74, 179–84; *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:83–90; and Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, September 8, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to the Pennsylvania Assembly, September 25 and to Dickinson, October 24, notes 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Morris' August 1 letter to Congress enclosing a list of the "Sums paid & balances due by the states on the requisition of 8 Mill. Dollars" for 1782, which was submitted to Congress on August 5, is in PCC, item 137, 2:751–61.

## Samuel Holten to Jedediah Prebble

Sir.<sup>1</sup> P[. . .], 6 Sept. [1783]

This will be delivered you by Mr. Alexr. Moore. He informs me that he has thoughts of settling in Falmouth, as to this Gentlemans character, I must refer you (wholly) to the inclosed letter from Mr Swanwick, not havg had any knowledge of Mr. Moore before I recd. the inclosed letter. Mr. Swanwick is a Gentleman of character in the City of Philada. & employed in public business by the Honorable Mr. Morris, Financier, & is receiver of the Continental taxes for the State of Pennsylvania; I have had only a short acquaintance with Mr. Swanwick but he appears to be a sensible, agreeable, Gentleman, & any Services I could render him, or his friend Mr Moore, would give me pleasure, which is the cause of this address to you.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten. Addressed: "Honble. Genl. Prebble."

<sup>1</sup> Jedediah Preble (1707–84), Falmouth, Mass., merchant, was a general in the Massachusetts militia and had served in the Massachusetts General Court 13 years. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 5:104.

## James McHenry to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer

Dr. Sir.

Princetown 6th Sepr. 1783

We are favored with yours of the 28th of Augt. With respect to the information you call for, it is to be found and collected from the Journals of Congress which contain all the requisitions made on the States and all advances and charges against them. I sent some weeks since a complete set to the Council, to which I beg to refer you, till I have an opportunity of transmitting you a set for your own office. I do not know that any of the officers of Congress have made out a particular account of deficiencies in requisitions, and quotas of money &c against the States, or I should have had recourse to them, and saved you the labour of examining the Journals of Congress.

I must defer giving a positive answer to all the questions contained in your postscript, till I can consult the Secretary at war who is absent. As to the resolutions of Feby. 21. 1783 they entitle only to pay &c. up to the 1st of August 1780.<sup>1</sup> If Capt. Marbury acted as Quarter Master General to the Southern army I apprehend he must have his credentials from Gen Greene. These I suppose he has to produce. Should no other answer be sent you by next post you will conclude that no other answer can be obtained in this quarter.

With great respect, I have the honor to be Dr Sir, your obt,  
James McHenry

RC (MdHi: Revolution Collection). Addressed: "Hnble Danl. of St. Ths. Jenifer, Intendant of the revenue, Annapolis."

<sup>1</sup> The resolutions of that date refer to depreciation pay for Continental officers who had served in the staff departments. See *JCC*, 24:143-44.

## William Ellery to William Greene

Princeton Sept. 8th. 1783.

When your Excellency receives this letter more than three months will have passed away since I left our State, and before the Genl. Assembly will meet more than five: By which time the little that is left of the two hundred dollars I received from the Treasurer will be intirely expended. I must therefore intreat the General Assembly, at their next Session, or order the Genl. Treasurer immediately to procure and transmit to me a bill of exchange upon some person in Philadelphia for three or four hundred dollars.

The Honorable Assembly must be so sensible of the reasonableness and necessity of this request & of their complying with it, that it would be idle to adduce arguments to prove either of them; and I am so sure

of your Excellency's disposition to attend to the just application of the servants of the public in my situation, that it would be altogether needless to solicit your attention to it.

As this will accompany our public and joint letter, I have only to add that I am with perfect consideration, Your Excellency's most obedt. servant,

William Ellery

RC (PHC: Roberts Collection).

## Benjamin Huntington to Anne Huntington

Dear Mrs. Huntington

Princeton Sept<sup>r</sup> 8th 1783

Since my Last<sup>1</sup> Nothing Material has hapned. A Dutch Minister is Dayly Expected to arrive in Philadelphia and it was Rumoured that Some of his furniture was arrived last Week. This must be a Wonderful great Affair, and what Congress can Do with this Great Personage in Princeton is more than Humane Wisdom can Devise for there are not Buildings sufficient to House more Dons nor in Indeed as many as are Already here. Some are under Necessity to Go to Philadelphia once or Twice a fortnight to Breath in Polite Air. The Country so badly agrees with those Sublime & Delicate Constitutions that it is to be feared that many of them will Contract a Rusticity that Can never be wholly purged off. We have nothing here but the Necessaries and Comforts of Life and who can live so? The agreeables of the City cannot be had in the Country. I Expect no Business of Importance will be done untill Congress Returns to that Sweet Paridice from which they hastily took Flight in June last Since which Time an Awkard Rustication has been their Painful Situation on an Eminence in the Country where they have no Musquetoos to Serenade them in bed and in the Day they have a Prospect of no more than 30 or 40 Miles to the High Lands or the Sea Coast nor can they hear the Musick of Carts and Waggons on the Pavements in the City nor See the motly Crouds of Beings in those Streets. This must be Truely Distressing to Gentlemen of Taste. The Ladies make less Complaint than the Gentlemen and the Gentlemen who have their Ladies here seem in some Degree Contented. The President of Congress who Belongs in the Jersey is obliged to leave his Lady in Philadelphia to Keep Possession but has the Promise of a Very Genteel House here if he will take it but not Knowing whether Congress will abide in Princetown or not, he is at the utmost Loss what to Do, Whether it is best for him and his wife to live together as Peasants do in the Country or for her to be at Philada as the Ladies do, and for him to Live as a Gentleman Doing Business in the Country in hopes of Returning to the Pleasures and Amusements of the



City when Business is over. This Matter Requiring Great Deliberation Cannot (like the Emigration of Congress in June last) be hastily Determined. Thus you See we Great Folks are not without Trouble. I hope to become a small man in a few Weeks and Retire from the Embarrassments of Dignity to the Plain & Peaceful Possessions of a Private Life not Desiring to Live without Business, but to do useful Business without the Pomp & Vanity of this Wicked World.

All I have Wrote is not what I Designed when I began & Consequently have not yet advanced one Step toward my Design and having nothing to Write About am at a Great Loss what to Write because it Requires more Strength of Genius to Build an Hansom Fabrick without Materials than with. I am Spending Money very fast but not so fast as I Could with the Same Degree of Industry in Philadelphia & it is a Mortifying Consideration that my Cash is Spent for no better Purposes, but the Great & General Concerns of a Nation must [*be*] Attended to and the Fashions & Customs of the World are Such as Require it to be Done with Expençe. A new Fashion is among the Ladies here which is the Same as at Philada. The Roll is much less than formerly and is Raised to a Peak on their Forehead Frowzled & Powdered and they wear Mens Beaver Hats with a Large Tye of Gauze like a Sash or Mourning Wead about the Crown & Decorated with Feathers & Plumes on the Top which makes a very Daring Appearance. The Brim of the Hat is Tapred before about as low as their Eyes and is a Kind of Riding Hat, they Walk Abroad and Sit in Church in the same. Some have them in the Same Figure made of Paper and Covered with Silk with Deep Cravices as a Beaver Hat but as this is much out of the Line of Business I was sent here to do I have not been very Particular on the Subject. I might also mention the Waistcoat and Long Sleeves much like the Riding habits our Ladies wore Twenty five years ago but as they Differ some from them & having no Right to be very Much in Observation upon the Ladies I am not able to say much on the Subject. Give my love in Particular to Every Child in our Family & Regards to Friends & Neighbours.

I am Dear Spouse, your Most Affectionate

Benj Huntington

RC (CtHi: Benjamin Huntington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## James Madison to James Madison, Sr.

Hond Sir

Philada. Sepr. 8. 1783.

Mr. Jones & myself being here transacting some private business which brought us from Princeton the end of last week, I here re-

ceive[d] your letter of the 22d. ulto.<sup>1</sup> The favorable turn of my mother's state of health is a source of great satisfaction to me, and will render any delay in my setting out for Virga. the less irksome to me. I shall return to Princeton tomorrow; my final leaving of which will depend on events, but can not now be at any very great distance.<sup>2</sup> On a view of all circumstances I have judged it most prudent not to force Billey back to Va. even if could be done; and have accordingly taken measures for his final separation from me.<sup>3</sup> I am persuaded his mind is too thoroughly tainted to be a fit companion for fellow slaves in Virga. The laws here do not admit of his being sold for more than 7 years. I do not expect to get near the worth of him; but cannot think of punishing him by transportation merely for coveting that liberty for which we have paid the price of so much blood, and have proclaimed so often to be the right, & worthy the pursuit, of every human being.

We have no later advices from Europe than when I wrote by Merry Walker.<sup>4</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:304.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear when Madison returned to Princeton for neither he nor Joseph Jones voted during the sessions of September 10 or 11, though both did so on the 13th. See *JCC*, 25:542–45, 552–53, 559.

<sup>3</sup> For speculation on Madison's disposition of his slave, Billey, see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:304n.4.

<sup>4</sup> That is, when he wrote to his father on August 30.

## James Madison to Edmund Pendleton

Dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 8. 1783.

Your favor of the 1st.<sup>1</sup> found me here whither Mr. Jones & myself had been called by some private business for a day or two. I thank you for your remarks on the jurisdiction necessary for Congress within the limits which may be ceded for their permanent residence. They seem to comprise all the alternatives among which a choice is to be made.

We have recd, no advices from Europe since my last.<sup>2</sup> The light in which Sr. G. Carlton places his delay in evacuating N.Y. will be seen in the inclosed paper. He has made report to Congs. of the result of inquiry into the forgery of Morris' Notes, which did not capitally convict any of the authors of the villany but brought forth all the implements made use of not only for that purpose, but for the various forgeries which have issued from N.Y. in the course of the war, and fully verify the charges on that head. These implements were sent to Congress with the Trial. The accused pleaded the countenance of authority for former experiments in this way, and wonder'd at the change of system which had dictated prosecutions for the present. You will wonder I

dare say at the facility with which Sr. G. C. has exposed the dishonorable but no doubt secret measures of his predecessors. His military powers might easily have stifled the enquiry & discoveries if he had chosen to do so.<sup>3</sup>

The Legislature of this State have in addition to the other steps rehearsed in the inclosed, made German Town a Candidate for the permanent abode of Congress.<sup>4</sup> The Eastern States are in great perturbation on the subject of the half pay. The violent opposition of the people to that Constitutional demand is considered by those who have been witnesses of it, as of so serious a nature as to threaten very inauspicious effects.

With sincere regd. I am Dr. Sir Yr. friend & servt.

J. Madison Jr.

Reprinted from Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:305-6.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Not found, but probably a letter of August 30 similar to his letter to Edmund Randolph of that date.

<sup>3</sup> For Sir Guy Carleton's "inquiry into the forgery of Morris' Notes," see Elias Boudinot to Carleton, July 26, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> For the offer from the residents of Germantown, see Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, September 12, 1783, note.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 8. 1783.

Mr. Jones & myself having come down to this City the end of the past week for the purpose of negotiating some pecuniary matters, I am here to date my acknowledgment of your favor of the 30th ulto.<sup>1</sup> We return again tomorrow.

The delay of the definitive Treaty altho not fully explained to Congress, excites less disquietude here than I find it does in Virginia. Our latest official advices were from Mr. Laurens of the      day of June.<sup>2</sup> The Conduct of the British administration was far from explic[i]t, according to his State of it, but probably proceeded more from the discordant materials of which it is composed & doubts as to the commercial footing on which America ought to be placed, than from any insidious views. Why indeed a Commercial Treaty should be made to clog the Treaty of peace is left to conjecture. Perhaps the fact may not be true & the delay of the latter may be owing still to the old cause, to wit, a discussion of the intricate points with the Dutch. The situation of G.B. is such that nothing but some signal change in the aspect of things in this hemisphere can inspire a fresh disposition for war; notwithstandg the menacing tone of Sr. G. Carlton.

The Legislature of Pa. have taken every possible step to expiate the default of the Executive short of an impeachment of its members, which the rigor of some members of Congs. included among the terms of reconciliation with the State. They have expressly invited Congs. back, assured them of honorable protection, and given up the State-House with the appendages for their temporary use.<sup>3</sup> They have also made German Town a competitor for the permanent abode of Congress.

The opposition in the N. England States to the Grant of half pay instead of subsiding has increased to such a degree as to produce almost a general anarchy. In what shape it will issue is altogether uncertain. Those who are interested in the event look forward with very poignant apprehensions. Nothing but some continental provision can obtain for them this part of their reward.

The lady whose husband makes a subject of one of your paragraphs has lately recd. letters from him which breathe a warm affection for her,<sup>4</sup> state the impracticability of his coming for her, or leaving that Country altogether at present, and press her to lose no time in getting to him, which she means to attempt in the course of next month. Some traits in his character which were related to you, have come to my knowledge through other channels, particularly his attachment to pelf; But in other respects he has been represented as a man of honesty & worth. His Medical profession is not entirely usurped, being founded on a partial education in that line. My friendship for her estimable qualities makes me regret upon the whole that her prospect of happiness is not more flattering. The removal of Congress has been of some disadvantage to the old Lady,<sup>5</sup> but the established reputation of her House will always command the means of support. She has lately too had the good fortune to have with her one of her sons whom she had not heard of for 4 or 5 years. He has engaged to accompany his sister in her voyage to her husband.

Why did not the Assembly stop the sale of land warrants? They bring no profit to the public Treasury, are a source of constant speculation on the ignorant, and will finally arm numbers of Citizens of other States & even foreigners with claims & clamors against the faith of Virginia. Immense quantities have from time to time been vended in this place at immense profit, and in no small proportion to the subjects of our Ally. The credulity here being exhausted I am told the land Jobbers are going on with their commodity to Boston & other places to [. . . ]<sup>6</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:307–8.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> For Henry Laurens' June 17–18 letter, see Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to James Madison, Sr., August 30, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> That is, Eliza House Trist, for whom see John Francis Mercer to Madison, August 14, 1783, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Mary House, for whom see *ibid.*, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> MS torn, one or two words missing. For the Virginia assembly's actions on "the sale of land warrants," see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:310n.11.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir,

Princeton 8th Septemb. 1783

We are duly honoured with your Excellency's Favour of the 23d of August and have communicated the Contents to the honl Mr Izard.<sup>1</sup> It gives us Pleasure that it has placed our State in such a Light as will enable Us to give a proper Answer to any future Complaint of this Nature. If we were present at the passing the Laws to which your Excellency refers, it escaped our Observation that they applied to a Case like that which we were solicited to represent. In the responsible Office we are placed we ought to be vigilant for the Dignity of our Legislature, and for the Reputation of our State, and to be prepared to remove all Impressions derogatory to either; and in this view we are confident your Excellency will excuse the Trouble we have given you.

We have the Honour to be—with the utmost Respect—Sir, Your Excellency's most Obedient & very humble Servants,

Jas. Duane

Ezra LHommedieu

RC (WHi: George Clinton Papers). Written by Duane and signed by Duane and L'Hommedieu.

<sup>1</sup> See New York Delegates to Clinton, August 12, 1783.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Sir,

Princeton 8 September 1783.

We have the Honour of your Excellency's Favour of the 23d of August.<sup>1</sup>

We lost no time in making a Representation to the Superintendent of Finance on the important Business of Settling the Account of our States and it's Citizens with the Publick. It was only a Repetition of what our Sollicitude on this Occasion had frequently induced us to do in personal Interviews with that Minister. A Copy of our Representation No 1 and his Answer No 2, a Letter from him to Colo Sherburn No 3 and his Answer No 4, we beg leave to lay before Your Excellency to be communicated to the Legislature.<sup>2</sup>



We were not in Congress when any of the Transactions passed respecting the Western posts, that Business being accomplished before we resumed our seats in Congress. We therefore addressed a Letter to our Colleagues whom we had the Honour to relieve, on that Subject, desiring them to report officially for the Information of Your Excellency & the Legislature. The Enclosure No 5 is a Copy of our Letter.<sup>3</sup>

These several Enclosures to which we take the Liberty to refer will we flatter ourselves be so explicite as to render it useless to enlarge.

We have the Honour to be, With the utmost Respect, Sir, Your Excellency's most obed & very humble Servants.

FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> An extract of this letter "respecting the garrisoning of the Western forts" is printed in Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:436n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See New York Delegates to Robert Morris, August 30, note; and Ezra L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 3, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See New York Delegates to William Floyd and Alexander Hamilton, September 1, 1783.

## Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene

Sir,

Princeton Sepr. 8th. 1783.<sup>1</sup>

Altho' the definitive treaty of peace has not yet arrived; yet the latest intelligence from Europe warrants a full confidence in the good State of our affairs. A treaty of Amity and Commerce has been lately ratified in Congress betwixt the United States and the King of Sweden.<sup>2</sup> This treaty was concluded at Paris on the third day of April 1783; and is of the same tenor with those entered in to with France and Holland.

His Danish Majesty has directed his minister, residing at Paris, to enter into a negotiation with the minister of the United States respecting a treaty of amity and commerce.<sup>3</sup>

The Emperor of Morocco has sent an Envoy to Paris for the express purpose of establishing an intercourse and friendship betwixt the United States and those on the coast of Barbary.<sup>4</sup> It is hoped that beneficial consequences to the trade of the United States in the Mediterranean will result from this measure.

The Elector of Saxony has also discovered his good disposition towards the United States and readiness to establish a permanent friendship with us.

By a letter from Mr. Carmichael dated Madrid March 13th—it appears that he has been at length received at that Court in his public character as *Chargé des Affaires* in the absence of Mr. Jay, and has had the honor of dining with the *Corps Diplomatique* at the table of the Count de Florida Blanca.<sup>5</sup>

By a letter from Mr. Laurens dated London June 17th 1783—it appears that Mr. Hartley was not in fact cloathed with any power to conclude a treaty of commerce with us.<sup>6</sup> His object seems to have been only to sound the minds of our ministers and to make report. The British aim to obtain some preference in our trade; but we trust they will be disappointed. For it is the policy of Congress to be at amity and to have a free trade with all the world. The System of the British is so extensive and complicated, that it is not easy to see how all its branches will be affected by the Independance of this Country; nor to form the arrangements necessary on their part to secure themselves as far as practicable in a treaty of commerce with us.

They have cloathed their King in Council with a sort of discretionary power for opening trade with us, and mean to take time to judge of measures by their operation.

By a letter from Mr. Dana dated St. Petersburg April 28th 1783<sup>7</sup>—it appears that he has not been received at that Court in his public character. On receiving intelligence of the signing of the preliminary articles of peace betwixt the courts of London and Versailles, whereby the provisional articles betwixt Great-Britain and the United States took effect, Mr. Dana presented a memorial to his Excellency the Count de Osterman, Vice Chancellor of her Imperial Majesty, the only result was to draw out the objections of that court to his reception. The Count informed him that her Imperial Majesty could not, consistent with the strict principles of neutrality which she had prescribed to herself, receive a minister from the United States; unless his letters of credence bore date subsequent to the recognition of their Independence by Great-Britain and subsequent to the reception of an American minister at the Court of London, and subsequent also to her Imperial Majesty's acknowledging their Independence. To these very extraordinary objections Mr. Dana replied in substance, that to issue new letters of Credence to him would go to annulling all our acts of Sovereignty in the course of the war, and all our treaties, and would in fact be a confession that we held our Independence as a grant from the Crown of G. Britain or as a stipulation in the treaty of peace, a confession most humiliating and disgraceful to the United States, and which our affairs by no means require. We are not as yet acquainted with the effects of this reply.

The perusal of the letters and journals of our ministers plenipotentiary at Paris during their negotiations for peace have afforded great satisfaction, and fully convinced us of the skill and abilities as well as integrity with which our most important political affairs in Europe have been conducted. It is greatly to be wished that on a general settlement of our accounts in Europe our pecuniary transactions may do equal honor to the parties concerned therein. It is in contemplation to reduce the number of our servants in Europe immediately after the

arrival of the definitive treaty. A Minister at the Court of Versailles and another at the Court of London, with a competent number of Consuls in the principal marts of trade in Europe will, in our opinion, answer every desirable purpose.

Since the adjournment of Congress to this place, little business has been done. This may be ascribed partly to the confusion necessarily following such an event; but principally to an incomplete representation from the States. Sometimes Congress have adjourned for want of seven States. Nine are seldom on the floor at once. According to Confederation nine States are necessary in most business of importance, and unanimity is scarce to be expected in resolves that require either seven or nine States.

It may be thought uncandid to suggest that the incomplete representation in the house has been owing to the reluctance of certain persons to do business *here*; but it is a fact that the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland have been frequently unrepresented. New-Hampshire and Georgia have not been represented since we took our Seats in Congress.

The State has been informed that the 4th day of October<sup>8</sup> next is assigned for fixing on a suitable place for the permanent residence of Congress. Your delegates could have wished for particular instructions on this question which is of importance not only to the present but to future generations.

The State of New Jersey has some good claim to the great prize, whether you consider its situation, which is nearly in the centre of the population and wealth of the United States, the decided part she has taken in the late war together with her republican principles and manners; or the healthiness of the climate.

As New-Jersey is not calculated for extensive trade & commerce the probability is that she will the longer persevere in those æconomical manners, a departure from which so necessarily follows the excessive riches and luxury of commercial States, her comparative smallness too will forbid all jealousy of her extending any dangerous influence into the great, national council. It may be also observed in favor of this very spot where we are cast, without any premeditated design in human counsels, that it is remarkably high, commanding and healthful, that it is situated at about an equal distance from the navigable waters leading to the great cities of New-york & Philadelphia; and that its central position betwixt those great cities, which hereafter may be the heads of two different interests, will prevent either of them from a prevailing influence in the national counsels and thus destroy those seeds of discord which in time might sprout and endanger the public safety.

It not being probable that seven States will soon agree in any one place for the permanent residence of Congress, your delegates flatter themselves that there will be time enough for them to receive your in-

structions on that head before it will be determined, and wish only to submit the foregoing observations for consideration.

His Excellency Genl. Washington is yet attending at Congress. Their address to him on his audience points out the principal object for which he was requested to attend. It hath been made a question "whether any and what powers are vested in Congress by the confederation for making and supporting a peace establishment."<sup>9</sup>

Since the arrival of the preliminary articles much time has been spent on this subject. It has been under the consideration of a committee and a long and a learned report has been made. As this report hath not been acted upon we beg leave to refer you to our friend and Colleague Mr. Arnold for the particulars of which it consists, the principles on which it is grounded and the objects to be thereby obtained.

The Committee appointed to confer with the Commander in chief on this subject has had an interview with him; but as yet have not reported. In the opinion of your delegates if such power in Congress should be thought necessary for the good of the Union, it is yet to be asked for and obtained of the particular States. It is much to be regretted that this application had not accompanied that for an Impost; especially as they seem so naturally connected, The Impost being necessary to pay off the standing army, and the standing army being so necessary to secure an effectual collection of the Impost.

It is unhappy that the principles of the Confœderation are not more attended to. The power of levying and collecting monies from the citizens of these States by taxes, or imposts and excises is retained in the several States and not vested in Congress as will appear by the 4th, 6th, 8th, and ——— articles of the Confœderation but Congress have discovered a persevering disposition to take this power out of the hands of the particular States and to exercise it themselves. No power is given to Congress to keep up a standing army in time of peace; on the contrary, the military force, if any, in time of peace is to be under the direction of the particular States. Congress have only the power of checking them in this respect and of determining the quantity of force, the number of ships and garrisons which the States shall not exceed; but Congress are not to have the command of that force, nor of those ships, nor garrisons, nor are they to be kept up and supported at the General expence. For the verification of these positions we appeal to the 5th article of Confœderation.

Had the power in question been vested in Congress, from the nature of it, they would have been the sole judges of the exercise of it, and nothing but their own moderation, or the want of funds to defray the expense could restrain them from the most dangerous use of it. They might augment a standing army from two to four or to forty thousand men at their pleasure, to overawe an uncomplying State, to enforce an impost or to obtain an excise.



It ought further to be observed that the provision in Confœderation is not only grounded in the danger to be apprehended to the particular States from a military power in the hands of Congress in time of peace; but it is also grounded on substantial principles of justice. For may it not be demanded with the greatest propriety why the States of Rhode Island, New-Jersey, or Delaware should be at the expense of maintaining a chain of Forts from Niagara to the Mississippi to secure the fur trade of New York or the back Settlements of Virginia? "*Qui sentit commodum sentire debet et onus*" is a maxim as good as it is old,<sup>10</sup> and strictly applicable to this case. If indeed the States pretending claims, tho' against all reason, to those vast western territories would make cessions of such claims to Congress, a common interest therein might justify a common expence in protecting the trade and settlements of that country; but until such an event, the States claiming those lands have no more right to charge the United States with the expence of protecting the inhabitants against the Indians, until a solemn war shall take place, than with the expense of defending them against the wild beasts that may infest that country.

Agreeably to instructions your delegates have embraced every opportunity to enforce the claims of the States to a proportionate share in the back lands. The subject has been before a Committee and a proclamation has been reported "prohibiting all persons from making settlements on lands without the limits or jurisdiction of the particular States, and from making purchases or accepting cession of such lands of the Indians, and declaring such purchases or cessions null and void."<sup>11</sup> It is hoped that this proclamation will be agreed to and that it will prove useful. It will at least be a setting up a title to some lands and will very naturally bring on the question of the western limits of particular States. These limits may be ascertained two ways either 1st by cessions of claims of particular States, which is most eligible, in the form of the N. York cession which was accepted last year; or 2nd by a resolve of Congress limiting our guarantee to the particular State. The general guarantee contained in the 2nd and 3d articles of confœderation ought to have a reasonable construction which is not to be made by the particular State; but by the United States in Congress assembled. For example, should Georgia extend her claims southward or westward so as to encroach on the Spanish territories, or should any State extend its claims to the injury of a neighbour, Congress being the dernier resort of justice in such cases would undoubtedly determine how far they will guarantee to such particular State; and also determine how far they will justify the particular States in extending their claims westward, and how far the arms of the United States shall vindicate such claims. Let the line of guarantee be determined (and if the States should not speedily make liberal cessions agreeably to the resolve of Sept. 6, 1780 it ought to be done) and let a continental land-



office be opened, States, counties and towns laid out, and it cannot be doubted that purchasers enough will appear: the public securities would be bought up, Public credit revived and no injustice done to any one. This latter mode of procedure would square with reason and justice and not oppugn confederation: the former however would be preferable as being most conciliatory; and ought to be attempted. To this end it is proposed to send Virginia our objections to her cession and to demand her ultimatum. Could Massachusetts and Connecticut be prevailed on to make a liberal cession of their claims and throw all their weight into our scale every purpose might soon be obtained. Is not the subject of sufficient importance to justify an Address to them from their Sister States? The lands are actually settling with amazing rapidity. Now is the critical juncture to urge on this business. In the course of a few years the country will be peopled like Vermont. It will be independent and the whole property of the soil will be lost forever to the United States.

A spirited memorial has lately been sent to Congress from the General Court of Massachusetts against half pay or commutation, and against the high salaries of the civil list.<sup>12</sup> They speak as plain a language as they formerly spoke to Great-Britain. They fear that Congress in some of their late grants of money have not sufficiently attended to the public good, the rules of justice, and the spirit of the Confederation. They remind Congress that they inherit republican principles from their ancestors, and that it is necessary to attend to the voice and abilities of the people. They also complain of the old money's not being redeemed and conclude by observing that these things have so exceedingly embarrassed them that they have not been able to agree to give Congress the revenue they requested by their resolve of the 18th of last April. The policy of this address is very striking. They enumerate their grievances. They apply for redress; but they keep their purse-strings in their own hands. They do not grant the revenues nor do they promise it, even in case their present grievances should be redressed. The power of withholding assent to the yearly supply bill in the British House of Commons is the most powerful check to the strides of prerogative. The Irish Commons availed themselves of this great privilege, and by it obtained redress. Had the State of Massachusetts granted Congress the revenue they request, what would have remained in their hands to have given weight to their remonstrance against the commutation and high salaries or against any other grievance? The experience of all ages evinces that interest and power too often prevail over reason and justice in the affairs of State. Gratitude, honor and humanity may obtain among individuals in social life; in political concerns between States and Kingdoms they are ties too feeble to be relied on.

The history and fate of the Impost of Feb. 3d, 1781 are too well known to be repeated. The impost of April 18th, 1783 has not been passed on by the States; it is under their consideration. Some have partially complied and one, viz, Pennsylvania has resolved to comply, but has done no more. On the justice and policy of adopting that measure your Delegates beg leave to submit a few observations. The power of the purse is the touch-stone of freedom in all States. If the people command their own money they are free; but if their Sovereign commands it they are slaves. All other strings in government take their tone from the mode of raising money. An alteration therefore in the mode of raising money is an alteration of the Constitution. It is an essential & radical change. A change that, on experience, will be felt most sensibly. It cannot be an indifferent thing, or a matter of small moment. It is like altering the center of gravity. It is like transferring the fee simple of an estate. It is like putting your weapon of defence into another man's hand.

The 8th Article of Confœderation, after prescribing a rule for ascertaining the proportion of taxes to be paid by the several States, viz. according to the value of lands, buildings and improvements, provides "*That the taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the Authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States*". But the Impost of April 18th proposes "*to invest the United States in Congress Assembled with a power to levy for the use of the United States the following duties upon goods*" &c.<sup>13</sup> A compliance herewith will therefore transfer this *power to levy* money from "*the legislatures of the several States*" to the "*United States in Congress assembled.*" The importance of this transfer cannot be too maturely considered. The Consequence of this radical change in the constitution of this country cannot be too closely attended to. Let it be also observed that the million and an half called for annually, and for which credit is to be given to the particular States is also "*to be collected by persons appointed as aforesd.*" That is "*amenable only to Congress.*" So that in short the States are called to give to Congress not only the sum of two millions, four hundred and fifteen thousand, nine hundred and fifty six dollars annually; but also *the power of levying and collecting* the same from the citizens by such laws and by such ordinance and by such servants as to the sovereign and uncontrollable will of Congress shall seem best from time to time. For it is most clear that Congress will be clothed with full power to make and promulgate a code of criminal law to ensure the effectual collection of the monies granted. They will have power to revise, amend, alter, enlarge, extend or abridge their laws and ordinances from time to time as occasion or the spirit of the times may require. And if a committee can report and get the report accepted that the Impost is "*within the Spirit of the Confœderation*" And that "*the power to borrow money,*" which Congress undoubtedly have, "*by implication*" contains the power of levying it by an

Impost may not some future Committee equally ingenious discover that the power to make penal laws by implication contains the power to erect courts for the trial of offenders; and may you not thus, in the event, see continental taxes collected by continental officers, under the laws of Congress; and offenders against these laws, perhaps agreeably to the form of an ordinance already drawn up for that purpose by a committee of Congress, liable to be carried into any part of the United States for trial and that before continental judges appointed by Congress. Such in time might be the bitter fruit of this evil tree, a Continental Impost.

The State of Rhode-Island &c is called on, agreeable to its assigned proportion at the least to cloath Congress with the power to levy and collect in the aforesaid manner the sum of 52,520 dollars annually. If so much is to be raised within that little State *under authority and direction of Congress*; it may be asked how much in addition thereto can be levied and collected under the authority and direction of the legislature of the State? The answer to this question is very obvious. Of what consideration or weight then will our Genl. Assembly be in the Union, or even in the State, when they shall thus have divested themselves of the only power which makes them respectable? viz, that of raising money from the people. Will they not degenerate below the grade of *a Mayor, Alderman and Common Council of a paltry borough*? Will not therefore the General Assembly, in complying with the recommendation of the 18th of April, directly and to every intent & purpose vote their own annihilation? Such a vote is not to be expected from Freemen. The Assembly of Rhode-Island too well understand the nature of the trust committed to them by the choice and confidence of the people to abuse it by such a vote. Their power of taxing the people is delegated to them, and cannot be delegated to any foreign power, and such is Congress, in this point in view, as much as England or France. Nay the General Assembly have an equal right to give Congress to raise *all* the money to be raised from the people as they have to give them power to raise *so much*.

By the 9th article of Confœderation It is declared that the United States in Congress assembled shall have authority "*to borrow money or to emit bills on the credit of the United States.*" Experience has given proof of the judgment and discretion with which emitting bills has been conducted. The multiplicity of officers daily branching out in all the departments, together with their great salaries and perquisites, the prosecution and even prodigality in the expenditure of the paper money with which the continent was deluged, convinced the world that either Congress ought not to have had the power of emitting bills, or that they ought to have made a better use of it; and that nothing but a departure from their plighted faith could save the nation from ruin.

They have also a right "*to borrow money.*" Their domestic loan amounts to 11,463,804 dollars and their foreign loan to 7,885,085 dollars, in all 19,348,889 dollars. It is not necessary to suggest that any part of these loans either at home or abroad have been misapplied or that our European loans have not been accounted for by those who have done the public business in Europe: Indeed it ought to be mentioned that measures are taking to bring them to a strict account: the only remark to be made is that Congress have run the States in debt near 20 millions without applying to them; and may run them in debt in the same way 20 millions more if they can find use and obtain credit for the same; and nothing can check the wanton use of this power but their own moderation or a want of credit. With respect to the moderation of courts let us hear a late learned writer on the finances of G. Britain. "Nothing, says he can check the luxury and extravagance of a court but the want of means."

Should the credit of Congress be established as effectually as some people wish; by putting into their hands a permanent and independent revenue, the power to levy and collect it and the power to keep up standing forces in time of peace in addition to their powers of emitting bills and borrowing money; it might then be asked, with great propriety, what could set bounds to the luxury, and extravagance, or to the pride and ambition of the Court of the United States? What could limit the number, or measure the salaries of their civil list? What could prevent the introduction of pensioners, venality and corruption? Alas! the annual election of delegates would prove an ineffectual barrier to the torrent of debauchery! Might not the shortness of enjoyment provoke intemperance in the use of the power? Are not annual tenants commonly less careful of the tenement than tenants for life?

Three years in six delegates may set in Congress. The term of many members will expire next November. May not the old proverb "*make hay while the sun shines*" be adopted? What cabals, what juntos, what bandying into parties, what prostitution of votes may not take place in some future and corrupt Congress, to obtain places for themselves on their leaving Congress, or for their friends and dependents? In such dismal events, which gracious Heaven avert! will it not be sorely regretted by all good men that the States in the days of their infancy, credulity and folly parted with their most important power, the power of the purse and concentrated in Congress those dangerous powers, which never ought to be combined in a single deliberative and sovereign body of men.

On this argument a notable distinction is raised betwixt funds and revenues. A popular writer, who, in the abundance of his zeal, undertook to convince the State of Rhode-Island of the propriety of the late impost in a course of letters on that subject, and who since has ap-



plied to Congress to reward his services, and obtained a report, that a new office or place should be created for him with a handsome annual salary.<sup>14</sup> This writer has the credit of first raising this curious and important distinction, that revenues when appropriated become funds and cease to be revenues. It will not be thought prudent; nor is it necessary to shake the public faith in the resolves of Congress appropriating the Impost. Whoever casts his eyes over the doings of Congress in regard to money will discover a wo[e]ful versatility. The old money was issued at par. By the resolves of Mh. 18. 1780 it was to be called in at 40 for 1. Various attempts have been made of late to obtain a vote for redeeming it at 75 for 1; but they have hitherto failed, and at what rate it will be finally redeemed is not in the power of mortals to determin.

The Interest of the loan-office certificates issued before the first of March 1778 was to be paid in bills on France: their payment has been intirely stopped. The requisition of Novr. 2nd. 1781—for the current services of 1782, which was expressly appropriated, among other things, for payment of the wages due to the army for that year is to be diverted, it would seem, to another year for the army is turned over to the funded debt for their whole pay to the end of 1783.

Other instances might be produced to shew that Congress have been frequently necessitated to depart from their resolves and appropriations of money; and is it supposable that no contingency will occur to justify, in the opinion of some future Congress, a departure from the resolve of the 16th day of Decr. last? Surely much faith is requisite to enable a man with his eyes open to answer in the negative.

The above observations tend also to prove the propriety and necessity of the particular States keeping their funds and revenues under their own direction, and subject only to their own particular appropriation for it is a maxim founded on great experience that no order of men in a State can be competent in all events to manage the affairs thereof in regard to collecting and appropriating its revenues unless they are also clothed with the full powers of legislation.

For almost three years have the counsels of America and public measures been embarrassed with new-fangled schemes and projects, and during this time it has been the interest, if not the endeavour, of the abettors thereof to obstruct constitutional measures and defeat their success, in order to give force to their arguments, and to add weight to their scale. It is much to be wished that the Great Council of this nation would abandon the pursuit of new systems and measures and seriously apply themselves to the resources of this country; in that mode and in that only which is pointed out in and warranted by confederation. A doubt cannot be entertained but that the resources of this country are fully equal to all the just demands of the public.



The exertions of the States, their loans, their advances in specific articles, their monied payments and their personal services in the course of the late war; even before their respective governments had been established or acquired their present tone and energy leave no room to doubt that the present constitution is sufficiently organized and happily calculated to draw from the people the necessary contributions. Should a fair trial of the powers of the present Constitution of the United States be had for a few years in time of peace and should they be found ineffectual, then and not until then will it be prudent to attempt any innovations.

It should be rememberd that next March is assigned by a resolve of Congress of the seventeenth day of February for apportioning to the several States their quotas of the public charges from the beginning until the year 1789 agreeably to the 8th article of confœderation.<sup>15</sup> This ought to be considered as an object of great importance; and your delegates confide that the State they represent will send forward in due time the data required by said resolve, on which a constitutional apportionment of the public expences may be grounded.

By a resolve of Congress of the 18th of April last a proposition has gone forth to the States to alter the 8th article of confœderation.<sup>16</sup> It is proposed to alter the rule for apportioning the public expence from that of "*the value of all lands, buildings and improvements therein*" to that of "*the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants of every age, sex and condition including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing discription except Indians not paying taxes in each State.*" On this proposition it may be observed that altho' it may be nearly true that the riches of a country generally keeps pace with its population yet a distinction ought to be taken in the instance in question; for from local circumstances and particular occupations, and ways of living in the several States, of which the American union consists, this proposition may not be true when applied individually to them. A certain portion of soil is necessary to every farmer. It is found to be injurious to the interest of agriculture to have land cut into too small as well as too large portions in the hands of individuals; wherefore in process of time as the people increase they resort to places convenient for trade and manufactures, leaving the lands to be cultivated by a competent number. Hence the people in commercial and manufacturing towns become very numerous. Should this observation be applied to the State of Rhode-Island &c, compared with the other States in the fœderal union will not a presumption arise that the proposed alteration in the fifth Article of Confœderation would work an injury to that State? It may also be observed that the personal estate and effects are not to be taken into the estimate agreeably to the present rule any further than they give additional value to

the lands &c in the respective States; for which reason the proposed alteration of the rule to numbers would make it bear harder on commercial and manufacturing States.

However various the sentiments of people may be about the propriety of the above observation it will be readily allowed on all hands that the present State of the comparative numbers and wealth of Rhode-Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, not to mention any other States, strongly favour them.

Their present numbers would afford a ratio of taxation for Rhode-Island to Massachusetts as 1 to 7, for Rhode-Island to Connecticut as 1 to 4 nearly: An inequality too obvious to find any advocates one would imagin even in those States. It is not to be doubted but that the rule in Confœderation would at present be more in favour of the State of Rhode-Island as well as more just and equitable: And whether the same causes which affect the comparative number and wealth of the different States will not in future have a proportional operation must be left to eventful time to disclose.

Besides if numbers are to be the rule ought not all the blacks in the Southern States to be taken into the census? The nett produce of the labour of a black in those States is, at least, double to that of a common white labourer in the eastern States. Further and which merits serious attention, innovations in established constitutions ought to be cautiously guarded against. One alteration in the Confœderation may be a precedent for and produce a second, these a third and so on until that system founded in the republican principles of the Eastern States shall be utterly annihilated.

It is under consideration and will probably be carried, that the Loan-office certificates shall be liquidated agreeably to the Scale of Congress; and that the keepers of the Loan-offices be directed to issue certificates for one years interest due on said certificates and on all other liquidated debts, to be receivable in payment of the requisition of 4th Sept. 1782.<sup>17</sup> By a provision in that requisition the demands in the States respectively for interest are first to be paid and the surplusage only sent to the fœderal Treasury; your delegates will not lose sight of this beneficial provision until they obtain the regulations necessary to facilitate its operation.

The settlement of the public accounts meets with various obstructions; partly owing, it is said, to the difficulty of obtaining suitable persons to act as Commissioners, partly to the confusion with which much of the public business has been transacted, and partly from the difficulty of fixing particular and certain rules for the conduct of the Commissioners.

It is hoped that the importance of the subjects on which we have treated in this letter will apologize for its length, and that the candour of

the General Assembly will impute the freedom with which their delegates have disclosed their minds to their zeal in the service of the State.

We are with the highest sentiments of respect for your Excellency, and the State which we have the honor to represent in Congress, Your Excellency's most obedt. Servants,

William Ellery

David Howell

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors). Written by Ellery and signed by Ellery and Howell.

<sup>1</sup> Ellery composed this lengthy letter to explain the principal issues that had come before Congress since the last Rhode Island delegate letter to Governor Greene of May 28, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 24:457-77.

<sup>3</sup> For Benjamin Franklin's April 15 letter communicating this intelligence, see *PCC*, item 82, 2:365-78; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:372-73, 377-80.

<sup>4</sup> See David Howell to Thomas G. Hazard, August 26, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See James Duane to George Clinton, August 21, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Actually April 25, or April 14 "Old Style," for which see Duane to Clinton, August 21, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> Actually October 6. See Elias Boudinot to the States, June 10, 1783.

<sup>9</sup> The question "whether any" such powers "exist in Congress" had been raised by Howell himself on August 27 during debate on a motion offered by Theodorick Bland for taking into consideration the "forming a military peace establishment." See *JCC*, 24:524-25.

<sup>10</sup> "He who enjoys the benefit ought also to bear the burden." *Latin for Lawyers, Containing . . . Legal Maxims and Phrases . . .* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1915), p. 230.

<sup>11</sup> For this proclamation, which was adopted on September 22, see *JCC*, 24:505-6, 528, 25:602.

<sup>12</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3.

<sup>13</sup> See *JCC*, 24:257; and Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>14</sup> A committee report recommending "That Thomas Paine Esqr. be appointed Historiographer to the United States" had been submitted to Congress on August 18. *JCC*, 24:512-13. For Paine's efforts "to convince the State of Rhode Island of the propriety of the last impost," see Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 7:78-93.

<sup>15</sup> See *JCC*, 24:133-37.

<sup>16</sup> See Rhode Island Delegates to Greene, April 23, note.

<sup>17</sup> See Abiel Foster to Meshech Weare, August 11, note, and September 3, note 2.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir

Princeton Sept. 8th. 1783

This Post brought us no Letter from your Excellency, & little has occurred with us since our last communications, worthy your attention.

A recent letter recd. by the Secretary of War from Genl. Irvine, commanding at Fort Pitt informs that a body of abt 400 Men, from the Western Frontier of Virginia, had passed the Ohio, in order to establish a settlement on the Muskingum. The General apprehends,

that an immediate Indian War, will be among the first of the many evil consequences that must result from such lawless measures.<sup>1</sup>

Intelligence received by a missionary, lately sent in order to communicate the substance of the Articles of pacification to the Indian nations, gives great weight to the surmises of General Irvine. This Person was well received by Brigr. Genl. McClene, the british officer cmdg. at Detroit, (altho prevented from holding a council with the Indians,) Who communicated to him the purport of intelligence which he had recd. by an Indian runner from our Western Country, & which he had transmitted to General Haldimand. The substance of this was that the Virginians had passed the Ohio, & had committed many wanton & unprovoked acts of cruelty that had in some measure produced retaliation.<sup>2</sup>

Baron Steuben is just arriv'd here from Canada whither he had been sent, in order to make arrangements with General Haldimand, for the reception of the Posts ceded on our north western Frontier.<sup>3</sup> The purposes of his mission have been totally frustrated, as that Officer, (who met him at Sorrel) alledged he had recd. no orders from his Court except to cease hostilities—And that he considered the late pacification so far conditional untill a definitive Treaty that he did not think himself authorized to permit the Baron even to visit the Posts—which (it seems) cannot now (were orders recd. for that purpose) be evacuated untill the ensuing Season.<sup>4</sup>

The evacuation of New York advances rapidly notwithstanding, the number of those inhabitants whose fears have of late determined them, to accompany the Garrison. Their apprehensions exaggerated by doubt on one hand by the policy of the enemy & on the other by the publications which have of late appeared in the American Papers, will probably terminate in the sudden establishment of a very rich & powerful neighbour to the United States & certainly a very inimical one.

A Committee was appointed by the Legislature of Virginia at a former session, to state her claim to the Western territory. This business we believe now rests with Mr. Randolph & we wish to be informed of the progress which that Gentleman has made in it.<sup>5</sup>

We have the honor to be with great respect & esteem, Yr. Excellency's  
Most obedient & very humble Servants,

John F Mercer

Theok. Bland Jr.

A. Lee

RC (Vi: Continental Congress Papers). Written by Mercer and signed by Mercer, Bland, and Lee. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:300–301.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter of August 17 Gen. William Irvine had warned Benjamin Lincoln that "great numbers of Men have crossed the Ohio, and have made actual settlements in different places from the River Muskingum to Wabash" which would "in all probability renew the Indian War." Irvine's letter had been read in Congress on September 3 and referred to an existing committee on Indian affairs chaired by James Duane which re-

ported September 19 although it was not noted in the journals. See *JCC*, 25:534n.2; *PCC*, item 149, 3:179–84, item 186, fol. 21; and Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson, September 5, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> On May 1 Congress had directed secretary at war Benjamin Lincoln to inform the Indian nations of the cessation of hostilities, for which see Thomas FitzSimons to John Dickinson, May 4, 1783, note. Lincoln accordingly had sent Maj. Ephraim Douglass as a “missionary” to the tribes in the Ohio country and Col. John Bull to the Iroquois tribes in New York and he had transmitted their reports to Congress which referred them to committees considering Indian affairs. Douglass had been “well received” by Brig. Gen. Allan Maclean, at Niagara rather than Detroit where Lt. Col. Arent Schuyler DePeyster was in command. See *PCC*, item 149, 3:61–69, 109–10, 135–74, 187–94, item 185, 3:73, 74, 76, item 186, fols. 112, 118–20. See also Frank H. Severance, “The Niagara Peace Mission of Ephraim Douglass in 1783,” *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* 18 (1914): 115–42.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot’s first letter to Washington, July 8, 1783, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Steuben’s August 23 report of his conferences with Gen. Frederick Haldimand at Sorel, Quebec, and other documents were enclosed in General Washington’s August 30 letter to Congress which was read on September 1 and referred to a committee chaired by Ralph Izard that was later discharged. See *JCC*, 25:532n.1; *PCC*, item 152, 11:449–76, item 186, fol. 121; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:123–24. See also John M. Palmer, *General von Steuben* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 312–14.

<sup>5</sup> For Edmund Randolph’s role in preparing Virginia’s vindication of her western land claims, see these Letters, 18:404n.6; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7: 360n.2.

## Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin

Sir, Philadelphia 9th Sept. 1783

Being by accident at this City and an Opportunity offering, I do myself the honor of enclosing a duplicate of the ratification of the Treaty with Sweden, the original of which I transmitted some time since;<sup>1</sup> but not having the copy of the letter attending it by me, I am prevented from sending the duplicate of it, unless this opportunity is risked.

I am happy to enclose you some resolutions of the Assembly of Pennsylvania by which you will see, that all the difficulties that arose on Account of the mutiny have happily subsided, without producing the least ill consequence.<sup>2</sup>

The Soldiers were very penitent and two of the Serjeants are now under Sentence of death, but I believe will be pardoned by Congress on account of the means used by Capt. Carberry and Lieutenant Sullivan to induce those poor Wretches to behave as they did, under expectations of great personal advantages. I hope these two Officers will meet with proper detestation from all good Men.

I have the honor to be &c.

E.B.

LB (DNA: *PCC*, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to Franklin, August 15, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For these resolutions presented by the Pennsylvania delegates on September 1, inviting Congress to return to Philadelphia and offering protection and jurisdictional authority as “they deem necessary to be vested in them,” see *JCC*, 25:530–31.



## David Howell to William Greene

Dear Sir,

Princeton Sept. [9?] 1783.<sup>1</sup>

No Letters have been received from abroad since my last to Gov. Bowen<sup>2</sup> excepting a Letter laid before Congress by Genl. Washington from Chev. Jean de Heintz, Secry of the *Order of Divine Providence* in Poland. This appears to be an order of dignity in Europe; tho of modern Institution. It consists of three Classes. 1st *Chevaliers grand croix*. 2d *Chevaliers Commandeurs*. 3d *Chevaliers petit croix*. The expences of Initiation are for the first 110 Ducats: for the second 55 Ducats: for the 3d 30 Ducats. "The knights of this order, says the Letter, sensibly touched with the visible & efficacious interposition of *Divine Providence* in protecting the 13 States of North America & in giving them the force necessary to resist tyranny & to establish Liberty, the rights of man & of nature" have thought proper to address themselves to the Hero of the age—praying him to lay before Congress the following proposal. That Congress should name 12 of the most worthy for each of the three classes of the order—in all 36, To be created, *Knights of the order of Divine Providence*.<sup>3</sup>

Congress have not acted upon this matter yet. On perusing the Confederation, you will judge for yourself how far a compliance, even so far as to *nominate*, or *recommend* persons to this knighthood would be an infraction thereof.

By direction of Congress Gen. Washington is now in attendance at this place. An House is taken for him at Rocky Hill about 4½ miles off. He has had an Audience with Congress, for the particular *Etiquette* whereof I must refer you to my last Letter to my worthy friend Dr. Arnold.<sup>4</sup> The public papers will give you our address & his reply. He was sent for to be consulted on the arrangements necessary for a time of peace. Some hints on which policy you will also observe in Dr. Arnolds Letter aforsd. In consequence of a polite card from his Excellency the General to his Excellency the President—The latter, with all the present members, Chaplains & great officers of Congress had the Honor of dining at the Generals Table last Friday. The Tables were spread under a Marquis, or tent taken from the British. The repast was elegant—but the Generals Company crowned the whole. As I had the fortune to be seated facing the General; I had the pleasure of hearing all his Conversation. The President of Congress was seated on his right & the minister of France on his left.

I observed with much pleasure that the Generals front was uncommonly open & pleasant—the contracted, pensive Air betokening deep thought & much care, which I noticed on Prospect Hill in 1775 is done away; & a pleasant smile sparkling vivacity of wit & humour succeeds. It will please you to hear the following which occur out of

many. On the president observing that in the present Situation of our affairs he believed that *Mr. Morris had his HANDS full*, The General replied at the same Instant—“*He wished he had his POCKETS full too.*” On Mr. Peters (from Pennsylvania) observing that the man who made those cups (for we drank wine out of silver cups) was turned a Quaker preacher—The General replied that “*He wished he had been a Quaker preacher before he had made the cups.*” You must also have the French Ministers remark on the Generals Humour—“You ’tink de penitence wou’d have been good for de cups.”

Congress have ordered an Equestrian Statue of General Washington to be erected at the place where they may establish their permanent residence. No honor short of those, which the Deity vindicates to himself, can be too great for Gen. Washington.

Little business has been done since my arrival here owing to an incomplete representation. It is not expected that much will be done before a new Congress shall meet in November next. Congress will, I believe spend the winter here, or at Annapolis. I think they have bid a final farewell to Philadelphia. Tho’ no art, or exertion will be left untried by Philadelphia to draw us back.

I have been hammering, out doors, on the Subject of the Western territory—hope in a few days a step will be taken by proclamation,<sup>5</sup> &c. as hinted in my last Letter to Gov. Bowen. Quere—Should Congress agree to establish their residence for 15 years at or near Fort Pitt, would it not raise our back lands so high as to buy up nearly all our domestic Securities? The back Country is settling with amazing rapidity. It is told me by a person of information that Mr M.<sup>6</sup> is at the head of the two great Companies of land-jobbers, Viz. *the Indiana, & Vandalia*. You may remember some strokes in certain letters written to the State—as well as that in Mr. P.<sup>7</sup> I have transmitted to Mr. Thomson all the information I have been able to obtain about the mode in which the public accounts are to be settled; as well as on the Subject of what will be proper charges. A Committee have the Subject under consideration. Their report shall be sent in due time. I fear sufficient attention is not paid to the Settlement of accounts & other practicable means of giving ease & satisfaction to the Creditors of the public. A curt reply on this head with some Gentlemen is—*It is of more importance to obtain funds to pay them when settled.* Everything is calculated to alarm the public creditors, & to enlist them in favour of the late revenue recommendations.

The Subject of the *old money* was resumed last Friday, after debating it a whole day nothing was done. It will be resumed tomorrow.<sup>8</sup> The enclosed account will inform you how much has been paid by each State—and how much they are respectively deficient.<sup>9</sup> The Delegates from Massachusetts (who, by the by, are good men & honest republicans & with us in all measures) assure us that there are in that State

now no less than about 47 millions of old money; & you will see that they have paid in their Quota.

I cannot pretend to foretell what will be done; but I have not the disposition of many on this head. You will see that the Southern States have been delinquent; & I fear are too much disposed to punish us for doing our duty. How much, think you, have we of the old emissions?

With the most perfect Consideration, I am, dear Sir, your Friend, & hble Servt.

David Howell

P.S. I hope Cozen Jimmy will write me whether he will be a Knight of 110—55—or 30 Ducats?

RC (R-Ar: Letters to Governors).

<sup>1</sup> Although Howell omitted the day from this dateline, the contents of the letter indicate it was probably written on September 9.

<sup>2</sup> Not found.

<sup>3</sup> This proposal had been laid before Congress with an August 28 letter from General Washington enclosing one to him from the chevalier Jean de Heintz, dated Warsaw, May 13, 1783. The chevalier's letter, with a small pamphlet on the "L'Ordre Institute de Honeur de la Providence Divine," was referred to a committee on August 29 which reported on September 11, but Congress did not take up the matter until January 5, 1784. At that time it was resolved "that Congress cannot, consistently with the principles of the Confederation, accept of their obliging proposal ['to nominate suitable persons to be created Knights of the Order of Divine Providence']." See *JCC*, 25:528n.3, 26:7; *PCC*, item 152, 11:439–48; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:119–20.

<sup>4</sup> Not found, but see Howell to Thomas Hazard, August 26, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Rhode Island Delegates to Greene, September 8, note 11.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Morris.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified.

<sup>8</sup> See *JCC*, 25:536–37, 541–45.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently the "Account of Payments made by the States to the Receivers" on their 1782 quotas, "until the first day of July last," which Robert Morris submitted with an August 1, 1783, letter to Congress that is in *PCC*, item 137, 2:751–61. As Rhode Island had paid \$49,764 on its quota of \$216,684, its rate of payment exceeded that of every state but South Carolina. *Ibid.*, fols. 757, 761.

## Elbridge Gerry to Samuel R. Gerry

Dear Comr.

Princetown 11th Sepr 1783

I am favoured with yours of the 24th of August, & have a Moment to reply. I am happy to hear of the Welfare of all Friends, except little Tomboy; & at this Distance cannot advise to any Measures for recovery of his Health, exempting an Abstinence from Meat in general & Butter, & from all Medicine except Flower of Brimstone; & that he use freely puddings, vegetables, & light Soups with whey.

I observe that Colo Lee offers half of the Town Wharf on the Terms he purchased—pray give my Compliments to him & inform him I shall probably take it on my Return.

[...] <sup>1</sup> nearly loaded & will sail [...] Boston—or for New York [...] made for his Vessel & Cargo. [...] net & Montagu are sold [...] the Cost, as they could not be [...]

I observe Briles is arrived—the sooner You sell his Flower the better.

Desire Colo J. Gerry to supply You with 5 or 6 Cord of Wood on the Receipt of this Letter, which is a sufficient order.

I am happy to hear of the great Success in the Fishery, & wish to be relieved from publick Cares, to search for domestic Happiness; but all Things are not yet right, that relate to the Revolution.

The definitive Treaty was not yet negotiated by the last Account from Europe; but the Evacuation of N York, cannot I think be long delayed.

Deliver the inclosed Letter to Mrs Gerry & with my Love to Betsy & Tomboy, & Regards to all Friends be assured. . . .<sup>2</sup>

RC (MHi: Gerry Collection). In the hand of Elbridge Gerry.

<sup>1</sup> RC damaged, 3 to 5 words missing from each of 6 lines.

<sup>2</sup> Closing and signature clipped.

## Samuel Holten to John Avery

Dear Sir.

Princeton, 11th Sepr. 1783.

I have been favored with your attention of the 14 ultimo. The smallest apology is considered by me sufficient for your not honoring me with an address sooner, when I take into consideration the delicate & kind reason you are pleased to assign for the same; and possibly some of my other friends at Masstts. were actuated from similar motives, in not giving me the earliest notice of the change that had taken place in the delegation, but it was forwarded from the city of N.Y. very soon, & came to hand sometime before any accts. of it were received from Boston.

I should write to you, my sentiments upon the commutation, had I not lately done it to several of the Honble Council, which I have no doubt you are acquainted with;<sup>1</sup> you may suppose the disapprobation of our constituents is not a matter of indifference with me, but what adds to it, is, that it respects a matter that I had taken such particular pains to serve them in, & fully expecting their aprobation in the exchange of half pay for the comutation for many reasons that might be mentioned not only to the states in genl. but to Masstts. in particular which makes the disappointment the greater.

The definitive treaty is not yet come to hand and it is said here that it was not signed about seven weeks since; I have done expecting it, for the present, as our Ministers have done writing about it, for in their last letters they do not so much as mention it.

Your approbation of the conduct of Congress in removing from Phila. confirms me more in the opinion that they were right but great

pains have been, & are taking to get us to return, & tomorrow we are to determine upon the place of our temporary residence 'till Congress shall fix upon the place of her permanent abode.

The remonstrance from Masstts. has been largely considered in Congress, and we insist upon the Salaries to the civil Officers being lowered, as the grants were made when the charges of living & necessities of life were much higher than they now are, & I believe we shall succeed in this business: And we are also endeavoring to make the commutation more agreeable to Masstts. if possible, but whether we shall succeed in this I consider as very uncertain, but my colleagues as well as myself are desirous of doing all in their power to satisfy the good people of Masstts.<sup>2</sup>

I have endeavored to comply with your wishes respecting the three letters, you are pleas'd to mention,<sup>3</sup> but can't find any person here that can give me any information respecting them, but I shall continue my endeavors as it always gives me pleasure to render you services.

I am, with sincere respect, your obliged friend & huml Servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Holten to Aaron Wood, July 31, to Samuel Adams, August 14, to James Sullivan, August 29, and to Abraham Fuller, September 4, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

## Samuel Holten to Aaron Wood

Dear sir.

Princeton, 11th. Sepr. 1783.

I have receiv'd your obliging favor of the 18th ultimo. & you will please to accept my thanks for the same.

No doubt you have taken notice in the newspapers, that General Washington is attending Congress, or lives near them for the present; having the honor to be chairman of the committee to confer with him upon the peace arrangement,<sup>1</sup> I find he has much at heart, the laying out & settling the back country, as the people are in large numbers, pushing out into the country, & settling upon the lands, without any title; he mentioned to me, a few days since, in conversation, that it was his opinion, that in five years from this time, there would be a severe war in that part of the country, unless great attention was paid by Government to the settlement of the same; but Congress have great embarrassments in this business, as well as every thing else of importance, that comes under their consideration; a question arises, whether there is any land within the boundaries of the U.S. that is not the property of some one State; some of the large states seem to be willing to make cessions to the union, but the small states are not will-



ing to accept them, but insist upon each state having its boundaries fixed & determined, and then have the remainder divided among the states, or considered as the property of the U.S. & disposed of accordingly.

An other difficulty we have to encounter, is, what troops shall be kept up in time of peace, & whether they are to be raised & kept up under the immediate direction of Congress, or whither they are to be state troops kept up by the state that raise them for their defence, by the permission of Congress; you will naturally say, it must be done agreeably to the confederation, that is the very difficulty, for could we construe our constitution alike we should not have so much trouble in doing the public business.

I have been in hopes for some months past that the definitive treaty wou'd come to hand & be finished before I left Congress, & a number of other very important matters, that are now before Congress wou'd be determined upon, but such are the embarrassments, of one kind & another, it is altogether uncertain, as to the time, when business will be finished in Congress; however, I shall continue my attention (while I tarry) to the important business, that so much respects my constituents, namely, old money, commutation, &c. &c. yet I have but little expectation, that any thing will be done upon these affairs at present, & it is not my wish that the Honorable Court should tax my constituents, by imposts, or any other way for the use of Congress, 'till they will decide upon several important matters that are before them, which so much respects the State of Massachusetts, & I believe Congress have but little expectation, that much more money may be expected from our State, before something is done upon these matters, surely they do not, if they think we speak the sense of our constituents, which I believe we do. I am, with very great respect, your most obedient,

S. Holten

RC (MSaE: Holten Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Holten to Samuel Dexter, August 7, note.

## James McHenry to Margaret Caldwell

*Princeton 11 Sept. 1783.* "Even the walls of a college do not exempt from the passion of love. But I will tell my dear Peggy, what gave rise to this sentiment. Last Monday in going through the lobby or passage that leads to the room where Congress sometimes makes riddles and sometimes resolutions, I said softly to myself and in a kind of reverie—our hearts I hope can never be so circumstanced as to forbid their feelings being reciprocally communicated. I would have proceeded, but some body from one of the students apartments interrupted my

reverie by repeating from Pope those beautiful lines in his *Abelard* and *Eloise* so replete with love and expressive of the powers of letters. The affecting tenderness of the voice fixed me for a moment as a listener, and I thought I could discover the reader to be a lover even before he had pronounced

speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul  
and waft a sigh from Indus to the pole!<sup>1</sup>

"I had just got seated among my brave brethren, and was reflecting on the oddity of two such incidents so nearly related, happening at the same time, when Dr. Williamson stalked into the room and stepping up to where I was sitting, handed me your brothers letter with as much frigidity of manner as if it had contained no earthly thing or any value. Surely, said I, speaking a second time to myself, while I took out the jewel the letter inclosed and put it into my bosom. The divinity of chance has been at work all this morning to divert himself and to render me happy. So saying I retired to a corner of the room to read what my beloved had written. . . ."

RC (MdHi: McHenry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard*, l. 57.

## Massachusetts Delegates to Massachusetts Assembly Committee

Gentlemen,

Prince Town 11th Sept. 1783.

We perceive by a Letter to Congress of the 11th of July last,<sup>1</sup> from the honorable Legislature of the Commonwealth, that it was their Intention, at their next Session, to consider the Expediency of granting an Impost, & to determine on other important Matters, relative to the fœderal Union: And in aid of their Decisions, We think it our Duty to transmit the best Information that can be had of the Disposition of Congress, respecting the old Emissions, the Reduction of the civil List Establishment, & the half pay or Commutation.

The proceedings of Congress of the 7th of January last, on a Report for sinking those Emissions were contain'd in a Letter of the 11th of February last from the Delegates to the General Court,<sup>2</sup> & will also appear by the printed Journals transmitted to the Governor & Council: And having again lately agitated the Matter,<sup>3</sup> We have not been able after a long Debate, to obtain a decided Vote, neither have We the prospect of effecting, what We conceive to be an equitable Issue.

Many States appear indisposed to take any Measures on the Subject—some propose to fix the Depretiation at 500 for l—and others to average the Rate, at which the Money passed in the several States, previ-

ous to the Stoppage of the Circulation: And in this Diversity of Sentiment, is the Matter at present suspended.

We think, that agreeable to the plighted Faith of Congress, the old Emissions should be called in at 40 for 1 & funded Certificates dated May 1781, when the Circulation ceased, should be issued in Payment—or to do equal Justice to the Holders, that the Money should be sunk by a Tax on the deficient States, for their respective quotas of the extant Bills; or for the Amount thereof in Specie at 75 for 1: and the Specie be applied to the Redemption of those Bills, with Interest from the Date abovementioned.

The principal Arguments in Support of not taking any Measures on the Subject, or of fixing the Depretiation at 500 for 1 were these—That the Inhabitants of the delinquent States had been Holders of considerable Sums of the old Emissions, but had parted with them about the Time of their ceasing to circulate, at a Depretiation of 500 to 1200 for 1—that Speculators from other States had purchased the Money—that if deficient States were required to sink their quotas at 40 or even at 75 for 1, great Injustice would be done to their Citizens, who would never submit to such a Tax; that if Speculators from other States had gained an advantage over those of Massachusetts, the latter must sustain the Loss—& that, if the Inhabitants of a State have by any Means engrossed more than their quotas of that Money, they must submit to the Consequences.

The proposition for ascertaining the Value, by averaging the current Rate of the Emissions about the Time of their ceasing to circulate, was supported on the principle, that previous to the War, when any Legislature had issued Bills & they depreiated, the current Value was usually ascertained, & a Tax levied for sinking them according to that Value; & that the Measure appearing just, was always acquiesced in by the Inhabitants.

In answer to these Arguments, & in support of our own propositions, We have, amongst other Considerations, urged—that in March, 1780, Congress finding that their Bills of Credit had depreiated rapidly, ascertained their Value for the express purpose of sinking them, & apportioned the Amount thereof on the Several States—that this apportionment, was thus far a Division of the national Debt, with a proviso that the quotas should be revised & finally adjusted by the Confederation—that the State of Massachusetts complied with the Requisition for sinking those Emissions, in full Confidence, that other States would have done the same—that every State was in Justice bound to tax for its quota, & had this been done, the Depretiation would not have encreased much above 40, & by no Means above 75 for 1—that therefore the Inhabitants of the delinquent States should sustain the Losses arising from their Delinquency; that at the Rate of 75 for 1 the Money was current in Massachusetts a Day or two before it

stopped, & large quantities were received by the Inhabitants of that State, (without notice of its Depretiation) from the Inhabitants of other States—that previous to that Time the Money could not be refused, at its fixed Value, because agreeable to the Recommendations of Congress, it was a legal Tender—that previous to the War when the Depretiation was fixed, & Bills called in, the Legislatures never varied from that Depretiation, to favour Towns or Counties that neglecting to levy the Tax, had produced a greater Depretiation—that if the Inhabitants of any State were by Surprise induced to part with their Bills of Credit below the established Value, at which the Bills were called in, their Want of confidence in Government could never with propriety operate, to diminish the Value of the Money in the Hands of those who retained that Confidence—that when Congress fixed the Depretiation at 40 for 1 Justice to the publick required the Measure, because the Bills were at that Rate on an average issued by the publick; but after March 1780, a few only of the old Bills being reissued by Congress, & at a Depretiation not greater than 75 for 1, no Loss accrued to the publick by the extra Depretiation—that if the whole public Debt was in funded Securities, & by a Valuation apportioned on the several States, as well might Congress require a State, which had collected its full proportion of those securities, to levy a new Tax on the Inhabitants for Securities in their Hands, being the quotas of other States, as refuse in the present case to call on the delinquent States to redeem their quotas of the old Emissions. These are some of the principal Arguments on both sides, but it would require too much time to arrange them, or recapitulate the whole that has been advanced on the Subject.

With Respect to the Remonstrance of the Legislature, upon the Establishment of the civil List, & half pay or Commutation, a Report has been made & debated, but being no ways adequate to the purpose, another has been brot in for the Reduction of some Salaries,<sup>4</sup> whereby a Door will be opened for the Reduction of such others as are excessive. The last Report also proposes a plan for enabling Massachusetts, and other States in similar Circumstances to adopt Measures for effecting a Compromise with their officers, but We have no great Expectation from present appearances that anything [Satis]factory will be done on either Head.

We have stated to Congress our apprehensions, that it is the Intention of the Delegates from some of the States to postpone a Decision on these important Subjects, in order to obtain a previous Grant of the Impost from the State of Massachusetts, & a Collection of other Taxes, & then to give a Negative to the whole; and We have also given it as our opinion to Congress that no Impost will be granted by our Constituents neither will they continue to supply the publick Treasury, unless their Grievances are redressed. We have been thus explicit

from considering that whenever a Disposition appears in Congress to delay or withhold Justice from the States, that Disposition must be checked, or it may tend to a Dissolution of the Union; & as the public Supplies are furnished by the States, [each State has a con]stitutional Check,<sup>5</sup> [by withholding grants,] untill Justice is [obtained by a redress] of Grievances.

[We shall continue] our Exertions by firm but moderate Measures, to promote the Veiws of the honorable Legislature in the premisses, & rely on their aid in Support of those Measures.

We have the Honor to be Gentlemen with perfect Respect, your most obedt. & huml Servts.

E. Gerry

S. Holten

S. Higginson

RC (M-Ar: Revolutionary War Letters). Written by Gerry and signed by Gerry, Higginson, and Holten. Addressed: "Honble Samuel Adams Esqr & other Members of the Committee for Corresponding with the Del[ega]tes of Massa[chusetts]."

<sup>1</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Massachusetts Delegates to John Hancock, February 11, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> See David Howell to William Greene, September 9, note 8.

<sup>4</sup> For these committee reports of September 2 and 8 on the Massachusetts "Remonstance" of July 11, see Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3. For the debate on the expense of the civil list, see also Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, September 17 and 18, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> RC torn; missing words supplied from the April 22, 1784, issue of the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), where this letter was subsequently published. Its publication was part of a campaign to discredit the members of this committee after it was discovered that they had withheld it from the Assembly to ensure the state's approval of the Continental impost, for which see Gerry to Holten, December 20, 1783, note 2.

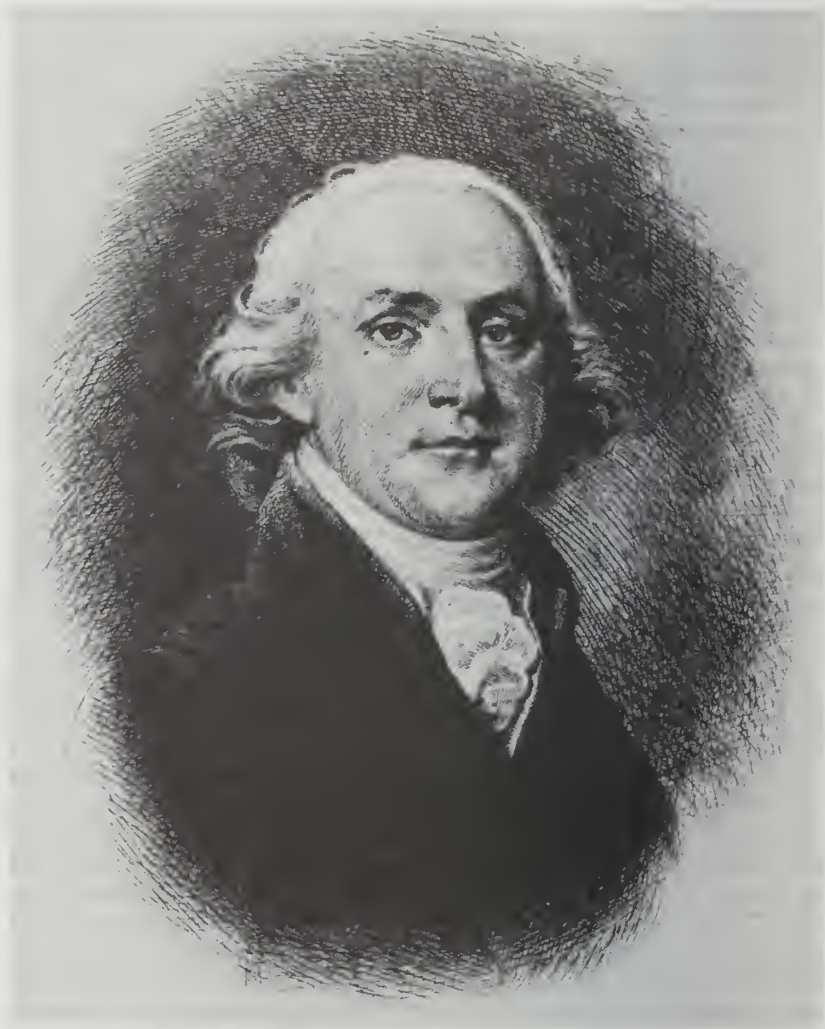
## John Francis Mercer to the Public

[September 11? 1783]

The North-American.<sup>1</sup> No. I.

The British Empire in America (prior to the late revolution) in the progress of population, and rapid encrease of wealth and power, had no paralel in the annals of mankind. These are proofs of the influence of mild and gentle forms of government, and of an happy state of civil society, which must enforce conviction in every candid and enlightened mind, and which however of late discoloured by British insolence and barbarity, and veiled by necessary prejudices, may in the present stage of the contest, meet with the unreserved acknowledgements of the most strenuous assertors of American independence. The principles too of political liberty, deeply rooted in the first establishments of the colonies, had flourished with such unrestrained luxuriance, that





John Francis Mercer

the anticipation of distant tyranny gave birth to opposition more firm and unanimous, than the iron rod of despotism wielded with unrelenting fury, had ever roused mankind to, in other climes.

The independence of the Thirteen States, has added *dignity* to our government, but if for *this* our peace and social happiness are to be exchanged; the splendor of sovereignty will only rescue from obscurity the wretchedness of our citizens, and transmit a melancholy lesson, to future age, never to desert solid systems which have yielded freedom and tranquility, to pursue the dreams and phantoms of theory and speculation.

It is indulgence to the present civil institutions of America, when we only say, that they are cursed with the impotence of old age, when they should enjoy the vigor of youth.

If the authors of the revolution, who now survive, view peace with Britain, as the completion of their object, and sink into supineness, whilst the horrors of anarchy and domestic confusion succeed a dissolution of the strict bonds of the former government, the bitter execrations of their fellow citizens, who see violence and discord purchased at the expence of their blood and treasure, will be their first reward, and that posterity, on whom they have entailed misery, when happiness was their birth-right, will perpetuate the infamy of their names.

It becomes them then, boldly to stand forth, and by one generous effort to accomplish the work they have begun. Let them by a government adequate to the ends of society, secure those blessings to which the virtues, sacrifices and sufferings of America have an undeniable claim. Let them do this—and then, when corroding time, shall separate pure and immortal virtues from attendant frailties, which at first obscure their lustre—when envy and jealousy shall be no more—a just and grateful fame will rank them amidst those idolized patriots of Greece and Rome, whose names antiquity has already consecrated at her venerable shrine. The eye of posterity will hang with a fervid glow of admiration over the historic page, which paints the patriots of this infant world. A world where reason early diffused her illuminated empire, and reflection became the parent of virtues, which in the savage and remote ages of Europe were the offspring of violence, or the ebullition of ungovernable passion.

Our governments were framed in the moment of turbulence and war—hasty productions on the spur of exigency, they can only be considered as the necessary but temporary instruments, to work out the revolution. Their most enlightened framers viewed them at their formation, but as the foundations of permanent systems, to be reared in peace and tranquility. Six years experience has now unfolded their imperfections and defects, and the acknowledgement of our independence has developed prospects, which (pending the contest) were obscured by the clouded uncertainty of the event.

This then is the auspicious moment! At an æra so awful and so critical, it is the design of this address deliberately to investigate and to expose with freedom, the real situation of these states, and in anticipating evil and misfortune, to suggest their remedy. In pursuing these objects the reasonable hopes of their preserving internal tranquility, will be the first, as it is the most important enquiry.

And here let it be observed—that the same active and predominant passion of the human breast, which prompts mankind to arrogate superiority and to the acquirement of riches, honor and power, which restricted to the selfish purposes of an individual, we term *ambition*, is when extended to the disinterested object of aggrandizing a community, what we dignify with the appellation of *patriotism*—that the exertion of this principle being as advantageous to a republic, as it is useful to a man, whoever will make the interest of his country his own, and shew a blind devotion to its views and prejudices, will find the road open to its dignities and employments, and will be honoured with the flattering distinction of *patriot*—and that the competition of interests and the desire of rulers to exalt their respective communities have laid the foundation of those wars which have desolated the world, and entailed misery on the human race.

Unhappily then for America, the separate sovereignties of our respective States, have left these principles to act with a force, but feebly restrained by the weak barrier of a nominal *union*. An undeviating adherence to state interests, state prejudices, state-aggrandizement, (or to comprehend the evil in a term to state politics) is the sad prognostic of that discord, confusion and never ceasing war, which has been the invariable lot of separate Sovereignties and neighbouring States.

A cause every way adequate to such pernicious effects aggravated by old and new disputes between the different States, and inflammatory reflections reciprocally cast, will not fail of receiving additional weight from a number of unhappy circumstances; each sufficient to disorder, even the best connected and organized system.

'Ere the war had yet terminated, the States betrayed the baleful effects of divided councils, and want of mutual confidence. Requisitions for men and money for general purposes, if not contemptuously neglected, were most commonly answered by heated assertions of the prior, undue and superior exertions of each State respectively. This illusion originating in their *partial* view of Continental Affairs, was supported by their unliquidated Accounts, and every attempt on the part of the general Council to dissipate the one or settle the other, have by the prejudices of ignorance or insinuations of design in the one case, or the neglect or inability of the States in the other, invariably proved abortive.

Individuals in the commercial States, attached to the American cause, had received the currency of the union, in discharge of their

private Debts, and became in most instances gradually possessed of it to the full amount of their fortunes, which generally consist in money. They obeyed the public call, and with implicit confidence entrusted those rulers whose fidelity they relied on, with the hopes and support of themselves and families: Hence it is that those States find their citizens at the close of the war, in advance on Continental loans, in a degree that exceeds all measure of proportion; during its continuance, this class of creditors have suffered with patience and with fortitude, the total deprivation of the use of their fortunes, whilst the pressing exigencies of the times, seemed to apologize for withholding their right; but peace terminating that excuse, when the general plan for Continental engagements, lately proposed by that body, who were authorized; nay compelled to make them, (whose honor, with that of the nation, is to be supported by its success, or sacrificed by its failure,) proves abortive, and the regular and proper source of payment remains obstructed. Those States to which they pay allegiance, and which are bound to protect them, cannot refuse—either to pay them, and thereby burthen themselves with an unjust and unequal load, or interpose their powers and force, to extort them justice whence it is due.

On some parts of the continent the war has pressed sorely and partially—her bloody scourge has desolated the state of New York each successive year, and what has escaped the depredations of the enemy, has been wrested from her *citizens* by a rigorous military impress. To whom shall they apply for payment? Shall their own state pay them? Would not unfeeling injustice herself blush to load New York, just emerging from such complicated distress, with an unequal share of the general debt.

I fear it has already become unpopular to *mention* that there *was* an American army, during the *late* war—that they have claims on the gratitude of their fellow-citizens, and the justice of the continent, which are equally unpaid. Unpleasing as the theme may be—Yet once more, oh ye Americans! ye shall listen to their tale—to shield and protect you and yours, their youths have passed away in rigorous campaigns, amidst hunger and amidst nakedness, exposed to bleak colds of the north, without tents and without cloaths—the eye of him whose hand now writes these lines, has often traced their route, on the cold snow, with the blood of their bare feet, thence unsheltered have they marched thro' the burning sands of Carolina and each state thro' out this long extended continent has been stained with their best blood. They have gone home unpaid, many of them to contemplate the sad remnants, the ruined relicts of once splendid fortunes. Shall it be to wear away their old age in poverty, until they find in the all healing grave, the only cure for wounds which ingratitude inflicts on the feeling mind? shall it be to rot? to perish in your jails? Or shall the different states pay their respective lines all their demands? Some of them



have acted generously, they have acted nobly, and of them there can be no apprehensions. But are there not grounds to fear, that a very principal demand will never be paid by the northern states if referred to them? Admitting that those states who have failed in the heat and burthen of the day, are now to escape their proportion by this unequal and unfair distribution, and to be rewarded for their remissness and delinquencies. Still to whom shall that part of the continental army apply, whom no state will now acknowledge. They are a body of men not contemptible for their number or services, should they become so for their poverty or their wretchedness.

Here let it be remembered that there are many of the states, who have no back lands, no western wilds, where they may seclude in solitude their war-worn veterans, from the fastidious eye of wealth and luxury. These things should be considered in due time, and we should recollect, that those who have been reared by the iron hand of ruthless war, have in no age or clime, been marked for a tame passion of evil and injustice.

It is a maxim that has stood the test of time, and is now sanctified by experience—that government should be founded in justice and good faith—and that the institution which shall be proven incapable of dispensing the one and preserving the other, cannot be long respected, and will never be supported. Let the government of the United States submit to this ignominy, and be exposed to this danger, and the contracts which they have formed, depend for their execution on others, and that faith which they have plighted be interpreted, broken or preserved, according to the caprice, avarice or resentment of the ignorant, interested or designing. Let it be admitted that each state shall in all cases pay its own citizens of all classes, and let us view the probable consequence which will result from the measure independent of those which must flow from the total departure from and violation of a confederation, which seems to have been created only to be the derision of the people, and the embarrassment of those whom they depute to rule. What now excites *clamour* would then produce *commotion*, the unavailing complaints of individuals, rend the hearts of the honest man, the man of feeling and sentiment—but they touch not the callous multitude, who are secured from the effects of their resentment, by their imbecillity. But when a state, by paying its citizens becomes possessed of their claims, the style will be instantly changed. It will be then do us justice, or we will pay ourselves. The language of Massachusetts, when she became possessed of an over-proportion of the paper currency, was but a feeble throb of a pulse, which would then beat with a convulsive strength. The northern and middle states, among whom most of the paper money, and other continental securities now rest, might be tempted by their naval superiority to pay themselves out of the rich commerce of the Southern States, who would



necessarily seek the protection of foreign nations. What a prospect does this idea present for America?

Now let us turn our eyes to the ample western territory, which Britain has acknowledged by the late treaty, to be within our limits, and we shall find it one of the most fertile sources of endless discord and war between the different States. Will those States, who by their chartered boundaries are excluded from a participation of them, ever consent, by the laborious industry and toil of their citizens, to dig out of the earth their proportion of the expences of the war and general debt? When the States, who claim this country as within their chartered limits, may be the meer act of selling lands almost boundless, not only wipe out their proportion of the general debt, but in addition accumulate an immense public property? Will they not with an united voice, and the voice of truth alledge, that these lands were wrested from the Crown of England, for whose emolument, and not for the benefit of any class of citizens of these United States would they have been sold, but for that revolution which has been effected by their joint expence of blood & treasure. On the other hand the States, who claim under their charters, most considerable in number, and incomparably so in power, will most probably contend for and defend rights, which they asserted as early as the Confederation was proposed, and which seem to be established by the unanimous concurrence of the States in that act of union.

This train of reasoning leads to a question, which strikes home to the feelings, and will be decisive on the most essential interests of the different States. It must now soon receive a most serious agitation, whether one State will submit to be taxed at the arbitrary will of another, which will be itself exonerated in proportion to the burthen it imposes on its neighbour; for this is the direct operation of imposts on trade, laid for the separate emolument of the respective States. It is a truth which has become familiar to minds, even the most uninformed, that the consumer ultimately pays the tax on importation. The inhabitants then of those States, who are not favoured with the natural advantages of commodious harbours, must pay to their neighbours in the commercial States, whatever tax, they in their mercy and discretion may choose to load them with; and forced to make use of their ports, they may with equal injustice be compelled to pay a tax (from which they are to derive no benefit,) on every ounce of produce their industry may raise for exportation. A revolution then effected by joint efforts, has destroyed the general government, under which taxes were collected for common benefit, and substituted in its place separate Sovereignities, which are to exalt one part of the Empire, to the utter depression and impoverishment of the other.

The refinements of sophistry cannot suggest a distinction between that principle which requires a division of unappropriated western

lands between the States, and that which directs a fair and equal participation of the blessings of our unbounded commerce among those, who sitting out originally on the same ground, have made equal exertions in the common cause, and now demand an equal reward; and yet so enveloped in the mist of state prejudices has Rhode Island been, that whilst she contended with an heated anxiety for the one, with a determined perseverance she opposed the other.

Let any rational man with this view ask, what reasonable hopes we can have of voluntarily discharging our *foreign debt*; that is a debt which can never be divided among the different States. First, the terms on which it has been contracted, expressly stipulate against any such apportionment, and secondly the confederal rule for affixing the quota of each State has never been applied—is despaired of as impracticable, and there remains but little prospect of the defect being remedied; under these circumstances, in vain (I fear) will national honor plead the cause of honesty and justice.

Indeed it has already become a fashionable mark of independance of sentiment to depreciate the merit of France to whom the greatest portion of our foreign debt is due. Ingratitude and injustice have ever went hand in hand!

Let vain specularists, in the sequestered recess of study and retirement, invent frigid maxims of policy, and lay it down as an invariable rule, that States are actuated by self-interest alone. Let them treat with ridicule all acknowledgement of national favors; still those who are conversant with human nature and public affairs, will despise the fallacious doctrine and illiberal tenet. They well know that men, whether at the head of governments or in private stations, still are *men*, subjected too, to the domination, and acting under the influence of human passions and prejudices; and that in Monarchies more especially, the measures of State receive their tone from the virtues or vices of the Prince. Impressed with this unalterable truth, all true Whigs—friends to the freedom, independance, and honor of America, will for ever feel a glow of gratitude to that Monarch and that nation, who first espoused our hopeless cause with an enthusiastic fervor, and then with persevering assistance and magnanimous exertion protected our infant fortunes. They will feel the blush of indignant shame if France, or even Holland, should be compelled to have recourse to our commerce (as their last resource) for repayment: A measure ever in their power—which must be the result of disappointment in a regular and pacific mode—and which (if ever adopted) will record our *infamy* as well as our *impotence*.

Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Journal*, September 17, 1783.

<sup>1</sup> The identity of "The North American" has long been a matter of speculation, but research on this point assumed a new direction with the discovery of Jacob Read's September 11 letter to Thomas Bradford, the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, en-

closing "the first of an intended Series of Letters on Subjects of great National importance." See the following entry. We believe that the present essay, published by Bradford on September 17, was that enclosure, and that the second installment of the "intended series" was printed in the October 8 issue of the *Journal* under the caption "The North American. No. 11." We further contend that Read served as intermediary for his close political confidant, Virginia delegate John Francis Mercer, who actually wrote the essays.

From their tone and content it is clear that the two essays were composed by a young, southern congressman who was thoroughly familiar with James Madison's "Address to the States" adopted in April, the congressional debates on fiscal policy that took place during the summer of 1783, Lord Sheffield's *Observations on the Commerce of the American States with Europe and the West Indies* that had arrived in August, and the content of several dispatches from the commissioners in Europe that were read in Congress in mid-September. See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, August 30, note 1, and September 13, 1783. The views of "The North American" are striking and often strident: he (1) loathed the pernicious effects of unchecked state sovereignty; (2) sympathized with the plight of the unpaid Continental Army; (3) appreciated the vulnerability of the non-commercial states—especially the South—within the Confederation; (4) favored the creation of a national domain; (5) argued for the equitable distribution of the national debt; (6) demonstrated a real appreciation of French contributions to the war effort and continued wariness about British intentions; (7) acknowledged the obvious weakness of the United States vis-a-vis the commercial powers of Europe; (8) exhibited a profound sense of Continental obligations and responsibilities; and (9) implied that the Confederation government could not survive without coercive authority. Only a handful of delegates embracing these positions could be considered candidates for the essays' authorship. Read's strong centralist stance, maintained throughout his career, made him an obvious choice, but a close comparison of his writing style with that of "The North American"—the use of common function and content words, sentence length, and other common indicators—revealed too many significant variations. An analysis of the correspondence of the remaining young, southern delegates attending Congress at this time—Richard Beresford (age 28), Benjamin Hawkins (29), James McHenry (29), James Madison (32), and John Francis Mercer (24)—pointed to Mercer as the essayist.

Flamboyant, erratic, and headstrong, the impressionable young Virginia delegate had taken his seat in Congress in early February and quickly established himself as a strong advocate of states' rights who opposed centralist schemes, such as the impost, to fund the national debt. Fellow delegates testified to his vociferous and intemperate partisanship over issues before Congress which created powerful enemies who blocked important committee assignments and relegated Mercer to a marginal role. Notwithstanding, Mercer was greatly affected by events and problems that confronted Congress through the spring and summer of 1783—the arrival of the preliminary articles of peace, the "Newburgh Conspiracy," the debate over commutation of half pay, the need to maintain U.S. credit at home and abroad, attempts to disband the army while Great Britain occupied the western posts, consideration of the peace establishment, and especially the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line and the exile of Congress to Princeton—all of which led him to adopt positions to which he had been diametrically opposed when he entered Congress.

By September Mercer felt that Congress and the nation faced a major crisis that required a direct appeal to the public. The refusal of the Massachusetts legislature to support commutation apparently served as the occasion for this first essay and Mercer incorporated thought and language from "North-American No. 1" directly into a September 19 committee report that he co-authored, for which see JCC, 24:483n.2, 25:582–85, 584n.1, 609–13; and PCC, item 20, 1:149–59. "There is a great deal of good sense among the People of America," Mercer explained to Henry Tazewell on September 13, "& once they *feel*—they will rouse—& those latent powers, which they once with so much glory & advantage exerted, will soon get things to right"—and Mercer had al-

ready chosen to arouse those feelings. The dissemination of Lord Sheffield's *Observations* and the appearance in the September 11 *Pennsylvania Packet* of the British orders-in-council of July 2 denying the West Indian trade to American shipping provided the themes for "North American. No. II." The views expressed in those documents "operated like an electric Shock" in Princeton, Mercer told Tazewell, and Great Britain's "ungenerous—I had almost said hostile attempt" to circumscribe American commerce was based on "a certainty, that we can never act as a nation—That we can do nothing for our common benefit." In nearly identical language "The North American" asserted a few weeks later that "the late ungenerous, I may say *hostile* attack of Great Britain on our commerce, sprang confessedly from an early conviction, that we could not act as a nation; nor concert measures necessary for our mutual benefit and defence." See John Francis Mercer to the Public, ante October 8, 1783. Intensive analysis of Mercer's delegate correspondence and the essays provides numerous parallel expressions and word choices and a nearly exact congruence in the average length of sentence. Moreover, the exaggerated emotion and imagery and the contrived oratorical style of the essays corresponds with delegate testimony concerning Mercer's personality and his behavior on the floor of Congress.

Read's role in transmitting the essays to the publisher of the *Pennsylvania Journal* on Mercer's behalf undoubtedly stemmed from Mercer's unfavorable reputation among members of Congress and the critical reception the essays would have received if knowledge of their authorship were not carefully protected. Read had taken his seat in Congress only days before the Philadelphia mutiny and the appreciation he shared with Mercer of the political crisis that confronted Congress in September is reflected in their correspondence and their common votes on key issues. Moreover, Read's congenial familiarity with Philadelphia leaders, stemming from earlier visits to the city, made him the logical choice to submit the essays for publication. For a more detailed review of the identification of "The North American," see Ronald M. Gephart, "Federal-State Relations in 1783 and the Authorship of 'The North American' Essays," *WMQ* (forthcoming).

Speculation over the identity of "The North American" has had a curious history. In analyzing a James Madison letter to Thomas Jefferson of September 30, 1783, enclosing the first "North American" essay, Edmund C. Burnett conjectured that Madison himself was its author, a claim picked up and elaborated by Irving Brant. As Madison's principal biographer, Brant went far beyond Burnett, however, arranging for the republication of the two "North American" essays in the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1946, and publishing a 1954 defense of his claim in the *American Historical Review* after the editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Julian Boyd, expressed serious reservations about Madison's authorship. The editors of *The Papers of James Madison* also found Brant unconvincing, and devoted 27 elaborately reasoned pages to dismissing Brant's arguments, while boldly arguing for Richard Peters' authorship of the two essays. See Burnett, *Letters*, 7:315n.3; Brant, *James Madison*, 2:302–5; Brant, ed., "Two Neglected Madison Letters," *WMQ* 3 (October 1946): 569–87; Jefferson, *Papers* (Boyd), 6:342n; Brant, "Madison, the 'North American,' on Federal Power," *AHR* 60 (October 1954): 45–54; and Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:319–46.

## Jacob Read to Thomas Bradford

Sir,

Prince Ton 11th Sept. 1783

The inclosed is the first of an intended Series of Letters on Subjects of great National importance and tis hoped Calculated to promote the real good of the American Union. I offer it to you for publication if you Shoud think proper in your News paper and wish it may appear



in the first of the Next Week.<sup>1</sup> As you do not know the Author I hope and expect that you will be intirely Silent on any Questions on that Subject. Your paper I believe has a pretty general Circulation but tis my request that you will forward a few Copies of that which may Contain the present Essay to your Correspondants in the different States.

I Shall be glad to hear from you the observations that may be made on the present piece.

If it does not Come within your plan to publish this piece you will please return it to me without Communicating it to any other person. I am with regard, Your Most Obedt Servt. Jacob Read

RC (PHi: Thomas Bradford Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Read undoubtedly enclosed with this letter the essay that Bradford published under the heading "The North-American. No. I" in the September 17 issue of his *Pennsylvania Journal*, for which see the preceding entry.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Friday Sept 12 1783

I received your letter dated Wednesday 9 o Clock, and am highly pleased with your arrangements with the Black family, so that there will be no occasion of sending the notice which I enclosed in my letter of yesterday, and the present tenant may take time to look out for another place.

I have received a letter from Madeira with a bill of lading for my pipe of wine which is arrived at Philadelphia in the brig Olive Branch capt John Brice. I enclose you the bill of Lading that you may request Our cousin Robert or Jonathan to get it on shore. I could wish the porters would get some boards to save the stairs and try to put it in the store room. Where if the cask is good as I expect it is it may stand on the end and take up but little room.

I find by the letter that the fine tale of the Prest. either originated in his sanguine temper or that it was fabricated merely to gain custom. However, if the wine be good as I hope it is I am glad I sent for it: but I find I shall be six or seven pounds sterling in debt for it over and above my 22 bbls of flour. There will be 40/ to be paid for the freight and I suppose something for duty on importation which you will please to furnish.

It is uncertain whether I shall have the pleasure of seeing you on Saturday. This days debate may determine it; though I am apprehensive nothing will be decided. Fitzsimmons & Montgomery arrived yesterday & Jones & Madison are expected to day. We have received a warm invitation from the inhabitants of Germantown to fix upon that place for the permanent residence of Congress. They offer their public school



for the accommodation of Congress and the public Offices, & give assurances that the Members shall be well provided with houses.<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to find Page remembers his friends. But am sorry to hear nothing of poor Dick.

Adieu my dear Hannah. I am with sincere affection, your loving husband,  
Cha Thomson

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> According to Thomson's endorsement, this "Address of the Inhabitants of Germantown inviting Congress to make that town the place of the permanent Residence of Congress" was "Read Sept 11. 1783," but he made no mention of it in his journals. See PCC, item 46, fols. 117-22; and *JCC*, 25:552-53.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert Howe

Sir, Princeton 13th Sept. 1783, 9 o'Clock. P.M.

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your favor, enclosing the proceedings of a General Court Martial lately held in your Camp, which I duly laid before Congress;<sup>1</sup> and it is with real satisfaction and Pleasure that I am now to inform you, that Congress have thought proper to extend mercy to the unhappy Prisoners under sentence of death, as well as to those who were condemned to corporal punishment. The Act of Congress for this humane purpose is enclosed,<sup>2</sup> as also their approbation for the acquittal of Captains Chrystie & Symonds and Lieutenant Houston.

Congress have imposed secrecy on themselves as to the act of pardon, in order that you may use your discretion as to the time and manner of communicating it to the Prisoners.<sup>3</sup>

I hope this Act of mercy will fully impress these unhappy Men with a deep sense of their unworthy conduct, and lead them properly to estimate the peculiar happiness of living under so mild a Government.

Congress considering the nature of your particular service have thought proper on this occasion to testify their approbation of your conduct, Sir, during the delicate investigation of so atrocious an offence; and it is with very great pleasure that I execute this part of my duty by communicating their Act for this purpose.

I write in a hurry, being just informed that the Honorable Mr. Fitzsimmons sets off for the City very early in the morning.

I have the honor to be &c.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 16).

<sup>1</sup> Howe's September 2 letter enclosing these proceedings and explaining at length his conduct throughout the whole of the inquiry into the Pennsylvania mutiny is in PCC, item 38, fols. 119-22. See also Richard Peters to John Dickinson, July 16, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> For the enclosed "Act" of this date, see *JCC*, 25:564–67; and the following entry, note.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of how this congressional "act of pardon" was not disclosed to two of the convicted sergeants until they "were carried to the place of execution, & every formality gone through with, except the final stroke," see Samuel Holten to Luke Webster, October 2, 1783.

## James McHenry's Speech in Congress

[September 13, 1783] <sup>1</sup>

Before passing upon this proclamation, I beg leave to say a few words.

It is impossible that any act of men can be engaged in a business more serious or more solemn, than in deliberating upon an *act* that is to deprive a *human being* of his *life* or *character*. It will occur to the house that the operation of this act does not merely respect the life or character of Carberry & Sullivan, but extends beyond them, to their relations and even to all those of the same name. If a soldier falls in battle—if an honest man is killed by a robber, or murdered by his enemy, this neither injures his fame, or reflects dishonor on his relations. But the case is far otherwise if he dies under the hands of the law or the executioner. His memory thenceforward is rendered infamous, and to be his relation, or to bear his name, is to carry about one a mark of indelible disgrace.

These observations are recalled to the recollection of the house, to shew us the importance of what we are about.

Let us now for a moment consider the crime of these unfortunate exiles. They were both officers at an early period of the war, and uniformly and till its close, behaved with that fortitude and patience which have so distinguished our army. The situation and circumstances of the army before and at the time of the mutiny need be described. They display great virtues—They are pregnant with instruction to this country and full of excuse for the criminals. These unfortunates worn down by poverty and grown desperate by necessity, that power which few persons can resist, formed a plan to relieve their wants.

It is certainly an extenuation of their crime, that its object was founded in justice, and that no violence was done to either life, person or property. It is true the soldiers whose motions they are said to have directed, had arms in their hands when they surrounded the State house—But it is also true that they did not use those arms.

But other and more urgent reasons plead that their crime should be forgiven. Let the services and long sufferings of the army be remembered: and let the failings of these men be forgotten in their former merits and in the merits of the army. And let not the first fruits of their long and perilous contest, *our peace*, be watered with the blood of two of their companions.

I hope it will not be urged that the measure is necessary for the support of our national character. Our national character can never be supported by a sacrifice of national humanity. I have always thought, and the history of all nations teach me that I am right, that *acts of mercy* serve more to dignify and raise the character of a government than *acts of blood*. It is said, that Draco's laws were written in blood—but no one has ever dared to praise them.<sup>2</sup>

MS (MiU-C: McHenry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> McHenry clearly delivered these "few words" this day when Congress took under consideration the report of a committee consisting of James Duane, Jacob Read, and John Rutledge, to which had been referred on September 9 "the full report of the proceedings of the court martial, respecting the late mutiny." The committee had recommended the pardon of Sgts. Christian Nagle and John Morrison, under sentence of death, and four other soldiers sentenced to corporal punishment, and the confirmation of sentences acquitting Capts. James Chrystie and Lt. Jonas Symonds, and Lt. William Huston, and had submitted a draft proclamation announcing the pardons, all of which received Congress' endorsement. See *JCC*, 25:541, 564–67; *PCC*, item 21, fols. 367–70, item 36, 4:199–205; and the preceding entry.

But the committee seems also to have reported the draft of a proclamation calling for the arrest of Capt. Henry Carbery and Lt. John Sullivan, the real leaders of the mutiny who had fled in June, which was the target of McHenry's speech. This proclamation, in the hand of Read is in *PCC*, item 38, fols. 179–80. Except for McHenry's opposition to it, there is no record that it was debated in Congress, and there is no mention of it in secretary Charles Thomson's records or Gaillard Hunt's edition of the journals. However, McHenry's remarks are clearly directed at Read's draft proclamation rather than to the pardon proclamation adopted this day, and the absence of any other evidence on the matter is proof that McHenry's appeal had the effect intended.

<sup>2</sup> This day McHenry also wrote the following personal letter to his fiancée  
 , Margaret Caldwell. "I have been thinking of some remedy that might prevent those returns of the tooth ach so teasing and painful to my Peggy; and lest I should not have time to commit my thoughts to paper tomorrow, I take the opportunity of doing it tonight. It would be preposterous to run a little familiar letter into a physical inquiry, into all the causes of this complaint. You might not call me a pedant, but I should nevertheless, deserve the appellation. Without, therefore assuming the prerogatives of a Doctor, our purpose will be answered, if I hit upon the principal causes of the toothach, or failing in this, should I be lucky enough to hit upon the cure. I consider then as the principal causes of this complaint, the little care taken to keep the teeth clean when young—the suffering bits of meat and bread to lay between them till these matters ferment—and the attempts to remove this inconvenience by picking them. The effects of this daily fermentation, is the crust which is often found about the teeth—an alteration of their natural color—and an injury done to their very substance. On the other hand picking them hurts the gums, whatever may be the implement employed, and thereby more or less affects the teeth themselves. If I am right in this assignment of causes it will require no great physical knowlege to find out the proper cure. You will see with me, that the teeth should never be picked, if it can be avoided; and that instead thereof they should be very well washed both within and without with water and a brush, after every meal, especially after supper, because whatever has got between them at this meal, or during the day, has all the night in which to ferment and do mischief. But this is not enough where there is a strong disposition to toothach. It will be necessary in this case to cleanse the whole order of teeth every morning, as well on the inside as the outside, and that thoroughly with Jesuits bark. Lime juice is an excellent dentifrice, much better in my opinion than any in the shops, and ought to be used once or twice a week either with or without the bark. I do not mention on this occasion snuff as equal to lime juice

or bark, altho' I see no reason against its being called in now and then by way of variety. On the whole, my dear Peggy, I think that there is nothing more likely either to prevent the toothach altogether—or at least to lessen its violence and the frequency of its attacks—or to give them a good white—or to preserve those which may be falling into decay from any further decay—than a practice of this kind constantly followed. Yours are very good now, and if we can but banish the toothach, I can promise you, that they will not only continue so, but be found very white and beautiful much longer than you told me you expected the weakest of them to last. But, my beloved Peggy, will not only take care of them, but of her health, which is above all human things dear and precious to her affectionate,

James McHenry

[P.S.] I had a large company to dine with me on Wednesday, but notwithstanding the General was present there was wanting one more to have rendered my pleasure complete. Adieu."

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Princeton Sept. 13. 1783.

Our Ministers in Europe have made some amends for their long silence by voluminous despatches brought down to 27th July. They were recd. yesterday by Congress.<sup>1</sup> No definitive treaty had then been signed by any of the parties, though all had been ready except Holland & America. The fo[rmer] is said to have settled her difficulties. The American Ministers have been endeavoring to incorporate some important commercial stipulations, but in vain; and in case of emergency must come forward with the provisional articles to be signed as the definitive Treaty. The Conduct of G.B. in the negotiation with America has shewn great unsteadiness if not insidiousness on the subject of commerce; and the inclosed proclamation of the 2d of July is a proof that some experiment is intended on the wisdom, firmness & union of the States, before they will enter into a Treaty in derogation of her Navigation Act.<sup>2</sup> Congress will probably recommend some defensive plan to the States. If it sd. meet with the fate of former recommendations, it will not probably be owing to Rhode Island whose staple interest more than that of any others lies in carrying between U.S. & the West Indies. If it fails at all it will prove such an inefficacy in the Union as will extinguish all respect for it & reliance on it. My situation here for writing is so incommodious, that you must excuse my brevity.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:314–15.

<sup>1</sup> And, according to Secretary Charles Thomson, "the whole day was Spent in reading them," although there is no entry in the journals for September 12. The letters received and read are listed in Thomson's dispatch book (PCC, item 185, 3:78–80), and according to his committee book (PCC, item 186, fol. 123), they were referred to a committee consisting of James Duane, Thomas FitzSimons, Elbridge Gerry, Stephen Higginson, and John Rutledge, which reported "in part" on September 19 and "fully" on Septem-

ber 25, for which see *JCC*, 25:587–88, 617–20; and Committee of Congress Report, September 25. See also Thomson to Hannah Thomson, this date.

The letters, all of which were directed to the former secretary for foreign affairs, Robert L. Livingston, are as follows: from the commissioners, July 18, 27; from Benjamin Franklin, July 22–25; from John Adams, April 14, June 23, 23, 24, 27, July 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; from Henry Laurens, June 27, July 17, August 2; from John Jay, April 7, 11, June 1, July 20; from Francis Dana, May 19, June 6, 26; and from C. W. F. Dumas, June 20, 1783. They are in PCC, item 82, 2:389–412; item 84, 4:355–57, 411–503, 5:1–16, item 85, fols. 300–68, item 89, fols. 307–16, 456–63, 472–75, 490–91, 773–88; item 93, 2:335; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:364, 368, 373–74, 455–56, 464–65, 477, 494–505, 507–8, 510–14, 517–18, 529–45, 551–54, 556–62, 566–70, 576, 580–91, 600–606, 628–29.

<sup>2</sup> Copies of King George III's July 2 proclamation confining most of the West Indian trade to British-built and owned ships had been enclosed in John Adams' July 14 dispatch and the commissioners' July 27 letter; it was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 11.

## John Francis Mercer to Henry Tazewell

Dear Sir

Princeton Sept. 13th. 1783.

I lately wrote you<sup>1</sup> enclosing you a state of the determinations in America on the subject of the Cessation of hostilities, since this Dispatches have arriv'd from our Ministers,<sup>2</sup> in which among other explanations required of the Provisional Treaty, it appears, that, captures one month after the signature of the declarative agreement, in all parts of the World north of the Latitude of the Canary Islands were illegal. These dispatches are very lengthy & very important, but I am at present under such injunctions that I do not hold myself at liberty to disclose any of their contents. I may however inform you that no definitive Treaty was signed the 22d of July & I may add (*entre' nous*) that no progress whatever was made on one—but more of this hereafter. The British act of Council relative to our Commerce, (which you will find in the enclos'd paper) opens very fully the policy of that Court towards us. There has lately appear'd in England a very artful pamphlet. It comes out reputedly as the production of a Lord Sheffield,<sup>3</sup> a young nobleman, who has been ever very inimical towards us—but most probably from the knowledge of facts which it discovers, it is the offspring of some sett of Refugees. Its object is to prevent G. B. entering into any Commercial Treaty whatever, with the United States as a nation. It states that Congress has no legislative power whatever with respect to Commerce & that the interests of the respective States so essentially vary, that no general regulations of a prohibitory kind which they could recommend, would probably meet with the approbation of all the different Legislatures. In fine he founds his whole System on what he imagines to be a certainty, that we can never act as a nation—That we can do nothing for our common benefit & consequently that it would be madness to grant us any



reciprocities in our Commerce, as we cannot exclude them upon their own terms. This Policy has taken strong hold on all ranks in England & seems to have sunk deep into the minds of the ministry. I think yet notwithstanding our gloomy prospects that they will find themselves mistaken & have to rue their ungenerous—I had almost said hostile attempt. There is a great deal of good sense among the People of America & when once they *feel*—they will rouse—& those latent powers, which they once with so much glory & advantage exerted, will soon set things to rights. Their attempts have here operated like an electric Shock, & I hope their temerity will be the parent of some very happy events for America. I think I have already seen her guardian Genius, commence her operations in *this Great Council*. We have accepted at length after a delay of three years the Cession of Virginia (some few alterations in the Conditions, but none of material import) So that now Congress have something that they can with certainty call their own. This act was done by 8 States out of 10 who were present—Jersey & Maryland dissenting <sup>1</sup>—the gloomy prospects abroad & above all the accounts we receiv'd from the back Country of a banditti having already in great numbers repair'd to those Theatres of violence, rapine & villainy at length got the better of all the reasons which have heretofore operated—& instead of having this fine Country parcell'd out among Land-Jobbers & torn to peices by a lawless crew of miscreants, we shall shortly lay out a State, which will be instantly settled by our hardy veterans who have petition'd for it—they will go out in a body & form I dare venture to prophecy the best government in the Union—for join'd to a spirit of liberty they possess the principles of subordination—which unhappily for us all—the present States are but too defective in. So that we shall have the present frontiers instantly covered by a band that can well protect them that will be more attach'd to the Union & be more useful to the confœderacy than any of those now existing. Genl Washington is now with us & has had this matter greatly at heart. The moment it was effected I perceiv'd an instant operation on the very being of Congress—A Total change of Politics in all the States will be a necessary consequence. I begin to hope for the best.

Give my Comps. to Colo. Finnie & tell him that his affairs, are of a difficult digestion, for an example of the nature which he seems to require woud be productive of the most prejudicial & even ruinous consequences in our present Situation.

I am with esteem & regard, D Sir, Yr. mo. obt. Sr.

John F. Mercer

RC (Vi: Tazewell Family Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding entry, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, August 30, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> This day Congress had taken up the June 6 report of a committee chaired by John Rutledge which had considered the eight conditions that Virginia had attached to its cession of western lands in January 1781 and recommended that Congress accept the cession provided that the Virginia legislature amend some of its conditions "conformable to this report." See *JCC*, 25:559-64, 988; and James Madison's Notes of Debates, June 4, 6, and 10, 1783.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah,

Saturday Sept. 13 1783.

Yesterday the president returned and brought with him the dispatches which came by the Washington Packet, which were so voluminous that the whole day was spent in reading them;<sup>1</sup> So that the subject about which you are so anxious to hear was not taken up, and whether it will be the subject of this day's debate is altogether uncertain. There are now ten states represented. But Delaware is still absent. Every day demonstrates & exhibits new proofs of the impropriety & inconveniency of continuing here. But when or where they will move is a subject on which I can form no judgment for reasons mentioned in my former letters.

I am glad we did not conclude to meet this day at Bristol as Congress have agreed to sit.

I received no letter by yesterdays stage but hope for the pleasure of one to day.

Adieu, dear H, take care of your health. I am with sincere affection,  
your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

P.S. I enclose a sheet of Williams writing, it is not quite so good as his last, but it serves as a letter for Page.

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, this date, note 1.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Saturday Evening, Sept. 13. 1783

I just write to inform you that the day has passed without any consideration of the question about adjournment. They have however agreed to accept the cession made by Virginia of their claim to the country on the west side of the Ohio.<sup>1</sup> So that some public business has been done. I have recd. your two letters and am glad to hear Dick has got his voice.

I am with sincere affection, your loving husband

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See John Francis Mercer to Henry Tazewell, this date, note 4.

## Benjamin Hawkins to Henry Knox

Sir, Princeton Septembr 14th. 1783.  
The inclosed for Capt. Hopkins<sup>1</sup> I received from General Howe at Philadelphia, at the same time I promised him to send it to you. We have some dispatches from our ministers, which are now before Congress, of which, I can only inform you, that the definitive treaty was not signed on the 27th of July. I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obt. & most humble Servt. Benjamin Hawkins

RC (MHi: Knox Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

## Charles Thomson to the Chevalier de La Luzerne

Sir, Princeton September 15th. 1783  
I took the earliest opportunity of laying before Congress the Memorial which you were pleased to send under cover to me, and I have now the honor to return you the Chevr. D'Annemours Commission, with the acceptance & approbation of Congress and the form of the Exequatur to be issued by the respective Govenors.<sup>1</sup>  
I have the Honor to be &ca.

LB (DNA: PCC, item 18). Endorsed: "Note, the above letter was sent by Capt. Rose aid to Genl. Irvine."

<sup>1</sup> La Luzerne had sent Congress, under cover of a September 9 letter to Thomson, the commission of the chevalier d'Anmours, "consul general of France, in the State of Maryland, the Commonwealth of Virginia and the states of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia," which was referred to committee on September 12. The committee's report, adopted by Congress the 13th, directed Thomson "to make out the necessary papers" for the registration of d'Anmours commission. See PCC, item 41, 3:274-78; and *JCC*, 25:554.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah Monday Sept 15. 1783  
I received your very agreeable letters of Thursday & Friday N. 9 & 10. I am extremely sorry that I cannot yet give you any flattering hopes of the speedy return of Congress. They all are sensible of the inconvenience of this place; they all acknowledge it. But one drawing

one way and another, another, they are kept still here, which only breeds more ill humours & keeps the members, and all concerned with them, in a constant fret. The hopes that some had of gratifying their malice and reaking their vengeance on the Superin.<sup>1</sup> are I fancy somewhat abated though the inclination and desire continue as strong as ever. In their last attack they were handled with great freedom, and the ringleader<sup>2</sup> was drawn to solemn asseverations that he was not influenced by personal resentments, but by public motives; though I fancy he was convinced that few believed him.

On Saturday last they agreed to accept on certain terms the cession made by Virginia to the United States of the claims of that state to all the lands beyond the Ohio. This will give a great weight to the authority of Congress. It gives them the sovereignty and property of a country at least five hundred miles square. And whether they make the best use of it or not, I hope it will lay the foundations of liberty still broader by the separate jurisdictions and states that will be erected in that bounds. For by the articles of acceptance they bind themselves to lay it out into distinct and separate states of 150 or 200 miles square or as near thereto as circumstances will admit, and that each of those states shall be members of the foederal Union and intitled to all the benefits of it. Some have it in idea to make this country a fund to discharge the debt contracted by the war. The army first to have the lands promised them and so much of the remainder to be sold or assigned to public creditors as will discharge the debt. Maryland & Jersey however are not yet satisfied. They think that all the country which lies beyond the Allegheny Mountains and which was unsettled at the commencement of the war and which belonged to the crown of GB & was by it ceded to the United states in the articles of the peace ought to be thrown onto a common stock and disposed of for the benefit of the union. They think that Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia have no right in virtue of antiquated charters to a country gained by the blood & treasure and by the common exertions of the whole. And in this they have a great deal of reason & justice on their side. However I am pleased that so much is like to be peaceably obtained.

Adieu my dear Hannah. I am with sincere affection, your loving husband  
Cha Thomson

RC (NJP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> That is, the superintendent of finance Robert Morris.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Arthur Lee.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston

Dear Sir,

Princeton Sept. 16. 1783

I wrote you about a fortnight past,<sup>1</sup> which I hope has got safe to hand. Since that Time, I have recd. a large Pacquet from Europe,<sup>2</sup> all of

a public Nature, except one from young Mr Franklin, which he clearly intended as confidential, and altho' the Contents might be properly communicated to Congress, yet I did not think myself at liberty, even to impart the Substance to any Member, without your Approbation. I enclose the Letter with the Papers contained therein, except the Letter to Mr Hartly,<sup>3</sup> which was undoubtedly designed for Congress. You can now act as you Please, as to the Communication of it.

I take this Opportunity of sending the Medal, (mentioned in two of my former Letters) with the Explanation. Dr F. sent by Capt. Barney several more,<sup>4</sup> which I have distributed among the States &c.<sup>5</sup>

We have no News in these dispatches worth Communicating tho' a great deal of Matter, which will engage Congress a considerable Time. The definitive Treaty was not signed on the 2d of August nor likely to be signed, sooner than the 1st Sept. in my Opinion, if then. The Proceedings of our warm People & the precipitate opening of the Trade with England, are the principle Causes of Delay.

Our Commissioners are decided, and it was so understood at the negociation, that Hostilities were to cease in these Seas in one Month from the ratification of the Preliminary Articles.

Mr. Jay Means to resign in the Spring. Mr Dana is yet at Petersburg and notwithstanding all that has passed, intends finishing His Treaty, before he returns.

Our Affairs here, go rather indifferently. No Minister of foreign Affairs—all the foreign Papers sealed up—At a distance from our offices—Members grumbling & dissatisfied at our remaining at this Place—no great appetite for Business—so that we are not in so comfortable a State, as I could wish.

I take the liberty to enclose a Letter for Mr. Morris, recd by Capt Barney under Cover, which I beg you will be kind enough to forward as I know not where to direct to him.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan are at Philadelphia. Be so kind Sir, as to make my best Compliments acceptable to Mrs. Livingston & Family.

I have the honor to be with great regard, Dr Sir, Your most Obed and very Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot<sup>6</sup>

RC (NHi: Livingston Papers). FC (DLC: Boudinot Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Boudinot to Livingston, August 29.

<sup>2</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 13, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the July 17 letter to David Hartley from the American commissioners at Paris endorsed "We promised Mr. Hartley to forward these Papers to Congress," for which see PCC, item 85, fols. 364–68; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:556–57.

<sup>4</sup> "19 or 20" in the FC.

<sup>5</sup> See Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin, June 18, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Boudinot also wrote the following brief letter this day to Gen. Elias Dayton. "I have the honor of enclosing some News Papers I lately recd from Coll. Ogden and which he desired I might forward to you. . . . P.S. Will you be good enough to explain to me the Terms of admission into the Society of Cincinnati and who it is designed for." Elias Boudinot Collection, NjP.



## Elbridge Gerry to Samuel R. Gerry

Dear Comr.

Princeton 16th Sepr 1783

I am favoured with yours of the 26th & 30th of August. C[apt] Bryles I am sure must make a bad Voyage, but to prevent its being worse, make Sale of the Flower as soon as You can; & also of Capt Grushs if You should receive any from him on my Account. The latter sailed the 12th from Philadelphia for Boston, & to give the Vessel a Freight I ordered 150 bbs Flower, & which with 1 Ton of Iron is shipt on my a/c. & consigned Mr Russel; but I expect to loose by this Adventure. I am not sure that he will not carry my part of the *Cargo* to M. Head,<sup>1</sup> & therefore have mentioned the Expediency of a quick Sale. With Respect to Capt Bryle's Vessel, Let Colo Orne make his proposition, & if he should offer the Vessel for less than £240 purchase her & apply part of the Money which Mr Tracy will pay You, to this purpose. I have received a Letter from Mr Tracy of the 2nd, & he informs me the Money is ready, but should any Disappointment arise, shew this Letter to Mr Russel & he will supply You with Specie for the purchase. Colo Orne must shew that he is authorized to fix a price by the owners, by an agreement under their Hands, before You can with propriety say whether You will buy or sell; & if the owners will not previously agree to give him this power, You must keep your Intentions of purchasing, & especially of the Sum you will give to Yourself, & let the Vessel be vendued: in which Case employ Capt Stacy or C Grush to bid her off for me, & not to let it be known for whom they are bidding, or how high they are to go, untill the Vessel is sold. If You do not use precautions & keep your Intention secret, you will be hoisted in the purchase. I am obliged to you for your attention to the Copying of the Letters, & shall insert your Ballance of 22/6 due from Mr [Ashley?] in the Settlement of our Accounts. The Accounts of the Estate & Yourself with the Estate of Mr Smith & Sons shall endeavour to liquidate. Remember me to all Friends & be assured I am your affectionate Friend & Brother,

E Gerry

P.S. If Capt Stacy thinks £240 rather too much you may reduce it.

RC (MHi: Gerry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Marblehead, Mass., the home of the Gerry brothers.

## Samuel Huntington to Richard Law

Sir

Princeton Sepr 16th 1783

Our Ministers at Versails give it as their decided opinion that Hostilities were to cease in all parts of the globe north of the latitude of the

Canaries inclusive, in one month from & after the ratification of the preliminaries of peace; & are Surprized any question Should be made of the Construction of that article.<sup>1</sup>

How far prudence or political reasons may dictate, keeping possession of Captures which were made by our citizens after that period, until our enemies restore the Captures made by them under the like predicament; is another question.

I take this Occasion to return you many thanks for your razor which is both usefull & Comfortable.

I am Sir with much Esteem & Regard, Your humble Servt,  
Sam. Huntington

Tr (CtHi: Ernest Law Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston, this date.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to George Clinton

Dear Sir

[September 16? 1783] <sup>1</sup>

I have this Week received a Letter from Govr. Livingston informing that he has had a number of applications for the Purchase of his Interest in the Oriskie Patent,<sup>2</sup> which he has refused on account of his Promise to Colo. Floyd of the first Offer: he says he has wrote to Colo. Floyd but has received no answer and requests to know, as he understood I was concerned, whether we are still disposed to purchase or whether he is released from his Promise & is at Liberty to dispose of that Interest to any other Person. I have wrote to him<sup>3</sup> for Answer that we are still disposed to make the Purchase provided the Price can be agreed on and have desired him to let me know the Terms he proposed to Colo. Floyd which I would immediately communicate to him so that he might have an answer as soon as possible. I did not choose to goe further in this Business till I could have an oppertunity of hearing from your Excellency, and have your Opinion upon the highest Sum it would answer for us to give; As he has offers for his Interest I expect he will ask a much higher Price than he would have done before & will be very uneasy under his Promise of a Refusal till the Bargain is closed, and I think it will be for our Interest to make the purchase soon, if at all. If you are still of the Opinion that it is best buy those Lands, I beg you will write to me by the first oppertunity & say how far I may offer, provided there is no probability of getting it for a less sum, and I will, without waiting to hear from Colo. Floyd, proceed to make the Purchase as soon as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Last week Congress accepted of the Virginia Cession provided the Condition of Guarantie and the Expençe of conquering & defending that COUNTRY, mentioned in their Act is repealed & there is no

doubt now but that State will agree to the Proposals. In Such Case all the Lands Northwest of the Ohio by this Cession and the Cession of New York will be vested in the United States, which with Attention may become a Fund for absorbing a great Part of our domestic Debt. This Cession also will I trust quiet all Claims by other States on our Western Territories.

We have lately received Letters from our Commissioners at Paris, most of the Communications are under an Injunction of Secrecy for a few Days after which Time I shall do myself to transmit to your Excellency what is most interesting. We have no News of the Definitive Treatys being signed nor is there any appearance of a commercial Treaty being agreed to, On the contrary there appears by the public Papers an evident intention in Great Britain to prevent these States trading with them or their Islands on reciprocal advantages which I believe will be much to our advantage in the End, as it will oblige our merchants to form Connections in other Nations whose Prejudices are not so great against the Success of our Trade or their own Navigation Acts. Doctor Franklin has sent over a Number of Medals being Copies of such as he has sent to a Number of Princes in Europe in behalf of the United States. There is one for each State & the principal officers of United States. We have one which will be sent to your Excellency by the first safe conveyance.<sup>5</sup> The Inclosed Paper contains the description of the Medal.<sup>6</sup>

FC (Andrew Fiske, Shelter Island, N.Y., 1980). In the hand of Ezra L'Hommedieu.

<sup>1</sup> The content of this undated letter indicates that it was written during the week following Congress' acceptance on September 13 of Virginia's western land cession, but before the New York delegates sent Clinton a copy of the congressional report on the subject on September 19. Other considerations suggest that L'Hommedieu probably posted it at the same time he wrote to John Tayler at Albany, this date.

<sup>2</sup> Gov. William Livingston's letter has not been found, but for information on his share in the Oriskany Patent near the source of the Mohawk River, see Livingston, *Papers* (Prince), 5:53-54.

<sup>3</sup> Not found.

<sup>4</sup> For L'Hommedieu's land interests at this time, see also his letters to Clinton of September 25 and October 16, and to John Tayler of August [?], and September 16 and 20.

<sup>5</sup> For Franklin's commemorative medals, see Elias Boudinot to Benjamin Franklin, June 18, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Remainder missing.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Tayler

My Dear Sir,

Princeton September 16. 1783.

By a Letter which I have received from Judge Platt I am informed that he expects in a few Days from this Time to goe on the Mohawks River and to have our Lands Apprised & laid out; he expects to get

the necessary Information from Mr. Banyar. I hope he may, but fear he will not: if he does not, I expect he will receive it from another Quarter of which he will inform you.

I understand that it is proposed by those concerned in Fundys Lands, to prevent Difficulties which they apprehend may Attend the Title, to cover the same Lands with Class or the other Certificates.

I approve of this measure as better calculated to insure Success than the Ground on which we formerly depended; tho' this mode will not clear the Title of all Embarrisments. I cannot readily beleive that the Legislature will ever intermeddle to distroy a Title to Land for which they have received as valuable a Consideration as they would have done provided the Title was in the state.

I should be glad to have One or Two Thousand acres more in this Purchase if the same can be procured and you think Certificates can be obtained at a Price you think will answer. I understood by you when at Albany last, if I remember right, that there were some of our Company Certificates that were not so fixed, but that you could cover any Lands with them you should think best: if so I should be glad you would with my Part, if they are not already disposed of, cover my Interest in Fundys Land which is about I believe 2000 Acres and what you may further purchase for me. If you want Money for the Purchase call on Mr Arnold who will advance it, or on Mr White who I expect will be at Albany soon and will receive my money of Arnold.

As you will be on the spot and will be fully acquainted with all the Circumstances relative to this Business, especially whether Certificates can be got and at what Price; I desire you will act for me as you do for your self, and should be glad to hear from you on this Subject as soon as convenient. I have had the Honour to write to you once before, since I have been at this Place, but have not been favoured with your Answer.

We have yet no Account of the Definitive Treaty being signed, nor is there any Appearance of a commercial Treaty being agreed to. Great Britain still blunders, they mean to embarras the American Trade with their Territories, which conduct will oblige the People of this Country to form Connection & Trade in other Kingdoms, much to our Advantage.

With respectful Compliments to Mrs. Taylor I am sr. your most Obedt Servt.

E LHommedieu

RC (N: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "John Taylor Esquire, Albany."

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

My dear Hannah

Tuesday Sept. 16. 1783.

I am now inclined to believe you were right in your conjecture that those who do not wish to return to Philadelphia will while away the

time till the first Monday in October the day assigned for considering of a proper place for the permanent residence of Congress. I find now that when they are asked why they do not decide upon the place proper for the temporary residence of Congress which was agreed to be done on Friday last the answer is that the time for determining on the permanent residence is so near that it is not worth while to trouble themselves about a temporary residence until that is decided.

Yesterday was taken up in a most curious debate. A foreigner, a native of the east Indies had entered our service as a sailor in 1778 or 1779. He had served on board the Bon Homme Richard under Capt J. P. Jones and in the celebrated action with the Serapis had lost a leg, by which he is disabled from procuring a living. He and two others in like condition had applied more than a twelve month ago to obtain something to support them. His request not having been complied with this poor stranger came to this town and presented himself to the members. The remembrance of the gallant action performed, his maimed condition, distressed looks and modest deportment naturally raised compassion and yesterday his case was considered. Had he been a citizen of any of the United states, he would have been comprehended under an Act which passed in 1776 and which granted to such objects half pay for life. But being a stranger and foreigner he had nothing to rest on but the bounty and Compassion of Congress. And unfortunately for him Mr. Morris as agent of marine had recommended that he should be paid a pension of 40 dollars a year during his life. This recommendation was sufficient to excite the opposition of those whose malice seems so inveterate that they would risque their salvation to ruin the man & trample on every feeling of humanity & violate every law of Justice to gratify their resentment. However after a great deal of debate which consumed the day in spite of the opposition of Higgenson, Bland and Ellery, the grant was made, and the poor fellows prevented from starving in our streets after having lost their limbs in our service.<sup>1</sup>

I have received your letter of Sunday N.11. I am very sorry for your disappointment which accounts to me for your not being in a pleasant humour. I thank Dick most heartily for his politeness and comp[li]aisance in endeavouring to solace his mistress with a song & to charm her into good humour by his warbling notes. I hope Page rewarded him with at least two spiders. I approve your Arrangements respecting the wine. Enclosed I send you for your amusement a medal invented by Doct. Franklin & which he has had struck as a lasting monument of the capture of Burgoyne & Cornwallis and of the important aids afforded to America by her great and generous benefactor.<sup>2</sup>

I am my dear Hannah, with most sincere affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson



RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 25:568–69.

<sup>2</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Franklin, June 18, 1783, note 3.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Sir, Princeton Sept. 17th. 1783.

Every publick acknowledgment of the essential Services rendered our common Country by your Excellency during a doubtful War, has given me the most sensible Pleasure, and it has been among the gratifications of my Office, that its duties have priviledged my transmitting, the constant Sense Congress have maintained of your Excellency's great Merit & good Conduct.

I have now the additional Satisfaction of enclosing an Act of Congress, by which their high Confidence, placed in your Excellency's Wisdom and Judgment since the War has ceased, very manifestly appears.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor to be with every Sentiment of Respect & Esteem, Your Excellency's Most Obedt & very Hble Servt

Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The enclosed September 15 resolve simply declared "That General Washington have access to the secret papers of Congress, under the same injunctions as members." *JCC*, 25:568.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Adams

Dear Sir, Princeton 17th Sept. 1783.

On Friday last we had a large packet of letters from our ministers in Europe, but by an order of Congress, there contents are to be kept secret for the present; therefore whatever I may write further is not to be considered as intelligence contained in sd letters.<sup>1</sup>

Yesterday the delegates from Masstts. engaged all the attention of Congress to lowering the salaries of the officers in the civil departments,<sup>2</sup> but nothing is yet determined respecting the matter or the other important affairs, that so much respects our constituents; I can't but hope the honl. Court will think it adviseable not to comply with the recommendations of Congress, respecting the impost, untill we can get some determination upon the important matters we have so often invited their attention to, for if they should, I almost despair that we shall be able to get any thing done here at present. A.<sup>3</sup>



Arthur Lee

I believe I mentioned in my last<sup>4</sup> that Dr. Lee was become my neighbor, since which we have formed a club that meets in my department, & I have no doubt we shall be able to support the true republican principles, for awhile, but how long it may continue is uncertain for Congress are a changeable body; being out of the city favors our proceedings, but great pains have been & are taking to get Congress to return, but I think they will not succeed at present. I am, with perfect respect & great consideration, your most obedient,

FC (PPIIn) In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See James Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 3, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *JCC*, 25:571–77; and Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3, and to Massachusetts Assembly Committee, September 11, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> Holten also used this paragraph as the body of three brief letters he drafted the following day, and merely added this “A” to designate the portion inserted in those letters. The draft of his September 18 letter to “Josiah Batchelder Esqr.” is in the Holten Papers, DLC; those addressed to the “Honorable Genl. [Michael] Farley” and to “Capt. John Gardner” are in the Holten Papers at MHi. To Gardner he also added that “By the leave of providence, I hope to have the pleasure of paying you my personal respects, the first week of Decr. next.”

<sup>4</sup> See Holten to Adams, August 14, 1783.

## Arthur Lee to James Warren

My dear Sir,

Princeton Sept. 17th. 1783.

Not having expected Mr. Higgenson’s going so soon, I have but a moment to write you. His conduct in Congress has been that of an able & upright friend to his Country; & I therefore much regret his leaving us.<sup>1</sup> He will communicate to you all News we have here. My private Letters give me reason to expect that the definitive treaty will soon arrive.

I have thought it my duty to move Congress for information from the Super-intendant of Finance, what Cloathing has been purchasd. with the public money & why the Soldiers have not receivd what was orderd by Congress.<sup>2</sup> The Super-intendant has answerd, that he does not know what has been purchasd, & that he thought it was more proper to Sell the Cloathing than distribute it to the Soldiery. In laying out the public money Commissions accrue to his freinds, in selling the things so purchasd, new Commissions arise to the Sellers. In this case, it is his Clerk Mr. Swanwick who is to have this emolument. In the mean time the Soldiers have been 15 months without their cloathing tho two millions of dollars have been taken out of the public Coffers for that purpose. Thus while fallacions reports on this man’s conduct are publishd in all the Papers, & his tools are filling the Papers with praises calculated to deceive the public; the public

money is lavishd away, the Soldiery, defrauded & the public plundered. I wish this matter were stated in Your Papers. Those of Philadelphia are altogether in his pay.

I hope the location of my Grant is made & well made; & shall be obligd to you for information on the subject.<sup>3</sup>

I beg my best respects to Mrs. Warren & the rest of your Family, & when you see that of Mr. Bodwain [Bowdoin], that you will have the goodness to remember me to them.

Farewell,

A. Lee<sup>4</sup>

P.S. I enclose you the motions I made relative to the Soldiers Cloathing, with the short speech which introduced them together with an Account of the Monies said to have been laid out in purchasing Cloathing, but not accountd for. All this you will put into the Papers if you see fit.

#### ENCLOSURE

Mr. A. Lee having in his place stated to Congress That he had seen a part of the Massachusetts line march thro' Princeton, & observing that the Soldiers were ill-cloathd, & knowing that much larger Sums of public money had been chargd as laid out for cloathing than woud have cloathed the whole Army compleatly, & that by a Resolve of Congress the Army shoud have receivd Cloathing once a year; he enquired of the Commanding Officer of those Troops, how it happend that the Soldiers were so ill cloathd; & having been informd by him that the Soldiers had not receivd their Cloathing the last twelve months, but that their Uniforms were turnd & new facd, which information was farther confirmd by a General Officer with this addition that the Soldiers were obligd to sell their Certificates at Philadelphia for part even of what they wore: Mr. A. Lee thought it his duty to his Country & to the Soldiery to move the following Resolution:<sup>5</sup>

Sums of Money laid out for Soldiers Cloathing since Mr. Morris came into Office to the 1st of March 1782.

Purchasd by Mr. Morris of Mr. Holker	181,789 dills.
Brought over by Col. Laurence to the amount of	413,821
Laid out in Holland	480,000
Laid out in France	514,000
Advanced to the Cloathier general	77,639
Total	1,597,249

Monies stated to have been advanced to the Cloathier genl. since Jany. 1782. No account having been renderd of the application by that Officer

	296,755
	74,648
Total to July 1st 1783.	1,968,642

N.B. The Cloathing of the Southern Army  
forms a sepearte Account exceeding

200,000  
2,168,642 For all

which no Account has been renderd by Robert Morris or the  
Cloathier General.

RC (MHi: Warren-Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Higginson last voted in Congress on September 20. See *JCC*, 25:596.

<sup>2</sup> For Lee's two motions of September 5, see *JCC*, 25:536–37, and his enclosure to this letter. He had made similar demands of Robert Morris on August 18 and 19 and Morris made a partial response to all three congressional resolves on September 13. Since the register of the treasury Joseph Nourse was on leave in Virginia at this time, Morris could not submit the estimates required until October 21. See *JCC*, 24:512, 514–15, 25:574–77, 715–16; and *PCC*, item 137, 3:61–82.

<sup>3</sup> See Lee to Warren, August 13, 1783, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Lee also wrote a letter to John Lloyd of Charleston, S.C., on September 16 which has not survived. Lloyd's October 14 response to it, which is in the Lee Family Papers, MH-H, indicates that Lee had discussed Congress' removal from Philadelphia, the corruption of Continental officials, and Silas Deane, whose long-standing dispute with Lee had developed when Lloyd and Lee had been allies in France.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

Dear Hannah

Wednesday Sept 17 1783

Another day is passed in disputations which though they did not wound the feelings of humanity as those of the day before, yet excited no less indignation, being founded on ignorance as well as malice. In 1781 an Arrangement had been formed for the marine department with a secretary at the head of it whose salary was fixed at 4000 dollars a year. To this office major genl. McDougal was elected, but he declined accepting it unless he might retain his rank in the army.<sup>1</sup> And this not being agreed, the election became void. The arrangement was then changed and an Agent of marine was to be placed at the head of it with a salary of 1500 dollars a year; but not being able to fix on a person to fill the Office Congress resolved that until an Agent of marine could be appointed, the duties of his Office should be devolved on & executed by the Superintendent of finance.<sup>2</sup>

A remonstrance was lately received from the legislature of Massachusetts complaining of the expense of the civil list.<sup>3</sup> This afforded a favourable opportunity to the junto. For finding the Superintendt. in the exercise of the duties of Agent of marine and not remembering or knowing what was passed, they thought he was the agent and intitled to the salary in addition to what he received as Superint. and that by abolishing the office they would not only lessen his dignity but also lower his income. Bland had a few days before violently opposed the sale of the frigate alliance: He then saw the necessity of having a marine force and hoped the U.S. would never lose sight of it; He ob-



served and with reason that the time of peace was the time for laying the foundation of a marine without which it was impossible for them to be a commercial nation or to be respectable at home or abroad. But now the Super. being held up to his view all this fine reasoning was forgotten, & the house was dinned with the absurdity of continuing an Agent when we had no navy. This wise debate consumed the day, and nothing was done.

I had not the pleasure of hearing from you yesterday. I am informed that it is very sickly in town. I hope you are careful of your health. I purpose being down on Saturday and shall bring William with me.

I am with sincere affection, Dear Hannah, your loving husband  
Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See these Letters, 17:5, 44–45.

<sup>2</sup> See Morris, *Papers* (Ferguson), 2:214–19.

<sup>3</sup> See Thomson to Hannah, September 18, note 4.

## Hugh Williamson to Alexander Martin

Dear Sir.

Princeton 17th September 1783

Mr. Nathl Lawrence informs me that his name is left out of the list in the last return of the officers of the North Carolina line now in the office of the Secretary at War. If his name was designedly left out he conceives himself much injured. This young Gentleman is a native of New York Governnt. joined our army in Pennsylvania & was appointed second Lieutenant of the 2d North Carolina Regiment as appears by a certificate signed by Colonel Patton. His appointment was on the first of June 1778. Twelve months after that time viz on the first of June 1779 Mr. Lawrence was taken prisoner with the Garrison at fort la Fayette on the North River. Capt. Thomas Armstrong was taken at the same time. Mr Lawrence continued a prisoner, chiefly on long Island 'til the 28th March 1781 when he was exchanged and was refered by the Commander in chief to General Greene for orders. The General in his answer which is dated high hills of Santee 18th of August —81 informs Mr Lawrence, that from the then deranged State of the North Carolina line he could give no definitive answer respecting his rank nor whether he should be considered supernumary. In the mean while gives him permission to stay in the State of New York. That he would inform him when the matter should be ascertained. General Howe afterwards took Mr Lawrence into his family and engaged to write to Genl. Greene on the subject; since that time the campaign being inactive Mr Lawrence returned to live with some of his friends in the Country.

There appears by the last arrangement the names of several Officers who were taken into the service so late as Septembr 1780. Perhaps it will be said that Mr Lawrence, whenever he was exchanged without money or the means of travelling should have travelled to General Greene's Camp instead of writing to him in order to receive his orders. I do not know what flaw there may have been in his conduct according to military rules: but I shall venture to say that the spirit of military honor as well as the honor & Justice of the State leave us no room to doubt who, at the end of the war has the best claim to protection or pay, the man who has fought several times and been imprisoned for years in the service of his Country or the Soldier of Yesterday, who never smelt powder unless when shooting at a squirrel. I need not add that I am persuaded you will cause this matter to be enquired into, and that Mr Lawrence will eventually neither have occasion to complain of the partiality nor injustice of the State of North Carolina or its officers. I have the honor &c,

Hugh Williamson

P.S. If Mr. Lawrence has been left out in the arrangement from any breach or neglect of duty I am altogether uninformed of the circumstances. He is thought merely to have been overlooked.

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

## James Duane to William Malcom

Dear Sir,

Princeton 18th September 1783.

I embraced the earliest opportunity which presented to get your memorial referred to the Secretary at War.<sup>1</sup> Had it been on the files in this Office I woud have transmitted you an authentic Copy: but I presume it is left among the papers at Philadelphia.

General Lincoln Joins with me in opinion that you ought to be heard personally and that he is (as he desires me to assure you) ready to attend you. I will add that new arrangements, in the Course of October, are like to [*take*] place in the War Office.

With respectful Compliments to Mrs Malcolm assure yourself that I am, Dear Sir, Your very Obedient & most huml Servt,

Jas. Duane

RC (DNA: PCC, item 78). Addressed: "Col. William Malcolm, Montgomerie, Ulster County."

<sup>1</sup> Malcom's memorial is not in PCC, but for his long-standing pay claims, see these *Letters*, 16:592-93, 17:77. See also Duane to Malcom, October 21, 1783.

## Elbridge Gerry to Abigail Adams

Madam

Princeton 18th Sepr 1783

I embrace the opportunity by Mr Guild, of informing You, that Mr Adams was well the 27th of July, & that by a Letter to the Minister of France of the 27th, the Dutch Negotiation with the British was finished, by which one great obstacle to the definitive Treaty is removed.<sup>1</sup>

Inclosed is an Extract of an official Letter from Doctor F—— to Mr Livingston Secretary of foreign affairs dated July 22d, which is calculated to give a private Stab to the Reputation of our Friend;<sup>2</sup> at least it appears so to me by the Doctors Observation that by writing the Letter “he hazzarded a mortal Enmity,” I think if evident, he did not intend the Letter should be seen by Mr Adams’s particular Friends, but that Mr Livingston should make a prudent Use of it to multiply Mr Adams’ Enemies. Mr L—— could easily do this, by not communicating to Congress the paragraph: but being now out of office, the Doctor’s Craft is apparent. You will please to keep the Matter a profound Secret, excepting to Mr Adams, General Warren & Lady; & let the Channel of Communication be likewise a secret. My Complements to Miss Adams, & all our Friends in your quarter, & be assured I remain with the highest Esteem, Madam your very humble ser

E Gerry

RC (MHi: Adams Papers).

<sup>1</sup> For the recent arrival of a packet of foreign dispatches, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 3, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Franklin’s July 22 letter to Robert R. Livingston, which is highly critical of John Adams’ anti-French views, is in PCC, item 82, 2:389–412; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:580–88.

## Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson

My dear Hannah,

Thursday Sept. 18. 1783

Another day is spent in ill humour and fruitless debates. The subject was to satisfy the Eastern states & reconcile them to the commutation agreed to be given to the Officers in lieu of the half pay that had been promised them. You know that in the midst of the war, when the army was exposed to hunger and nakedness, and their pay was reduced to a trifle by the depreciation of the paper money or, according to the phrase then in vogue, by the advanced price of the necessaries of life, the officers became discontented and wanted to resign. In Order to satisfy them, the Congress at York town agreed that such as continued in service to the end of the war should be intitled to and receive after the war was over their full pay for seven years,<sup>1</sup> provided

they lived so long. The benefit of this was afterwards extended to the widows & children of such as died in the service. Still however the army was discontented. They wanted a provision for life; that after wearing out their constitution in the service of their country they might not, in their old age, be exposed to want and misery. The continent was much divided on this subject. The eastern states were in general averse to it, as it seemed to encourage the idea of a standing army, the other states favoured the measure. It was long a subject of debate. At length however, our finances being exhausted, our affairs gloomy, the discontents of the army encreasing, and assurances being given that this would satisfy them, & it appearing to be the only means in the power of Congress to prevent a dissolution of the army, some of the eastern states gave way and in Sept 1780 Congress resolved that such of the officers as continued in service to the end of the war should be intitled to half pay for life.<sup>2</sup> But though the eastern states from the necessity of the case agreed to the measure, the genius or prejudices of the people were against it, and therefore the officers saw that they could not enjoy that bounty with peace and satisfaction. You know what influence a word has upon the passions of the people. The word *pension* which conveyed an Odious idea was applied to the half pay, and a cry was raised, that the conclusion of the war would saddle the country with a band of *pensioners*. The merit and sufferings of the army were acknowledged, and it was alledged and asserted that the people would readily agree to give them an ample compensation; but that they could not agree to pay them annually a sum for life, which would only encourage idleness and dissipation and create an odious distinction among the citizens. To obviate all objections the officers at the close of last campaign offered to receive a sum in gross in lieu of the half pay promised. This was one of the objects of the deputation from the army (*in January last*) last fall.<sup>3</sup> After long debates and strong symptoms of a most dangerous mutiny in the whole army, it was at last agreed by Congress, that the Officers should be entitled to the value of five years full pay as a commu[ta]tion for the half pay; that all their accounts and claims should be liquidated & settled, and that certificates should be given to each of them for the balance due including the commutation; that this should be funded with the general debt of the nation; and that the interest thereof should be paid annually until the principal could be discharged. And Congress proceeded to call upon the states to grant and establish funds for the regular payment of the interest and discharge of the principal of the whole national debt. The states to the eastward, it seems, are dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the legislature of Massachusetts has remonstrated to Congress against the allowance to the army and the expence of the civil list. This remonstrance was referred to a committee, who reported an Answer with reasons to shew that Congress could not, con-

sistent with public faith, honor justice and humanity, make any alteration in the commutation, but that they were disposed as far as was consistent with the public good to reduce the expences of the civil list. This report not being satisfactory to the eastern delegates was committed to three of them who brought in another report which has engaged the attention of Congress for these two days past, and is likely to engage it for some time to come.<sup>4</sup> The report began with a proposal to abolish the marine department or at least reduce it to an Agent with a trifling salary. This afforded a favourable opportunity to those who wished to have a stroke at the Superint. of finance, who they conceived was the agent & received the emoluments. And as every subject wherein he is concerned is agitated with great warmth & bitterness, this employed the whole of the first day. Yesterday what regarded the civil list was referred to a new committee, and the latter part of the report which related to the commutation was taken into consideration. The report proposed that Congress should pass a resolution, by which the states should be left to settle with the Officers of their respective lines on the best terms they could and to take up the certificates given to the officers & have them discounted at the public treasury in discharge of the requisitions of Congress. This was opposed as a measure tending to violate the public faith pledged to the officers, to throw them upon the mercy of the states and to deprive them of the hard and well earned rewards of their meritorious services. It was supported on the other hand as necessary to the peace and tranquility of the states and to the preservation of the Union. Read opposed it with great warmth, McHenry & Madison with great force of reason & argument. Holten who was in favour of the measure & who is a worthy good man but of weak nerves seemed to be deeply affected with apprehensions of the consequences, urged it with great seriousness & deep Concern, pointing out the dangers & deprecating the evil consequences that might ensue from a refusal. Ellery, who was also in favour of it, and who has a predominant passion to be thought a wit, and whose wit indeed, though far from being acute or refined, much surpasses his judgment or honesty, endeavoured to represent the half pay as extorted from the fears of Congress; and as he scorns to confine his fancy within the bounds of truth, he boldly attempted to impose on the members by the grossest falsehoods, in which however he was immediately detected. But to cover his confusion, he endeavoured to turn the Attention of the house by an attack upon the secretary<sup>5</sup> who had contributed of the detection. In this he was also foiled. And he was obliged to sit still under the disgrace of having either lost his wit or his memory or of having no regard to truth.

I am indeed heartily weary of this scene and if it continues much longer, I am inclined to think I shall wish to withdraw from it. Still however I entertain a fond hope that the same kind providence which



has conducted us so far in our journey will open a way for the future happiness and prosperity of the United States. To his protection I recommend you and Am with sincere Affection, your loving husband,

Cha Thomson

RC (NjP: Thomson Letters).

<sup>1</sup> See these *Letters*, 9:356n.3, 675–76.

<sup>2</sup> Congress actually adopted this resolve on October 21, 1780, for which see *JCC*, 18:958–59; and these *Letters*, 16:234–35.

<sup>3</sup> For the presentation of the “December 1782” memorial carried by this deputation, see James Madison’s Notes, January 6, 1783, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the reports and debates on Massachusetts’ July 11 remonstrance against excessive Continental expenditures, see Massachusetts Delegates to the Massachusetts Senate, July 31, note 3; and *JCC*, 25:571–87, 606–13.

<sup>5</sup> That is, upon Thomson himself. For a possible explanation of the origin of this clash between Ellery and Thomson, see William Ellery to Francis Dana, December 3, 1783, note 11.

## New York Delegates to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Princeton, 19th Sept. 1783

It is with great anxiety that we were informed that your Excellency has fallen under a dangerous Illness. We were therefore much comforted by Colo. Benson’s Favours of the      and the      Instant<sup>1</sup> which gave us Hopes that the Severity of the disorder was greatly abated, and we flatter ourselves that before long your Health will be reestablished, and that you will be enabled to return to the Duties of your Station with Satisfaction to yourself and with those great Advantages to the public which they have experienced from your Zeal and Patriotism.

We have laid before Congress your Excellencys Correspondence with Sir Guy Carleton.<sup>2</sup> We did not propose it should be the ground of any immediate Act of Congress, but conceived that useful Purposes might be answered if it should become necessary to investigate Sir Guy’s Conduct. Besides we thought the Honour of our Government was concerned in preserving that Correspondence entire, which Sir Guy had mutilated by transmitting but a single Letter of his own out of all that passed between you.

Congress have at length decided upon the Virginian Cession of western Territories. That State, it is thought, has insisted upon hard Terms. We have never the less agreed to them for Two Reasons: Because it was a Subject which could only be closed by Composition; and because there is now left as the undoubted Right of the United States an immense Tract of Country which is daily overrun by lawless men (who endanger by their Rashness a new Indian War) and which might be improved to great public Advantage. We need not add that it has a

further Tendency to silence Questions respecting the western Territories which have proved a great obstacle to public Business and might have been a source of internal Contentions and Convulsions.

We inclose a printed Report which was agreed to and approved by Congress as amended.<sup>3</sup> With our earnest Wishes for your Excellency's Health and Happiness, We have the Honour to be most respectfully,  
Dear Sir, Your Excellencys most Obedient & very Humble Servant,

Jas Duane

E L'Hommedieu

FC (NH: Duane Papers). In the hand of Ezra L'Hommedieu.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Benson's September 4 and 7 letters reporting Governor Clinton's illness are in Clinton, *Papers* (Hastings), 8:250–52.

<sup>2</sup> See James Duane to Clinton, August 21, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See PCC, item 30, fol. 565; and JCC, 25:559–63, 988. See also John Francis Mercer to Henry Tazewell September 13, note 4.

## James Duane to Mary Duane

Princeton 20th Septemr. 1783.

I have been made happy my dearest Polly in frequent Accounts from yourself, our dear Daughter and lately from our honored Father of the Health of our Family and Friends. The time is swiftly approaching when there will be no Occasion for seperation [and] when we shall sit down in domestic Comfort—with God's blessing—after all the trials and Storms which have driven us into Exile and torn us from each other.

It is a Consolation that I have continued for so many years in an almost uninterrupted State of Health, and been able to serve my Country without Intermission in the important Trust reposed in me.

The definitive Treaty of peace was not signed when we receivd our last dispatches. The British have however reduced their Army and are preparing to leave New York: and there is no Reason to doubt but we shall soon get rid of them. The time they themselves cannot, if they were disposed to it, ascertain. Col. Harry will tell you better than I can the situation of our Property, which when the British please Capt Miller who is on the Spot will take possession of for us: but I have enjoyned him to ask no Favour for I will have none from their Hands.

Kiss and bless for me our dear Children. I shall write by Tom to our honord Father & to our Daughters who will I flatter myself send a Line for me once a Week to Johnson's which will be safely sent forward by the post. I pray God to bless you and our dear Children with Health and every possible Degree of Comfort and Happiness, being

always with the utmost Affection and Sincerity, My dearest Polly, Your  
faithful Husband,  
Jas. Duane

RC (NHi: Duane Papers).

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Tayler

Dear Sir,

Princeton September 20 1783

Your favour of the 8th I am honoured with, and highly approved of your Conduct in offering Mr Ranseliar the 200 Acres: I beleive it will be the most effectual Argument that could be used to put an End to, and accomplish our Views. I am glad to find you have so high opinion of the Location, and I have every assurance from Nathl Platt that the Certificates will be ready whenever called for; and whenever you shall want them. I beg you will be pleased to call on him for my part. You may depend there shall be no disappointment on my Part respecting the Certificates; for even if Plat should fail I can procure them another way.

I see the force of your objection against covering Fundys Land with Class Certificates, it is the same I made to Judge Platt in a Letter I wrote to him<sup>1</sup> on the subject & which he probably will shew you. I approved of the measure on this Principle: If Fundy obtains a Patent in Consequence of the Indian Purchase, it becomes a President for confirming all Indian Purchases which many of the Legislature are much opposed to. If it is covered with Certificates the State will have received an equal Value for this Land with any other which have been located, and Persons locating having the Indian Title, it becomes a law excepted from the general objection of comprising Indian Purchases, and in such Case I do not see what objections the state could have against gra[n]ting the Land. However as I mentioned in my last Letter<sup>2</sup> I shall refer the matter to you & Company & whatever you think best to be done I shall fully acquiesce in.

I am glad you have it in Idea to see me on Long Island this fall, It would give me great Satisfaction to see you & Mrs Taylor Their. I fear we shall be disappointed: by the general Accounts from New York it is not expected the British will leave that City till the last of November. If they do not goe before I fear they will keep Possession of that Place & Long Island 'till Spring; for I believe they will think it too late after November to risk Troops to Europe. I shall leave this Place in a few weeks when I shall consider myself as a Free man in respect to my being bound further to attend Congress or the Legislature of the State.

The Definitive Treaty by the last Accounts was not signed, tho I think there is a probability of its being compleated before long.

We have no News more than you will see in the inclosed Paper.  
With Regard to Mrs. Tayler I am your most obed Set.

Ezra L'Hommedieu

RC (N: Miscellaneous Manuscripts).

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

<sup>2</sup> See L'Hommedieu to Tayler, September 16, 1783.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Princeton Sept. 20. 1783.

Your favor of the 31 ult.<sup>1</sup> came to hand yesterday. As the reason which chiefly urged my departure for Virga. has ceased I have been led to protract my attendance on Congress by the interest I felt in some measures on foot, and the particular interest which my Constituents have in them. Two of these were the territorial cession and the permanent seat of Congress. The former was a few days ago put into a form which I hope will meet the ultimatum of Virginia.<sup>2</sup> The first Monday in next month is fixed for a decision of the latter; after which it may still be necessary to choose a temporary residence untill the permanent one can be made ready. I am utterly unable to foretell how either of these points will be determined. It is not impossible that an effective vote may be found attainable on neither; in which case the winter must be spent in this village where the public business can neither be conveniently done, the members of Congress decently provided for nor those connected with Congress provided for at all.<sup>3</sup> I shall lose no time in looking out for quarters for you & entering into provisional engagements in your favor. Your other request relative to Miss Patsy shall be equally attended to as soon as I go to Philada. which will probably be towards the end of next week.<sup>4</sup>

It will give me real concern if we should miss of one another altogether in the journies before us; and yet I foresee the danger of it. Mr. Jones & myself will probably be on the road by the middle of next month or a few days later. This is the time about which you expect to commence your journey. Unless therefore we travel the same road a disappointment of even an interview will be unavoidable. At present our plan is to proceed thro' Baltimore, Alexandria & Fredericksbg. and we may possibly be at the races of the second place. I am at a loss by what regulation I can obey your wishes with regard to the notes I have on hand; having not yet made any copy of them, having no time now for that purpose, and being unwilling for several reasons to leave them all behind me. A disappointment however will be of the less con-

sequence, as they have been much briefer & more interrupted since the period at which you run them over, and have been altogether discontinued since the arrival of Congs. here.<sup>5</sup>

My plan of spending this winter in Philada in close reading was not entirely abandoned untill Congress left that City and shewed an utter disinclination to returning to it. The prospect of agreeable & even instructive society was an original consideration with me; and the subsequent one of having yours added to it would have confirmed my intention after the abortive issue of another plan, had not the solicitude of a tender & infirm parent exacted a visit to Virga. and an uncertainty of returning been thereby incurred.<sup>6</sup> Even at present, if Congs. sd make Philada. their seat this winter & I can decline a visit to Virga. or speedily get away from it, my anxiety on the subject will be renewed.

Our last information from Europe is dated the 27th July.<sup>7</sup> France & Spain were then ready for the definitive signing of the Peace. Holland was on the point of being so. The American Plenipos. had done nothing on the subject and in case of emergency could only sign the provisional Treaty as final. Their negotiations had been spent chiefly on commercial stipulations from which G.B. after very different professions & appearances, altogether drew back. The ready admission she found into our commerce without paying any price for it has suggested the policy of aiming at the entire benefit of it, and at the same time saving the carriage of the W. India trade the price she at first bid for it. The supposed contrariety of interests among the States and the impotence of the fœderal Govt. are urged by the ministerial pamphleteers as a safeguard agst. retaliation. The other nations of Europe seem to have more honorable views towards our commerce, sundry advances having been made to our Ministers on that subject.

Congress have come to no decision even as yet on any of the great branches of the peace establishment. The military branch is supported and quickened by the presence of the Commander in chief, but without any prospect of a hasty issue. The department of foreign affairs both internal & external remains as it has long done. The election of a Secy. has been an order of the day for many months without a vote being taken. The importance of the marine department has been diminished by the sale of almost all the Vessels belonging to the U.S. The department of Finance is an object of almost daily attack and will be reduced to its crisis on the final resignation of Mr. M. which will take place in a few months.<sup>8</sup> The War office is connected with the Military establishment & will be regulated I suppose in conformity to what that may be. Among other subjects which divide Congress, their Constitutional authority touching such an establishment in time of peace is one. Another still more puzzling is the precise jurisdiction proper for Congress within the limits of their permanent seat.<sup>9</sup> As these points may possibly remain undecided till Novr. I mention them



particularly that your aid may be prepared. The investigation of the Mutiny ended in the condemnation of several Sergeants who were stimulated to the measure without being apprized of the object by the two officers who escaped. They have all recd. a pardon from Congress. The real plan & object of the mutiny lies in profound darkness. I have written this in hopes that it may get to Monticello before you leave it. It might have been made more interesting if I had brought the Cypher from Philada. tho' my present situation required a great effort to accomplish as much as I have. I am obliged to write in a position that scarcely admits the use of any of my limbs, Mr. Jones & myself being lodged in this room not 10 feet square and without a single accommodation for writing.

I am Dear Sir, Your sincere friend & Obt. Servt.

J. Madison Jr.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:352-54.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

<sup>2</sup> See John Francis Mercer to William Fitzhugh, September 13, 1783, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> From October 6 to 21 Congress contended over both questions before subscribing to a compromise arrangement of alternate temporary sites at Annapolis, Md., and Trenton, N.J., until alternate permanent sites near the falls of the Delaware and Potomac rivers could be readied. See *JCC*, 25:647-59, 664-72, 675-76, 697-99, 702, 706-14.

<sup>4</sup> In his letter of August 31 Jefferson, who had been elected a delegate in June, informed Madison that he would set out for Congress in mid-October and asked for "a room to myself" wherever Congress met and recommendations from Mrs. Nicholas Trist for a suitable boarding school in Philadelphia for his daughter Martha whose familiar name was "Patsy."

<sup>5</sup> Madison is referring to the notes of congressional debates that he kept from November 4, 1782, to June 21, 1783, and which Jefferson had reviewed on one or more occasions while in Philadelphia the preceding winter and spring.

<sup>6</sup> For the "abortive issue of another plan" and Madison's uncertainty over his mother's health, see Madison to Jefferson, August 11, and Madison to James Madison, Sr., September 8, 1783.

<sup>7</sup> See Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 13, 1783, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Although the delegates anticipated Robert Morris' resignation, he continued as superintendent of finance until November 1784.

<sup>9</sup> See Madison to Randolph, July 28, note 3; and David Howell to Nicholas Brown, September 25, 1783, note 6.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

Dear Sir

Princeton. Sept. 20. 1783.

I have nothing to add to my last on the subject of foreign affairs, further than that the Court of France has fixed on L'Orient as a free port for the U.S. The Virga. Cession underwent a decision of Congs. a day or two after my last.<sup>1</sup> The form which they have given it may be

seen in the hands of the Executive.<sup>2</sup> I sincerely hope it may meet the Ultimatum of Virga. The circumstances which produced brevity in my last as strongly recommend it at present.<sup>3</sup>

Adieu,

J. M Jr.

RC (DLC; Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:357.

<sup>1</sup> Actually the same day as his "last," for which see Madison to Randolph, September 13, and John Francis Mercer to Henry Tazewell, September 13, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison, this date, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the lack of writing facilities in Madison's cramped quarters in Princeton.

## John Francis Mercer to George Weedon

Dear General:

Princeton, September 20, 1783.

I have the pleasure of yours, of the 9th, but am by no means decided on the debt. I rather think you stand in arrears to me two or three very long epistles.

The last week I directed a letter to Mr. Fitzhugh, which is to be considered in a great measure a joint one,<sup>1</sup> the first part I am sorry you have not yet given me occasion to consider as such.

I stated almost every article of intelligence from Europe that I can now hold myself at liberty to communicate—but would observe, that France has given us every assurance that the definitive treaty shall not be signed without us—at the same time, they hint that our own facility in running into British commerce, &c., and the little appearance of concert between the different states, has retarded the general negotiation. However, we have reason to apprehend that not only Great Britain, but all the other European powers, even our friends, will pursue the object of deriving advantages from our commerce, without allowing us reciprocity—for if one European nation does this, the others must pursue the same policy or submit to subject themselves to great disadvantages.

We are pursuing the peace arrangement, but under many discouragements, which damp our ardor. I hope, however, all difficulties may be surmounted, and all measures so necessary and salutary, may be completed. I am under the pressure of land debates, and must conclude with assuring you that any thing that shall offer which will correspond with your wishes, shall with the utmost zeal be promoted by, Dr. General, Your friend, and very h'ble Servant, J. F. Mercer.

MS not found; reprinted from Balch, *Papers Relating to the Maryland Line*, pp. 212–13.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

## Virginia Delegates to Benjamin Harrison

Sir, Princeton 20th Sept. 1783

We refer to a letter subscribed by Mr. Jones the last week to shew the disposition of the British nation with respect to our commerce.<sup>1</sup> Altho' we are not informed what is the ultimate determination of France on this Subject, there is reason to apprehend, some indulgences excepted, a policy will be adopted by that nation similar to that of Britain. It hath been communicated to Congress by the minister of his most christian Majesty here, that l'Orient hath been declared a free port for the benefit of the U. States.<sup>2</sup> The determination of Congress on the cession of Virga. will soon be officially transmitted.<sup>3</sup>

MS not found; reprinted from Burnett, *Letters*, 7:301.

<sup>1</sup> The delegates' September 13 letter to Harrison, which has not been found, was apparently written and signed only by Joseph Jones. In transmitting the letter to the Virginia assembly the following month Harrison stated that the delegates had enclosed the terms under which Congress would accept Virginia's land cession and had given insight into British policy in placing restrictions on American trade. See Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:312-13.

<sup>2</sup> This information had been communicated by the chevalier de La Luzerne to a committee of Congress appointed to receive confidential communications "agreeably to his request," but it was not announced publicly until the following April. See *JCC*, 25:589; and Thomas Mifflin to the States, April 21, 1784.

<sup>3</sup> For evidence that the September 13 resolves of Congress were probably not sent to Governor Harrison "officially," see Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:351n.4.

## Samuel Holten to Samuel Dexter

Dear Sir, Princeton, 21st. Sepr. 1783.

I have recd. the letter you did me the honr. to write the 9th inst.

I think I mentiond in my first address, that I recd. your former letter the moment that my Servant was about sitting out to Philada. & that I wrote a few lines to Dr. Martin and inclosed your letter;<sup>1</sup> I did not take notice of the particular case of Mr. Rodney,<sup>2</sup> which you are pleased to mention, and as I well recollect I wrote in haste, I hope you will excuse it; but if it was a Capital cure & mentioned in your letter I shou'd have supposed that Dr. Martin would have noticed it. I have some thoughts of going to Phila. before I return, & if I shou'd, I will bear it upon my mind & endeavor to converse with Dr Martin upon Mrs. Dexters case; However, you may (for aught I know) have requested his attendance upon Mrs. Dexter and may see him before I shall, if so, I wish you to consider this only as my readiness to serve you.

I have, with perfect respect, the honor to be, your most obedient servant.

FC (DLC: Holten Papers). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> See Holten to Dexter, July 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar Rodney, a former delegate to Congress from Delaware, had been treated for cancer by Dr. Hugh Martin in 1782. See Rodney, *Letters* (Ryden), pp. 430–32.

## Committee of Congress to George Washington

Sir Princeton Septemr 22nd. 1783

A Committee to whom the copy of Genl. duPortail's letter of the 16 Inst. addressd to your Excellency, is refer'd., desire a conference with you upon the Subject of that letter.<sup>1</sup>

If you will please to name a time most agreeable to you, the Committee will be happy to wait upon you in the Congress Chamber.

Should half past nine in the morning Suit with your engagements, give me leave to request the honour of your company to breakfast at my lodgings in the morning of the the Same day previous to the conference.

I have the Honour to be with perfect Respect, Your humble Servt,  
Saml. Huntington

RC (DLC: Washington Papers). Written and signed by Samuel Huntington.

<sup>1</sup> A committee consisting of Huntington, James Duane, and Elbridge Gerry had been appointed on September 19 to take into consideration a letter of the same date from Washington enclosing General Duportail's September 16 letter entreating Congress to take action on the future of the army to enable foreign officers to make plans for returning to Europe before the onset of winter. In addition, Washington had also reminded Congress of the necessity of taking action on "the Situation of the Troops on Furlough," and enclosed a letter from Gen. Henry Knox explaining that the Continental troops in New York were inadequately clothed and that if they were to be "held until the winter arrives and then disbanded, their misery would be extreme." See PCC, item 152, 11:487–98, item 186, fol. 126; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:156–57.

The immediate consequence of the committee's conference with Washington seems to have been Congress' September 24 resolve authorizing Washington "to discharge such parts of the Federal Army now in Service as he shall deem proper and expedient" (and to order clothing "for those that may be longer retained"), and the drafting of a proclamation for furloughing the army, for which see JCC, 25:606, 645–46, 703; and Washington, *Writings* (Fitzpatrick), 27:167–69.

Duportail's concerns were not immediately addressed, although he submitted proposals on September 30 for the future arrangement of the artillery and engineering departments, and on October 6 appealed for permission to return to France with General Lamoy and Colonel Gouvion, which Congress approved on October 10. As the superintendent of finance subsequently announced that he had no funds for paying Duportail and his officers, the general again appealed to Congress for relief on October 29. See PCC, item 38, fols. 355–66, item 78, 8:31–34, 43–46; and JCC, 25:668–69, 695.

## James Duane to George Washington

Dear Sir,

Princeton 22d. Septemr 1783.

A Resolution which lately passed<sup>1</sup>—which I have long had at Heart—makes it necessary that I should inform your Excellency that the foreign Dispatches last received, and which were referred to a Committee of which I was Chairman,<sup>2</sup> are returned into the Secretary's Office, and ready for your Excellency's perusal whenever it suites Your Convenience.

With the most perfect Esteem and Respect, I have the Honour to be, Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient & very humble Servant,  
Jas. Duane

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Congress' September 15 resolution granting Washington "access to the secret papers of Congress," for which see Elias Boudinot to Washington, September 17, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Committee of Congress Report, September 25, 1783.

## Elbridge Gerry to Samuel R. Gerry

Dear Commr.

Princeton 22d Sepr 1783

I was favoured by the last Post with yours of the 9th inclosing two Letters from Messrs. Gardoqui's & Mr Gatchels Memorandum. With Respect to the Vessels, the Terms are too high, as it would be cheaper to give 80/ or even 90/ at Newbury Port than 78/ at the Eastward: pray communicate this to Mr Gatchel, & inform him that I should have wrote to him, had the Conditions answered.

You will find some Tickets of the 4th Class of the continental Lottery (with my Bonds & Notes) & I wish to have them sent to Mr Jontin the Commissioner for adjusting accounts, at his office in State Street, to be exchanged for a funded Certificate, being with due Regards to all Friends yours sincerely,  
E Gerry

P.S. I wrote You by Mr Guild of Boston, on the Subject of purchasing Capt Briles Schooner & other Matters.<sup>1</sup>

RC (MHi: Gerry Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See Gerry to Samuel Gerry, September 16.

## Elias Boudinot to George Washington

Sir,

Princeton Sept. 25t 1783

I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency several Acts of Congress relative to the Army, dated the 23d & 24th Instt.<sup>1</sup>



I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's  
Most Obed & Hble Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

RC (DLC: Washington Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The former directed Washington to communicate with Gen. Robert Howe "the thanks of Congress . . . for the prudence and propriety with which he executed the enquiry into the late mutiny," as well as accolades to his troops for their conduct during their assignment to Philadelphia. See *JCC*, 25:566–67, 604. That of the 24th was a "Secret" order, not committed to the journals, declaring "That the Commander in Chief be authorized to discharge such parts of the Fœderal Army now in Service as he shall deem proper and expedient. And that he direct that necessary Cloathing be immediately provided for those that may be longer retained in Service." *JCC*, 25:606. For the context of this resolve, see also Committee of Congress to Washington, September 22, note.

## Committee of Congress Report

[September 25? 1783]

The Comee. appointed to consider the dispatches from the foreign Ministers & to report what measures are necessary for Congress to take thereupon; have very attentively perused their dispatches & submit the follow'g report.<sup>1</sup>

1. It appears clearly from Mr. Adam's letters of the 23d of June and 14th & 18th of July; the Ministers joint letter of July 27th & Dr. Franklin's letter of the 22d July, that the Courts of *France* & Great Britain *particularly the latter*, hath discovered the utmost Jealousy of the commercial Prosperity<sup>2</sup> of America—that they have it in contemplation not only to cramp & restrain our commerce, by prohibiting an intimate & extensive intercourse between America and their West India possessions, but to deprive us as much as possible of the carrying trade by prohibiting any American Vessel from importing into G. Britain any commodities, but those of the State to which it belongs. Your Committee consider this System of Policy as most pernicious<sup>3</sup> to the interests of America; for should we be deprived of a direct trade with the British & French West India Islands, & of carrying the produce of those Islands to Europe, great sources of wealth & convenience to the United States will be lost. Should the other restriction take place, and the Vessels of each of the American States be confined to the importation into G. Britain, of the exports from that State only, a great part of the carrying trade which arises from the exportation of American produce to Europe, will be engrossed by Europeans, the great nursery for seamen will be in a good degree lost, and a very important & profitable branch of commerce, be transferred from the Citizens of these United States to Foreigners—it is therefore of the highest importance in the opinion of your Committee, especially as these restrictions are probably only a part of a system which if carried into effect must prove compleatly ruinous to the American Com-

merce—that a General Power be somewhere lodged for regulating the concerns of the United States: for should those restraining Systems be pursued by Britain & France and other states which will probably be drawn into <sup>4</sup> the same system, some regulations to exclude them from our carrying trade, will be absolutely necessary, or they may eventually become the sole carriers even of our own produce. On this head your Comtee. submit to the Consideration of Congress <sup>5</sup> whether it may not be expedient to appoint a special Comtee. to prepare an address to the States on the subject of Commerce stating to them the commercial Regulations which are prevailing <sup>6</sup> in Europe, the evils we apprehend and the proper steps on their part to guard against and counteract <sup>7</sup> them . . .

and 2. to report measures necessary to be taken by Congress, among which may perhaps be reckoned treaties of Amity & Commerce with the other Great Powers in Europe, & the residence of an able Minister or Agent at the Court of London.

3. That it appears also from those dispatches, particularly from the letter of July 18th from Mr. Adams; that not only a continuation but an additional cement to the Union is necessary—that if the United States do ever become a great, a powerful & a flourishing Nation, respectable in Commerce & in Arms, it must be by having a well formed foederal Government, sufficiently effective to collect the resources of the Country to a point when necessary, & to make such general arrangements whether of a Commercial or political nature, as circumstances may from time to time require—for as it is clearly not the interest of any maritime European Power, to promote rapidly our encrease in numbers & in wealth, on the contrary they appear apprehensive of our growing importance; We may expect if we are not attentive to our own interests, & have not energy enough to secure our own honour, to be treated with insult & disrespect by them all in their turns. 4. Your Comtee. would therefore propose the appointment of a special Comtee. to deliberate on this Head.

It appears farther from Mr. Adam's letter of \_\_\_\_\_ and Dr. Franklin's letter of 22d July, that propositions for entering into treaties of Amity & Commerce have been made to our Ministers, by the King of Denmark, the Court of Portugal, the Emperor of Germany the King of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Court of Spain \_\_\_\_\_ and that all the other Powers of Europe discover a like disposition. A Special Comtee. is recommended on this subject, to consider whether general outlines of treaties with those several Powers, or instructions to our Ministers as to the principles of such treaties, shall be forwarded & to report the necessary forms in either case. Letters should be written to our Ministers directing them to stop all loans in Europe, to make all necessary representations to the Court of Denmark for obtaining restitution for the Prizes sent into Bergen by the Alliance—to

inform Congress why the expedition of the Ships Alliance and Bonhomme Richard &ca. was at the expence & on the account of the Court of France—whether any part of the profit arising therefrom accrued to the United States, or any of the expence attending it was charged to them—whether any of the proceeds of the Prizes taken by those Ships remains in Europe, that is due to the American Officers & seamen employed in that expedition, the amount thereof & in whose hands it is deposited—to approve their encouraging overtures for treaties of Amity & Commerce, from the respectable & commercial Powers in Europe, and direct them to form none but upon terms of the most perfect reciprocity & subject to the revisal of Congress previous to their being ratified, to enclose to them the resolutions of Congress, instructing Mr. Dana with respect to his entering into stipulations relative to the system of the Armed Neutrality—to approve of their intention of adopting the Provisional Treaty as a definitive Treaty, in case they cannot agree with the British Minister as to any additional articles or explanations—to empower them or any two of them to make to Mr. Wren, who has acted a very kind & humane part to the Americans when Prisoners in England, such presents as they may think decent & adequate to his merits, not exceeding £500 stlg. and in the name of the United States—to direct Mr. Carmichael to repair to Paris with the books & papers necessary to make a final & compleat adjustment of the public accounts, that are under the controul of him and Mr. Jay agreeable to Mr. Jay's letter of the 1st June last—to give Mr. Jay permission to go to England to recover his health agreeable to his request in a letter of July 20th—to direct the Ministers not to encourage the application of Foreigners to be appointed Consuls in Europe, it being the determination of Congress to appoint Americans only as Consuls, to give to the Ministers in Europe, one and all of them, 5. permission to return to America, after the definitive Treaty is perfected & forwarded, except in cases where they or any of them, may be negotiating business to which they have been especially commissioned or directed, in such cases to direct them to perfect that business before they leave Europe, and in every case to give Congress the earliest notice of the time they expect to return.

6. Your Committee would propose that a Committee be appointed to prepare draughts of the letters necessary to take up the points above stated.

They further report that it is in their opinion highly necessary for Congress to go soon into the consideration of the report on Mr. Laurens' letters, & proper instructions sent to our Ministers in Europe, to enable them to pursue the very important objects recommended in that report.<sup>8</sup>

MS (NH: Duane Papers). In a clerical hand with revisions by James Duane.

<sup>1</sup> This committee, which was appointed on September 12, consisted of James Duane, Thomas FitzSimons, Elbridge Gerry, Stephen Higginson, and John Rutledge. According to Secretary Charles Thomson's committee book, it reported "in part" on September 19 and "fully" on September 25, for which see PCC, item 186, fol. 123; and *JCC*, 25:587-88, 617-20. For the letters referred to the committee, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 13, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Duane substituted "discovered the utmost Jealousy of the commercial Prosperity" for "become very jealous of the future probable greatness" of America.

<sup>3</sup> Duane substituted "as most pernicious" for "as very alarming & dangerous."

<sup>4</sup> "drawn into" for "negotiated in."

<sup>5</sup> "submit to the Consideration of Congress" for "would suggest."

<sup>6</sup> "commercial Regulations which are prevailing" for "appearances."

<sup>7</sup> "and counteract" inserted by Duane.

<sup>8</sup> For the congressional debate and determinations on this report on September 29 and October 1, see *JCC*, 25:628-32, 636-37.

## Samuel Holten to Stephen Higginson

Dear Sir,

Princeton. 25th September 1783.

The day after your departure, was taken up in considering, the report of the committee on the letter from President Wear, respecting loan office certificates, which produced another commitment.<sup>1</sup> Yesterday was chiefly taken up in attending commencement;<sup>2</sup> however a motion being made to direct genl Washington to discharge as many of the three years men as he thought proper, after debate, it was referred to him, to take order;<sup>3</sup> so that I suppose part of them will be discharged.

This day Congress passed upon the answer to the memorial of Masstts. & upon the motion of mine, the memorial is to be entered upon the journals, & the answer is to be forwarded by the President, & by the next post I hope the delegates will be able, to send a particular acct. of the proceedings of Congress upon this business.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Gordon is with us & genl. Lincoln arrived yesterday.

Having had some correspondence with Mr. Sullivan,<sup>5</sup> I was lead to consider, what you mentioned in my chamber on Saturday last, or read in a letter, you then had in your hand, & altho' I did not hear, so as to fully comprehend all you said, yet, if I took the matter right, it conveyed this idea, that one of your colleagues had wrote a letter to Mr Sullivan, of which your correspondent expressed some sentiments unfavorable of the author; and as it is possible the letter referred to came from me. I am at a loss to conceive what expressions I have made use of, that cou'd, have such an effect upon the mind of your friend, for I am sure that I never wrote a line to Mr Sullivan or any other person, with the least intention to injure the character or hurt the feeling of any gentleman; and I should not have thought it worth while to have troubled you on this Subject, had it not been, that I sup-

pose the person that corresponded with you, must be a gentleman of character in Masstts. & therefore his observations may be thought worthy of notice.

Mr. Gerry is really unwell, & I fear he will be wholly confin'd.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect your most obedient<sup>6</sup>

FC (NjR: New Jersey Letters). In the hand of Samuel Holten.

<sup>1</sup> Higginson apparently left Princeton September 22, as this report on Meshech Weare's letter was debated and recommitted on the 23d. See *JCC*, 25:604–6n.1.

<sup>2</sup> See the following entry, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Elias Boudinot to Washington, this date.

<sup>4</sup> See *JCC*, 25:606–13; and Massachusetts Delegates to Massachusetts Assembly Committee, October 1, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> See Holten to James Sullivan, June 18 and August 29, 1783.

<sup>6</sup> Holten had also sent Higginson the following brief "Billit" on "Friday morn" the 19th. "Dr. Holten presents his compliments to the hone. Mr. Higginson, & requests that he would favor him with the newspaper, that contains the provisional treaty, & also with some sealing wax." To his draft of the note, which is in the Holten Papers at MHi, he also appended the comment: "N.B. I recd. some sealing wax, but not the treaty altho' I lent it to him some time since."

## David Howell to Nicholas Brown

Dear Sir,

Princeton 25 Sept. 1783

Nothing of consequence has been done in Congress since my last,<sup>1</sup> except in regard to the cession of Virginia. The report of a comee some time ago enclosed to your Brother Joseph [h]as been agreed to.<sup>2</sup> Some doubt whether Virginia will alter their cession so as to conform it to the views of Congress; but it is the more prevailing opinion that they will. The result will soon be known as their Legislature will be convened next month.

It is now three years since Congress recommended to the States to make liberal cessions of their claims to Western territory. Three cessions only have been made, one was accepted last year, Viz. N. York; another has been repealed since the return of peace, Viz. Connecticut; and it has been suggested that Virginia was about opening her land office. No. Carolina & Georgia have opened their land offices & it is said are making every arrangement to dispose of their back lands to advantage. Thus Situated Congress have been induced to accept a cession of Virginia far short of what she ought to have made. And the proclamation mentioned in a letter to gov. Bowen has passed the House.<sup>3</sup> Eight States agreed to the cession.

The Territory which will be vested in Congress should Virginia agree to our proposals will include, it is said by the most knowing, about five hundred thousand square miles—A territory about five hundred times as large as the State of R. Island.



No. Carolina & Georgia it is hoped will deem themselves bound to follow the Example at least of ceding a proportional share of their claims. It is in contemplation, at least with some in Congress to apply specially to those States.

For sundry particulars I must beg leave to refer you to a late letter to the gov. signed by Mr. Ellery & myself.<sup>4</sup> That letter is in a legible hand writing—on which account I hope our friends will more readily excuse its length.

I am not a little mortified that none of my friends have yet vouchsafed to answer any of my Letters excepting Mrs Howell writes me weekly & Dr. Arnold has written me a few Letters, which are all I have received—perhaps a friend of mine the other day hit on the true reason. He said that probably you found trouble enough *in reading them*.

Yesterday was celebrated the anniversary commencement in this Town.<sup>5</sup> Gen. Washington & sundry others of distinction, besides Congress, attended. For an account of the Exercises I shall refer you to the newspapers. Thirteen Alumni were graduated Bachelors in the Arts. Several were graduated Masters. The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on three or four—as they were strangers to me I do not recollect their names.

The day before yesterday was spent on the Subject of directing the L. Officers to issue certificates for intrest, &c. It was much opposed: and the grounds of the opposition went also to the requisition of Sept. 4. 1782. It was said that the whole of the intrest due was included in the estimate of our national debt for which provision was made in the arrangements of March 18th last; & that, of course, this requisition ought to be remitted, & considered as absorbed in the other. Thus do I find myself extremely embarrassed by what has been done in my absence. Those who are steadily on the ground take every advantage of opportunity; but I hope to see several retire to better business after next November.

Notwithstanding the change in affairs by residing in this free air: there is still a prevailing voice in Congress in support of Continental measures. Some gentlemen seem disposed either by their presence, or absence to retard business 'till Congress shall return to Philadelphia. There is no possibility of a vote for returning before all the States South of Delawar river shall be present—or 'till the permanent residence shall be established. I may be mistaken but I expect, we shall stay here through the winter.

Many dispatches were received by *the Washington* but I am not at Liberty to communicate their contents.

An attack has been made on Commutation: but to no effect, Congress seeming resolved to abide by what they "*have written*" as was said of old.

3. O'Clock. P.M. This day has been spent in a Comee of the whole House on *the jurisdiction necessary for Congress over the place of their permanent residence*.<sup>6</sup> It is said that Tyrants make a *small circle* about them[selves] for their own Security: & I am sorry, that a Confederation of republics should apprehend a necessity of enslaving a *small circle* about their Supreme Council for its safety. Nothing done.

Col. Wm. Peck passed thro' this day to Philadelphia. I want much to hear from you—pray write me a long old-fashioned Letter on politics, &c. &c.

The Dutch Minister has not had his Audience with Congress, nor arrived as we know of—notwithstanding the reports.

In a Letter from Mr Jay dated 22 April—He says that it will perhaps be our policy to do nothing in regard to the refugees 'till after N. York shall be evacuated—and then to receive all but "*the perfidious & the cruel*."<sup>7</sup> Quare, How many will finally be excluded by his rule?

I was pleased on reading over one of Mr. John Adams's Letters to Congress, dated soon after his arrival at Paris & his great Success in Holland in procuring loans & a Treaty of Amity & commerce. He mentions a variety of Compliments paid him by the Parisians; and among others the following "*Vous ete le Washington de la negotiation*." "*You are the Washington of negotiations*."<sup>8</sup> This was allowed to be the highest pitch. And it occurred to me that I had a good authority for having in former Letters spoken freely of myself. When persons are elevated to high Stations they are apt to become vain. It is a general fault of human nature & while our enemies are severe one expects candour & forgiveness from friends.

I must refer you to a late Letter to Commodore Hopkins<sup>9</sup> for an account of the Success of our foreign Loans.

I should have written to Dr Arnold by this post; had he not written me that he was going to Vermont about this time. Should he not be gone pray shew him this letter. You will also please to shew it to his Honor the Deputy Gov. & to other friends as prudence may direct.

I have recd a Letter from President Manning to which I have not time to reply by this post.<sup>10</sup> He wants to know when I propose to return & whether I would undertake in the College in his place, in case he goes to Europe? I cannot at present answer either of these questions. It is my wish to do some service to the State before I return—little has yet been done; nor is it to be expected that much will be done 'till winter.

I am very glad to hear that Mr John Brown has undertook to furnish the College with a Library & Apparatus.<sup>11</sup> I shall send on a Catalogue of books, &c. as soon as I can.

Please to give my kind regards to Mrs Brown & to all friends & believe me to be as heretofore, Dear Sir, your assured friend & very hble Servt.

David Howell

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

<sup>1</sup> The most recent letter from Howell to Brown that has been found is dated July 30, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> No letter from Howell to Joseph Brown has been found, but for this report on the Virginia session see John F. Mercer to William Fitzhugh, September 13, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> No such letter to Jabez Bowen has been found, but for the adoption of this proclamation, see Pennsylvania Delegates to the Pennsylvania Assembly, this date, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Rhode Island Delegates to William Greene, September 8, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the commencement at the College of New Jersey.

<sup>6</sup> For the origins of this report, which was submitted on September 5 by a committee that had been appointed on July 18, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, July 28, note 3. It had been taken up on September 22, and after debate was "referred to a committee of the whole house" for further consideration "on Thursday next [the 25th]." See *JCC*, 25:603-4, 616-17. Its principal proposals were that Congress "ought to enjoy an exclusive jurisdiction over the District which may be ceded and accepted for their permanent residence," and that this district "ought not to exceed the Contents of six miles square, nor to be less than three miles square." However, these recommendations were opposed by decentralists such as Howell, whose strength was growing, and as a result Congress "took no action on the committee report and never discussed the issue again." Kenneth R. Bowling, *The Creation of Washington, D.C., The Idea and Location of the American Capital* (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991), p. 79. For discussion of the development of the concept of "exclusive jurisdiction" by the federal government over a territory of its own, see *ibid.*, pp. 76-79.

<sup>7</sup> This letter is in PCC, item 89, fols. 464-67; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:388-90.

<sup>8</sup> This remark by Adams is found not in one of his letters but in a document known as his "Peace Journal," which consists of a series of extracts from Adams' diary extending from November 2 through December 13, 1782, for which see Adams, *Diary* (Butterfield), 3:41n, 50, 85. The document is in PCC, item 84, 4:242-96; the passage quoted by Howell is found in Adams' journal entries for both November 10 and 30, *ibid.*, pp. 249, 284.

<sup>9</sup> Not found.

<sup>10</sup> But see Howell to James Manning, September 27, 1783.

<sup>11</sup> Two of the many gifts from the Brown family that resulted in changing the name of Rhode Island College to Brown University in 1804.

## Ezra L'Hommedieu to George Clinton

Dear Sir

Princeton Sept. 25 1783.

Yesterday Mr Pierce the Paymaster to the Army received 332.24 Dollars, a Part of which I proposed to him to receive & draw an Order on your Excellency for the same: he was very willing to let me take the whole (without dividing the Sum) which I have done and drawn an Order on your Excellency in his favour for that Sum,<sup>1</sup> which I request you will advance on Account of my Attendance in Congress the Present year. I left Home the first of August and The Allowance for the Time I shall have been employed in that Service before I return, will, at the Rate of 5 Dollars per Day, be more than the above Sum.

Last Evening I received a Letter from Govr. Livingston which I inclose. It is an Answer to the one I wrote to him the Contents of which I mentioned in my last.<sup>2</sup> The Price he talks of is so much beyond my Ex-

pectation that I fear we shall not be able to make the proposed Purchase, tho I beleive he will take much less than he mentions.

I should be glad to have your opinion on the highest Sum it would be advisable to give, before I leave this Place, as I propose calling on him on my Return.

We have lately received Dispatches from our Ministers at Paris which at present are under the Hands of a Committee and an Injunction of Secrecy, altho they contain nothing of a public Nature very important. I beleive by the next Post we shall be at Liberty to inform you of the most interesting Parts of these Communications.

A Vessel has arrived at Philadelphia 2 days ago in Six Weeks from France. The Definitive Treaty was not signed when she left that Place, tho by some late Intelligence tis likely that Treaty will be concluded before long. One of the Letters from Dr. Franklin, John Adams & John Jay Esqrs has the following words (which is under no injunction of Secrecy).<sup>3</sup>

"We are surprised to hear that any Doubts have arisen in America respecting the Time when the cessation of Hostilities took place there. It most certainly took Place at the Expiration of one month after the date of that Declaration in all parts of the world, whether Land or Sea that lay North of the Latitude of the Canaries. The Ships afterwords taken from us in the more notherly Latitudes ought to be reclaimed and given up: We shall apply to Mr Hartley on this Subject, and also on that of the transportation of Negroes from New York contrary to the words and intention of the provisional Articles."

We were happy to find by Colo. Bensons Letter of the 19 received yesterday that the Symtoms of your disorder were so favorable & that the Fever which had been so violent had almost intirely abated. You have my most fervent Prayers for the Restoration of your Health which is so interesting to the Public, your Family and Friends, and am Sr, with sincere Regards to your Family, Your Excellencys most Obedient and very Hume Servt.

Ezra LHommedieu

FC (Andrew Fiske, Shelter Island, N.Y., 1980). In the hand of Ezra L'Hommedieu.

<sup>1</sup> This draft on Governor Clinton, which is actually dated the 27th, is in the Miscellaneous Manuscripts, N.

<sup>2</sup> See L'Hommedieu to Clinton, September 16, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> This July 18 letter is in PCC, item 85, fols. 300-15; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:566-70.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson

Sir,

Princeton September 25th. 1783.

We have the honor to lay before Council for their Information a Proclamation prohibiting unauthorized Settlements in the Western Country and a Copy of the Resolves relating to the Virginia Cession.<sup>1</sup>

Congress are taking Measures for establishing a Boundary between the Indians and the Settlements made or to be made by the United States as Part of a Plan for insuring a lasting Peace with the Savages. So soon as any Act of Congress shall be passed, on the Subject, we will do ourselves the honor to transmit a Copy thereof to Council.<sup>2</sup> We have the honor to be with great Respect and Esteem, Your very obedient Servants,

John Montgomery

Richard Peters

Tr (PHarH: Record Group 27). Addressed: "To His Excellency the President of the Council of Pennsylvania."

<sup>1</sup> For these September 13 resolves and the September 22 proclamation, see *JCC*, 25:559-64, 602.

<sup>2</sup> See Pennsylvania Delegates to Dickinson, October 24, notes 4 and 5.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to the Pennsylvania Assembly

Sir,

Princeton Sept. 25th. 1783

We have the Honour to transmit the Proceedings of Congress on the Subject of the Instructions of the Honble House relative to the proposed Purchase of the Indians inhabiting or claiming part of the Territory of Pennsylvania. By those Proceedings the House will perceive the Obstacles to a Compliance with their Wishes.<sup>1</sup> The Committee on Indian Affairs have made a Report which is now before Congress & this Day is appointed for its Discussion. The Principles of that Report militate against the Ideas of the House with Respect to the proposed Purchase.<sup>2</sup> It is intended to insist as Part of the Terms of Peace that the Savages should without Compensation abandon Part of their Country to the United States who claim it by Conquest & as a Retribution for the Expence & Damages incurred by the hostile & cruel Conduct of the Savages contrary to the Advice & Injunctions of the United States. A Boundary Line is proposed to be established between the Indians & the Citizens of these States & it was believed that if any particular State made a Purchase it would obstruct the general Measures, as the Indians would not agree to the Dereliction of any Part of their Country as a Compensation for the Expenses & Ravages occasioned by the War when they find that tho' the general Council refuse it they can obtain Money for it from the Individual States. Whether these Principles be just or the Policy advisable we do not pretend to determine. We held it our Duty to state the Impediments preventing Congress from agreeing to the Propositions of the State & leave the Honorable House to determine as they in their Wisdom shall think proper.



We have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, your very  
obed Servants,

John Montgomery

Richard Peters

RC (PHi: Gratz Collection). Written by Peters and signed by Peters and Montgomery. Addressed: "Honble Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania."

<sup>1</sup> The Pennsylvania Assembly was seeking congressional approval to negotiate with the Indians for the purchase of lands the state wished to grant to Pennsylvania veterans. The assembly's instructions "relative to the proposed Purchase" had been referred on September 13 to a committee consisting of James Duane, Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Hawkins, Arthur Lee, and Richard Peters, which already had under consideration a number of issues concerning Continental Indian policy. The committee's report on these instructions, which was written by Peters, declared "that Congress have no objection to [such] a conference," but the report was rejected on September 20 after a protracted debate that included four roll call votes and a number of proposed amendments. See *JCC*, 25:591-96; *PCC*, item 69, 2:461-68, item 186, fol. 124; and *Pa. Archives*, 1st ser. 10:105-8.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Congress had just adopted a proclamation on the 22d prohibiting settlement on Indian lands without express congressional approval, and would soon endorse the substance of the comprehensive Indian committee report scheduled for debate this date. See *JCC*, 25:602, 681-95; Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), pp. 10-12; and Thomas Mifflin to the Indian Commissioners, March 22, 1784, note 1.

## Arthur Lee to Robert Morris

Sir,

Copy

Princeton. Sepr. 26 1783

Mr. Silas Deane in his Accounts against the U.S. says that—"Congress by their Secret & Commercial Committee contracted with Silas Deane Esqr. to embark for France as the political & commercial Agent of the 13 then U. Colonies & instructed him to purchase for & on account of sd. U.C. Woolens & other Merchandise to the amount of forty thousand pounds stlg. also Cloathing, Arms, Ammunition &c sufficient for an Army of 25000 Men, as may be seen by the Contracts & Instructions of the 19 of Feby. & 2d March 1776, for which purchases it was stipulated & agreed to allow the sd. Silas Deane Esqr. a commission of 5 pr Ct. independent of his Charges in making the purchases—it was at the same time agreed, that, as the sd. S. Deane Esqr. besides the commercial transactions entrusted to him, was commissiond. & authorizd to act as the political Agent of the sd. 13 Colonies, his expences should be paid, & an adequate & honorable compensation made him by Congress for his time."<sup>1</sup>

The Committee have endeavord, in vain, to find among the Papers of Congress the Contracts & Instructions referd to by Mr. Deane, & as the Committee are desirous of doing that Gentleman the justice of reporting them to Congress if they exist, they will be obligd to you Sir,

for any information you can give them, of the reality of those Contracts & Instructions, or where they are to be found.<sup>2</sup>

I have the honor to be &c &c

A Lee

Tr (DNA: PCC, item 54).

<sup>1</sup> For this prefatory statement to Silas Deane's accounts, see PCC, item 54, fols. 69–70.

<sup>2</sup> In his October 4 response to Lee, Morris enclosed a copy of Deane's February 19, 1776, contract with the Secret Committee (PCC, item 54, fols. 11–12), and explained that he presumed that Deane's instructions would be on file in the office for foreign affairs. For both Deane's contract with the Secret Committee and March 2, 1776, instructions from the Committee of Secret Correspondence, see these *Letters*, 3:313–15, 320–23.

Silas Deane had been attempting to secure a settlement of his accounts as Continental agent in France since December 1778, and had renewed this effort in March 1782 when he wrote to both the president of Congress and to Thomas Barclay, the commissioner for settling Continental accounts in Europe. In response to this appeal from Deane, now widely regarded as an apostate since the publication of his correspondence urging negotiations with the North ministry in October 1781, Barclay had forwarded Deane's accounts to the secretary for foreign affairs, who had submitted them to Congress, which in turn has assigned them to a committee consisting of Lee, George Clymer, and Eliphalet Dyer in September 1782. Although the committee had taken no action on the accounts, it was "Revived" on April 23, 1783 (with John Lewis Gervais replacing Clymer), and "Renewed" on July 23 (James McHenry and Stephen Higginson replacing Dyer and Gervais, with Elbridge Gerry later replacing Higginson). See PCC, item 54, fols. 49–52, item 79, 1:476–77, item 103, fols. 207–8, item 185, 3:41, item 186, fols. 54, 97, 113; and these *Letters*, 13:481–84, 18:195–96n.3.

Lee had finally written a letter to Morris on August 24 (not found) requesting the Deane accounts in the treasury office, which the superintendent sent to the committee on the 29th. PCC, item 54, fol. 5. For the continuation of the committee's work with Deane's accounts, see Lee to James Milligan, October 4, and to Morris, October 9, 1783.

## North Carolina Delegates to Alexander Martin

Sir,

Princeton Sept. 26th. 1783

Near six Monthes have expired since we had the pleasure of informing you that the preliminary articles of peace were signed and that hostilities had ceased with great Britain.<sup>1</sup> From that hour our Ministers have not been able to make any progress in their negotiations with the British Ministers. Perhaps you will be surprized when we say that we suffer under this misfortune by the sole conduct of our own Citizens. Great Britain having lost the subjection of the States was anxious beyond measure to prevent our trade from falling into the hands of the french and Dutch. She knew that by commanding our trade she would ever hold us in some kind of subserviance and would continue to reap the profits of our labour. She then courted our affections and offered to meet us on terms of perfect reciprocity. But the British ministry, who had formed the preliminaries of a general peace, were thrown out of place and two months had passed before a new admin-

istration was formed. In this interval the definitive Treaty could not go on, and unfortunately during this time the cause of anxiety and fear on the part of the British was fully removed: Our ports were opened to every thing that was called british, and our vessels, regardless of treaties & despising seizures or forfeitures crouded into the British Ports in a manner that was astonishing to all Europe. It would seem that such people had been humbled by correction and that they loved Great Britain more than other nations; because she treated them worse than slaves, or beasts of burthen, for no Man willingly destroys his slave. The consequence was, that the terms first offered were refused & proclamations have been issued, the copy of which we enclose No. 1, 2. by these you see, that we are to have no trade with the West Indies & very little with Great-Britain itself except to import their goods.<sup>2</sup>

During this interval Congress have had a very difficult part to act. While there was no definitive Treaty, and the British forces held one of our chief Cities & several posts in our Country, we could not possibly disband our whole army and leave all our Military stores in their power. Unable however, to borrow money abroad and the States beginning to make more scanty remittances into the Treasury than the small sums they had formerly contributed, it was impossible for us to feed our army, much less continue to feed the British prisoners. We began therefore by giving up the prisoners on their giving up our people who were in their hands.

The merchants of Philadelphia, through the Delegates of that State, urged us with indecent importunity, by some act of Congress to countenance the opening of our Ports. By a Law of Pennsylvania trade with great Britain was interdicted during the war; and a declaration of Congress that the war had terminated would restore the trade. Whether it was that the Southern States having suffered more by British cruelty had less confidence in British faith, or whatever might be the cause, the measure was first opposed by these states and Congress have uniformly refused to use any other term in their public acts than *cessation of hostilities*. The Merchants however, getting no satisfactory answer from Congress, applied to the Judges, on whose opinion Vessels were permitted to enter from and clear for any British port: other states found other excuses for opening their ports and the disease soon became general.

Our Troops who had been enlisted during the war became uneasy under the same plea of the war being at an end; that argument however, was got over without much trouble, but an argument remained, which we could not answer. They must eat and we could not feed them: nor could they be discharged without money. This was a crisis truly alarming: in the address of Congress to the States you have an account of a dangerous sedition, and in our letter of the first of Au-

gust, on the subject of the mutiny at Philadelphia, we have explained some of the subsequent troubles. Congress could only give one months pay in money to the army & three months pay in Notes by anticipation. Had we kept the whole body a few weeks longer in the field we could not have given them a shilling & perhaps might have seen them demanding justice from their Countrymen at the point of the bayonet. They had been told that the faithful veterans, who had fought & conquered in defence of their Country, would find no reward for their valour nor even a scanty subsistence for their families, and that the glorious war they had supported, would consign them to ruin. An attempt to disband them without some money, and the attempts to establish funds for after payment would have induced them to credit those assertions. The troops enlisted for the war were furloughed to be discharged whenever the definitive Treaty should arrive. They will probably be discharged soon, whether it arrives or not. Thus we have reduced our forces to little more than a garrison for West point & have been obliged to sell ships, Blankets & sundry other articles provided for the army in order to raise money to discharge the contingent expences.

Whenever the definitive treaty does arrive, there is not the least reason to believe that it will contain a single explanation or provision more than is contained in the preliminary articles. If we have been obliged to reduce our army while an armed force held possession of part of our Country it was because some of the States refused to agree to the 5 Per Cent impost and many of the States paid nothing or very little into the Treasury by active Taxation. If we have been prevented from making any commercial stipulations with Great Britain it is because the Merchants without system or caution rushed into the British ports & courted an intercourse with that Country. It is hardly necessary after this remark to point a palpable defect in the fœderal Government. Congress have the power of making Treaties, but have no power of restraining commerce so as to cause those Treaties to be observed. Had they possessed the mere negative upon imposts, Had they been able to check that entemperate desire of farthings, by which the United States have lost five times as many pounds there would not have been a single British Soldier at this hour in the United States, and we should have enjoyed an honorable & profitable commerce. Situated as we are, a Nation lately violently inimical to us enjoys all the advantages of our commerce without any Treaty without its being advantageous to us, and without our being able to check it. This matter we hope will be taken up by Congress & represented to the States with a plan for remedying it.

We have mentioned the address of Congress to the States which passed in April last.<sup>3</sup> We had forwarded Several copies of this address some months ago & the Pamphlet being reprinted we have lately for-



warded one hundred & forty more Copies for the use of the Members of the general Assembly which we presume have come to hand. We flatter ourselves that no arguments, in addition to those used by Congress, will be needed to induce the General Assembly to adopt the measures therein recommended. The pride of every Citizen must be hurt when he looks over the accounts of payment No. 3<sup>4</sup> which have been made into the public Treasury for the support of the War and of civil Government, and finds that North Carolina is one of the few States that has not contributed a farthing. If she had formerly refused to pass the 5 Per Cent duty it would have been said that she not only paid nothing herself, but was the means of defeating a system by which other states would have paid large sums. Happily this blame fell on Rhode Island though Georgia had not cleared herself of suspicions. The most weighty objections raised by Rhode Island are removed by the plan which is now proposed, but we have strong reasons for thinking that that State will invent new objections; because having little territory & being a carrying State, their desire is to convert the duties on imposts to their own use. We observe that the Delegates from that State are very attentive to the Conduct of the Legislatures of other States, in hopes, we presume, that some of them may share with them the blame of effecting national bankruptcy or some other such calamity. Whatever force there may be in arguments drawn from the general good, which in our state have ever been listened to with great attention, we shall take the liberty of subjoining an argument drawn from the particular interest of the State.

It is not to be disputed that our State is in great Danger of being impoverished & ruined unless a general impost such as the one proposed should take place. For if we fail in the federal impost or a duty laid on for the general use and for the payment of the public debt, each State in the Union will immediately impose a duty for its own particular use. Massachusetts who imports for herself & New Hampshire would be pleased with the measure. The same argument applies to Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania & Delaware; and the measure would be ruinous to New Hampshire, Connecticut and New Jersey. It is hardly necessary to say that Virginia [*and*] South Carolina imports for near half for our State. Hence it will follow that all the goods we consume will be loaded with the addition of 5 per cent in their price, the whole of which must go towards paying the taxes of Virginia or South Carolina. We observe that neither of these States are very solicitous about the imposts becoming general. The reason is too plain, They know without it they can lay a duty for State purposes & that we, having very little foreign trade, shall become their prey.

On the 25th of October 1782 the delegates had the honor of informing your Excellency that the old continental money was become a subject of serious debate in Congress. Some States Massachusetts in



particular have collected their full quota of that money and there are large sums still in the hands of their Citizens for which they desire to be credited at the rate of 40 for one, we are told that it would be difficult perhaps impracticable to collect taxes in that State, where there is a ballance of 47 millions of such Dollars, unless the holders obtain a value for Them. The Delegates uncertain [what steps] <sup>5</sup> might be taken on that subject & fearing that the State of North Carolina might finally have to pay in some manner her quota of that money, requested that you would be so good as cause the different Treasurers to account for the sums they had received of the old Continental money, in order that our state might be credited for the same. Certainly large sums of that money were collected by taxation in the beginning of the Year 1782 but we do not learn that any account has ever been taken of the sum. When the delegates are asked what the State has done on this head, we are obliged to answer, as in all other cases where we are interogated concerning money matters or Public accounts, that we are absolutely without information. Merely for the want of such information we have been obliged to negative every question that has been put on the subject of Continental money.

Having mentioned Public accounts, we have to intreat that all possible aid may be given the Comptroller to enable him to perfect them, and wipe off the reproach of our State on that subject. The reputation of the State & certainly their interest requires that all public accounts be settled as soon as possible, while facts are recent, while the exertions & suffering of North Carolina are remembered by all the States difficulties may be more easily solved & justice the more easily obtained.

Excepting the Law for opening the land office and emitting some money we are altogether uninformed respecting the Laws passed at the last Session of the General Assembly. We have not heard whether the Resolves of the Assembly or even the Laws have been printed nor do we hear that the art of printing is in the State unless for the purpose of making money. This we mention because applications have been made to us by several printers to recommend them to be employed to print for the State. One of them is an excellent workman & extremely diligent. He is willing to print any thing for you as reasonable as it is done in Philadelphia where there are so many rivals underbidding one another. If the State had not a printer, and has any intention to reprint the Laws that are in force or even to print the future laws & resolves correctly & punctually and wish to employ a workman for that purpose: we can recommend one who is able & courts the honor of that service.

You doubtless recollect that though the confederation was agreed to in Congress on the 15th November 1777 it was not finally ratified by all the States before the 1st of March 1781 at which time Maryland

ratified under a solemn protest. Her objections were that some States should claim & possess vast tracts of vacant unappropriated lands, protected & rescued from the Crown of Great Britain by the joint efforts of the United States should become a fund for the payment of the national debt. In order to induce Maryland & other States who had no vacant territory to accede to the confederation, Congress long since called on the States, who claimed vacant Lands, to make liberal cessions of the same to the United States. On the 29th February 1780 the State of New York & on the 2d January 1781 the State of Virginia made a cession of part of their respective claims, neither of the cessions were very acceptable to the States who had no western territory. However on the 29th October 1782 Congress, pressed by the alarming state of public credit, accepted the cession of New York & on the 13th Instant the[y] accepted the Virginia cession, under certain limitations No. 4.<sup>6</sup> Few of the States are reconciled to the Virginia cession. They argue that she ought to have given more or she ought to have given it less encumbered, but necessity compelled an acceptance. Our army is extremely impatient to obtain the lands that were promised them, and without the Virginia cession we had nothing to give, for tho New York claimed & ceded the greatest part of the lands between the River Ohio & the lakes as belonging or having belonged to the six nations or their Tributaries; the State of Virginia also claimed the whole of those lands under the shadow of some old Royal Grant. Congress being possessed of both claims may be enabled to pay off[f] the army & perhaps a considerable part of the national debt.

The Eyes of every State to the Northward are now turned towards the Carolinas & Georgia & expecting from them liberal Cessions. The Delegates not informed whether your reserved Lands were for your Officers & Soldiers only or for the army at large or whether the office is now opened for sale of all lands on this side the Mississippi as far South as the Southern boundary of the State, have not been able to give any satisfactory information respecting the matter. At present however, laying aside the justness of their claims, and our refusal to make a cession of part of ours: we are necessitated to declare that, the blame lies on Congress for having so long neglected to take up & determine on the Virginia cession; as they thereby, impressed North Carolina firmly with a belief that their pretended earnest recommendations to the States to make liberal Sessions, was only meant to give time to the land-jobbing to engross all the unappropriated western Territory; to prevent which, & in justice to our numerous creditors, it became absolutely proper as well as politic for us to open our land office: and that it is probable our State may have gone so far as to put it out of their power, however well inclined they may be, to make a cession worth the acceptance of Congress.

You may readily imagine that we are not a little embarrassed; we have accepted the cessions of two States from which it is expected North Carolina will receive advantages equally with the other States, and altho we have an extensive western territory we have not ceded any. Our State we believe is in width one degree and an half; the one degree belonged to the late Earl of Granville & it cannot be doubted we had a right to confiscate his property; This we may sell & the United States cannot claim it, as heirs to the King of Great Britain, (if we may so express it), nor can they desire us to give it up, more than we desire Pennsylvania or Maryland to give up the Lands confiscated in those States that did belong to the proprietors or other subjects of Great Britain. As for the remaining half a degree, it may seem to be in the same condition with the vacant Lands in other States and if North Carolina should reserve two hundred miles long of it, more or less, on the western & Southern boundary to be ceded hereafter to the United States, on certain conditions, perhaps she might prevent many complaints & fair more by the Conditions than the land will ever bring her.

We are not able to determine when the British forces will be withdrawn from the United States. The general in Canada has informed our general, that he has not received any orders on this head: and from New York we have not any thing since our last.

We have the honor to be &c &c

Benjamin Hawkins

Hugh Williamson

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to Martin, March 24, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> The enclosed "proclamations" were apparently orders-in-council issued by George III dated June 6 and July 2, 1783, which were printed in the August 19 and September 11 issues of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, respectively. By "the terms first offered [i.e., in the June 6 orders]," tobacco and "pitch, tar, turpentine, indico, masts, yards and bowsprits" of American production could be imported into "the ports of this kingdom" by British subjects or American citizens in either British or American ships. But by terms of the latter, these products and many other enumerated articles could be imported into "his Majesty's West India Islands" by British subjects in British bottoms only. See also James Madison to Edmund Randolph, September 13, note 2; and Benjamin Hawkins to Martin, September 27, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For this April 26 "address," see Elias Boudinot to the States, May 9, 1783.

<sup>4</sup> This enclosure was probably a copy of the "Account of Payments made by the States to the Receivers" that Robert Morris submitted to Congress on August 1, for which see David Howell to William Greene, September 9, note 9.

<sup>5</sup> From text in *N.C. State Records*, 16:887.

<sup>6</sup> For the enclosed report on Virginia's cession, see John Francis Mercer to William Fitzhugh, September 13, 1783, note 4.

## Charles Thomson to Benjamin Franklin

Dear Sir,

Philada. 26 Sept 1783

Mr Isaac Norris is the son of our ancient and worthy friend Mr Charles Norris.<sup>1</sup> Though I am confident this would be a sufficient

recommendation of him to you, yet as he thinks a letter from me will be of some advantage, I cannot refuse it, especially as he is a young man of an amiable disposition, sober, modest, of good principles and good morals.

I could have wished he had seen and known more of his own country before he went abroad. But the war has confined him much at home. On the return of peace, he was persuaded to visit England, but I find by his letters, it has no charms for him. He therefore proposes to make but a short stay in that country and to spend the greatest part of his time abroad in visiting the low countries and France. You will confer an Obligation on me by taking him under your protection, pointing him to objects worthy his notice and by giving him reason to find that this letter proved advantageous to him.

I am, With the greatest respect, your most Obedient and most humble Servt,  
Cha Thomson

RC (PPAmP: Franklin Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Isaac Norris (1760–1802) and Charles Norris (1712–66).

## Hugh Williamson to John Gray Blount

Dear sir,

Princeton 26th Sept. 1783

Your Brother William writes me that he expected soon to be in Possession of some Proc<sup>1</sup> for my Accot. and should put it into your Hands as it would serve for the use of buying Produce. In this manner I wish it all to be disposed of that he can command which should be 2,000 Dls if the Govr. does his Duty. In the mean while I am in Hopes that I shall not have occasion to draw for any of the money before my Return. I sold a Tract of Land in Pennsylvania some time ago and by one means and another shall try to subsist till my Return to the State which I expect will be about the first of Decr. Of course it may possibly be in your Power to make a Turn to Philada out of the Produce, for your Brother Thos tells me that if he had Cash he could lay it out to very good Purpose. Had I been going home immediately I should have spared him some, but as matters are circumstanced if I can do without further help I shall think myself fortunate. I have just discovered from a New England man a Plan of a wooden Still which he thinks is much preferable to that in Philada. I shall try to bring correct Draughts of both. Perhaps I may try to get the iron work and other necessities made in Philada. On this Subject however I shall consult Thos. for if he gets that Business done I shall be saved of the Trouble. I am told there have been in general bad Crops made this year in New England, of Course you may expect plenty of those Gentry in our State after Corn. I hope you are cautious how you engage any certain Price for Tobacco. I think the great Crops made every where this Year will reduce the price of that Article to 3½ Dls or 4 at



most. There is a very considerable Hamburger in this Place, he is address'd by that City to Congress,<sup>2</sup> he sets out soon to the southward. I shall try to persuade him to give you a call.

I have the Honor to be, Dr Sr, your obedt Servt,

Hu Williamson

RC (Nc-Ar: Blount Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently proclamation money.

<sup>2</sup> Johann de Boor, a partner in Caspar Voght & Co., Hamburg, Germany, had been delegated to explore commercial opportunities in the new republic. See Elias Boudinot to the Burgomasters and Senate of Hamburg and to Benjamin Franklin, November 1; and Benjamin Hawkins to John Gray and Thomas Blount, November 7, 1783.

## Elias Boudinot to Robert R. Livingston

Dear Sir,

Princeton 27th. Sept. 1783

Your polite favor of the 12th instant reached me a few days since.<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of your people not only gives us great pain, but threatens greatly to involve us in another War.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, my dear Sir, I am suspicious our troubles are not yet at an end. The predictions of our enemies, I am afraid, will be too suddenly verified. Neither our Legislatures or people at large, are acting with prudence. The storm is gathering—I dread the explosion. Nothing but wisdom, firmness and temperate Councils will prevent the impending blow. It is true your Judges have not been officially informed of the preliminary Articles, and tho' it has frequently been insisted on in Congress, yet the particular circumstances of your State being still partly in the hands of the British; prevent the measure and the whole union is suffering a partial evil for the good of your State; and yet you are preventing every measure we can take for the general good, because we will not sacrifice your State for the common benefit. Your Judges know the preliminary Articles as well as ever they will, and altho' as Lawyers they cannot regard them, yet surely in every point of view they would be justified in not doing any thing in opposition to them, when nothing is necessary to accomplish this end but delay. However they must and will judge for themselves, but they will most certainly repent it at all events.

Our last letter from Mr. Laurence was dated the 9th of August, and from the whole of his intelligence I believe that the preliminary articles *in hæc verba*, will form the definitive Treaty at last.<sup>3</sup> The English Ministry press for a Resident at St. James from America.

I wrote you lately Per Post & enclosed a Medal recd. from Dr. Franklin.<sup>4</sup> I add another herein, together with a letter for Mrs. Montgomery enclosed to me from Amsterdam. Nothing farther has been done with regard to your late office. Your affair has been mentioned and I hope to get it determined next week.



I am much obliged by your kind assurances relative to my unhappy Sister.

Mrs. Boudinot joins me in the kindest wishes for Mrs. Livingston's & your happiness.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere esteem, Sir, your most obedt. & very humb. Servt,  
Elias Boudinot

RC (NHi: Livingston Papers).

<sup>1</sup> Livingston's draft of this letter is also in the Livingston Papers, NHi.

<sup>2</sup> Livingston had complained that the courts of New York "continue to proceed ag[ains]t the Royalists as if no preliminary treaty had been entered into. Their estates to a great amount will be sold & the weakness & poverty of the government will make it difficult at a future day to refund the money or reestablish those whose property is evidently to be saved by the treaty. This may plunge us into new troubles & always justify Britain in renewing hostilities when she finds herself prepared for it."

<sup>3</sup> Boudinot is actually referring to "intelligence" contained in Henry Laurens' letter to the American commissioners at Paris of August 9, which he enclosed in his letter of the same date to former secretary Livingston, for which see PCC, item 89, fols. 321–28; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:637–41.

<sup>4</sup> See Boudinot to Livingston, September 16, note 5.

## Benjamin Hawkins to Alexander Martin

Sir, Princeton September 27th. 1783

I have not had the pleasure of any of your Excellencies favours since the 12th July. I observed to you that I should have no objections to be put into the present delegation & to continue at Congress til the Gentlemen appointed should be able to come forward with conveniency to themselves. I did not then expect that I should be obliged to continue so long as I must necessarily be, and above all without any support from the State.

I have for some time been absolutely without as much money as will support me one day except what I borrow and perhaps may not be enabled to repay. Surely it can never comport with the dignity of a sovereign State, to let their delegates depend on such humiliating & precarious means for support. How long we could be supported in our own State on a resolution allowing us two hundred dollars Per Month, without the money I know not: but of this we are certain no money can be raised here on such security.

We have this day some Letters from Mr Laurens at London of the 9th of August:<sup>1</sup> He has had a conference with the British Ministers respecting the commercial Treaty they formerly proposed to our ministers. They informed him that the proclamation we have sent you,<sup>2</sup> was designedly calculated to prevent our trade to their West India islands. They expressed a strong desire to have an american Minister there, and observed that with one all difficulties would be immediately re-

moved, and a commercial treaty, and every thing else adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of both Countries. Lieutenant Sullivan & Captain Carbery the principles in the mutiny at Philadelphia are at London, they have applied to Mr Laurens, are exceedingly hurt at their Conduct and beg him to intercede for them. They are very anxious to return to America.

We have a communication from Mr. de la Luzerne to this effect from the C de Vergenes of the 21st July.<sup>3</sup> That [*it*] is difficult to determine when a definitive treaty will be concluded. That France agrees perfectly with England on every point respecting their treaty. That the same may be said of Spain. But that power as well as France attached to the true principles by which negotiations of such importance ought to be regulated, will not sign but in concert. That Holland had not yet settled her arrangements; but it will be soon done. They have also determined not to sign but in concert. That therefore the negotiations are retarded by nothing but the American Treaty which seems to be in a state of Languor occasioned by the British Plenipotentiary. That it seems that, the Americans by admitting too precipitately English Vessels in their ports have deprived themselves of a powerful Weapon to induce England to a conclusion of the Treaty. By a continuation of the prohibitory Laws until the final settlement of peace it is probable that they would have furnished the most pungent arms to the party who sincerely wishes that the Treaty with america might be concluded. However the French Court is disposed to believe that it will not be much delayed—That Congress may be assured that the definitive Treaty will not be signed but in conjunction with america.

Mr. Carmichael has written us from Madrid of which the following is an extract which I send you for our Merchants.<sup>4</sup> “The directors for the supplying of the army and Navy have engaged to give the preference to America for such articles as they may from time to time stand in need of from them, and for this purpose have taken from me the address of Merchantile houses in the different States. I mention this in order that the different members of Congress may be enabled to inform their constituents, who perhaps might chuse to furnish supplies of the produce of the States to which they belong to this Country & who may be able to do it on better terms than the parties I have recommended. The articles most in demand will be masts, spars, Tar, pitch, turpentine, flower, grain, fish &c &c.”

As most of these articles can only (if furnished from the United States) be furnished from our State, it will certainly be wise in the Legislature to revise the inspection laws, and endeavour by the quality to monopolize this trade. If we should not furnish these articles in perfection, they will certainly go to the Baltic for them, and thereby deprive us of the most valuable branch of our trade.

Be pleased to give my most respectful compliments to the Legislature, assure them of my constant attention to their interest.

With the greatest respect &ca

Benj. Hawkins

Tr (Nc-Ar: Governors' Letterbooks).

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding entry, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See North Carolina Delegates to Martin, September 26, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For the substance of the French minister's "communication" to a congressional committee on September 18, see *JCC*, 25:588–89; and Committee of Congress Report, September 25, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> William Carmichael's March 13 letter to Robert R. Livingston had been read in Congress on August 15, 1783. See *PCC*, item 108, fols. 282–93, item 185, 3:74; and Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6:294–98.

## David Howell to Nicholas Brown

Dear Sir,

Princeton 27 Sept 1783.

Your favor of the 12 Instt. came duly to hand, & is now before me.

I am obliged to you for your observations on L. O. certificates & the proposal for issuing new certificates for intrest. It would be advantageous to the public if men of business would take more pains to inform & advise the members of Congress on such subjects as their intrest or opportunities may have made them more particularly acquainted with.

It seems to be an assumed principle, which however I must confess is not founded in justice that the public Securities are not to draw compound intrest. It is on this account more necessary to be punctual in the payment of Intrest; & to give every facility to the collection of taxes laid for this purpose. It was earnestly contended that certificates for intrest ought to bear intrest & that compound intrest ought to be allowed in the Consolidation of Securities but I do not expect that these points can be carried.

The difficulties you mention arising from the States having disproportionate quantities of L.O. certificates have been considered & are found to be irremediable. It has been proposed that no State issue more certificates than the amount of its own Quota of the Tax of 4th Sept. 1782. Pennsylvania have paid only such as issued from her own L. Office & are held by such persons as were & are citizens of that State. Persons in this State holding L.O. certificates, which issued from Pennsylvania L. Office, must wait 'till the surplussages from the States remitted to the common Treasury may enable them to receive payment.

If compound intrest is not to be allowed & it be supposeable that the States will not raise the money in due time; it is all one to the holder of L.O. certificates whether he be kept out of his intrest due

on an old certificate, or for the intrest thereon—or have a new certificate without intrest. He will receive the Same sum in the event—And if issuing new certificates will facilitate the collection of taxes, it will also hasten the period when he shall receive that Sum—and thus turn to his account; and not only so but these new certificates will enable him to pay his own Quota at least of the Tax for that purpose & those who do not hold securities must purchase them of the holders, or pay the hard money.

The Comee to whom my motion on this Subject was referred have made a report<sup>1</sup>—the report was made agreeably to my motion but after being combatted from the adherents to Continental measures a whole day was finally recommitted. Another report may be soon expected & I hope the measure will at length work its way through the House—It gains by discussion.<sup>2</sup>

.....

In consolidating the L.O. certificates Mr. Morris proposes to include the intrest up to the last of 1782 together with the principal. This measure gives much uneasiness—As the intrest has been all along expected to be paid annually—And indeed the public faith has been pledged therefor in the most sacred manner, & I do not see how it can be dispensed with. The army dues also for 1782 are turned over to the funded debt: tho' the estimate, on which the requisition for 8 millions was grounded, expressly included them. It is not difficult to discover the reasons why the expectations of all are to be directed to the funds—Hereby the influence of all is to be engaged in favour of a Continental revenue & in Support of the measures, right or wrong, of the Minister.<sup>3</sup>

.....

It is greatly to be desired that a certain rule for apportioning the Quotas to the States was ascertained agreeably to the 8th Art. Confedn. This necessary business is assigned for next March.

Those states which have been deficient in complying with requisitions are for wiping away all past requisitions—And for crediting the States for all payments—in their general account. The reason of Mr. Stelles Queris being doubled—is that he proposed them at different times & the second sett included the first also, & Mr. Morris joined both setts together.

I am extremely pleased with the account you have given me of our Commencement<sup>4</sup> & of the revival of the ancient Spirit of our friends in Providence for patronizing the College. That institution has in time past engrossed much of my thoughts & it still has my best wishes. I shall take the first opportunity to obtain & to transmit to you a Catalogue of suitable books &c. You did not inform me whether it was proposed to send for them before a person should go to Europe to solicit donations—or *when* it was proposed to send some person on that business. Would it not be as well to retain the money raised here & to lay out in

London the money to be collected there for such books, or for such parts of an Apparatus as could not be collected by Specific donations?

I should advise you to lose no time in making application to Congress for compensation of the damages sustained in the College Edifice. I am by no means sanguine as to the event of such application. I can only say that it would give me pleasure to have the power to urge it forward in my time here—And that an early application cannot prejudice, but will rather strengthen your claims and nothing is to be done here without great deliberation.

As to consulting the Chevalier de la Luzern on the Subject you mentioned—it is at present impracticable as he resides in Philadelphia & it cannot be done by writing. Should he make us a visit & should an occasion offer, I shall do it with pleasure & in such a way as will do no harm. He will probably return soon to France—as it is reported that the Marquis de la Fayette is coming over to relieve him. In that case I shall at all events see & converse with him on the Subject before he departs; & doubt not of his good will & best endeavours. He has always given me marks of his particular regard—as he knows me to be attached to his nation, altho against the Impost.<sup>5</sup>

If it is resolved to make application to G. Britain for donations to the College; Our friends there should be informed of it without loss of time; & every intrest applied to in our favor. I doubt not but valuable donations may be obtained in Books & Apparatus as well as money. I should think too that a direct application to the French Court & to the pious Hugonots in France would be adviseable. Perhaps something too might be done in Holland. Rhode Island as a Commercial State would be as likely to obtain favour in Europe as any in the Union. And the Catholic principles on which our College is founded will safely warrant an application with prospect of Success to the charitable & well-disposed of all Sects & nations as occasion may offer.

I cannot imagine that Mr Wheelock will derive great advantage from going so early. It takes some time to assuage the animosities of war & to bring forth those humane & benevolent dispositions on which the success of this business so much depends. The definitive Treaty was not signed by the latest accounts. I should think another year as good as this—but as you all seem flushed with great hopes from the present juncture; I shall not throw cold water on your zeal. I believe the present a good time to solicit donations in this Country & hope no stone will be left unturned.

You inform me that, since Mr. Rogers has given out, Mr. Manning thinks of going to Europe himself<sup>6</sup>—and that a difficulty of Supplying his place at the College has again occurred. I told you my mind on those Subjects very fully last winter. I think Mr. Manning of great importance to the Institution at present. If he does not possess all the great qualities desirable, he possesses more of the amiable & useful



accomplishments than any one man I can think of. The great men in England will look for rare learning & most perfect sermons from a President of our College; I will not suggest that they will not be disposed to make allowances for the difficulties with which our President has had to conflict. I consider there is also risque of life in such an undertaking.

The business of solicitation in England would be laborious—It would require great industry & activity, or the necessary expenses would be too great a deduction. I am well assured that no man would have greater zeal than Mr Manning—& perhaps on many accounts he would succeed best. You know my endeavours to serve the College have not been wanting. I have devoted the early part of my life to its service. I now find myself without any professional mode of obtaining a living for my family. It is high time for me to enter into business of some kind for life. If I think of farming I must remove to the new Counties & purchase a large tract. That will not please *all* my family. Trade I am much unacquainted with—and I know not of any friend who would lead me forward in it. The Law I have had many thoughts about undertaking—but am not yet reconciled *to lead myself* into so great temptation.<sup>7</sup>

For many years I hoped to see a professorship established on a good foundation in our College; which I might have considered as a business & provision for life: But I am disappointed & my hopes from that quarter entirely blasted.

I cannot reconcile myself to the Idea of losing any more time by supplying the place of a teacher in the College. It would require all my time. And considering that the business would chiefly rest on me—It would require a more laborious review of all my former studies. Add to this that it is not in the power of the College to make me an adequate compensation for the disadvantage it might be to me.

Was the proposal to take a place for a length of time as a teacher in the College with a suitable provision—In my present circumstances it would meet with a favorable consideration. I never expect to find any business so agreeable to me as teaching philosophy, &c. But I am not in a Situation to consult my own inclination. I must be influenced by private as well as by public motives. Had I a sufficient fortune I should not think of any business but teaching. I am now engaged in opposing a System of Aristocracy already framed & partly executed which will eventually, if not defeated, subvert the Liberties of this Country. I have great hopes of succeeding. You may perhaps think me vain, but I assure you I should not leave this Country but with the utmost reluctance before there should be a comfortable prospect of preserving our present free constitutions. I know not when I shall be recalled. All my endeavours will be again frustrated. Altho' I have need enough of money, yet I can say with great truth that I neither came here; nor

wish to stay for money. I have no earthly prize equal to the Liberties of my Country.

I am willing that others, who are better able than myself, should judge of my abilities—And therefore on my return home propose to be pretty much governed by the voice of my friends in regard to *any* of the proposals in your Letter. With respect I am &c.

David Howell

RC (RPJCB: Brown Papers).

<sup>1</sup> See *JCC*, 24:513–14n.2.

<sup>2</sup> MS damaged; six or seven lines missing.

<sup>3</sup> MS damaged; approximately eleven lines missing.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the commencement at Rhode Island College in Providence.

<sup>5</sup> In his "Liste des Membres du Congres depuis l'année 1779 jusque'en 1784," in which the French minister recorded brief sketches of most of the delegates he had known while in America, La Luzerne made the following observations about Howell: "Il a professé les Mathématiques à Providence; il parle un peu de Français; il ne paroît pas avoir beaucoup de capacité pour les affaires. Il a déployé la Logique le plus faussee et les principes les plus contraires au bien public dans la question de l'établissement du 5 pour cent. Entre autres raisonnemens il faisoit celui-ci qui se trouve dans ses publications. . . . La plupart de ses écrits annoncent un homme imprudent, indifferet et ayant les vues extremement courtes. Si ce n'est pas là le cas il doit être tres mal intentionné, mais personne ne paroît, l'en soupçonner. . . . Ainsi la constitution des États unis est telles qu'en homme mediocre ou mal intentionné peut faire beaucoup de mal." Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères: Memoires et documents, États-Unis, 1:260–61.

<sup>6</sup> See the following entry.

<sup>7</sup> Howell, who had been professor of natural philosophy and mathematics at Rhode Island College from 1769 to 1779, when the college was closed because of the war, became associate justice of the Rhode Island supreme court in 1786 after having completed three consecutive years of service in Congress. *DAB*

## David Howell to James Manning

Dear Sir,

Princeton 27 Sept. 1783.

Your favor of the 13th Instant came duly to hand & is before me. You wish to hear the result in regard to the examination. I have reason to believe that the remonstrance expected was made & had its effect. I attended the examination—went in & took a seat before the Dr. came in. After he came in he went to the class, who gathered round him in the further side—after he gave them a few words they sat down & their countenances were evidently more composed. After all that had passed betwixt Dr. S. as well as Dr. W.<sup>1</sup> & myself in regard to my attending the examination & the right of Alumni of the College to examine—the compliment was not paid to me by either of the learned Doctors.

They were however well examined & appeared to have made good proficiency in learning.

I have written Mr. N. Brown concerning the late Commencement here<sup>2</sup> to whom & to the public papers I must refer you on that head.

I am charmed with the account you give of your late Commencement & of the Encomiums bestowed by all ranks on the performances of the day. But what more particularly pleases me is that £700 has been raised to procure an Apparatus & Library. These are much wanted—Indeed the very name of having them has a great influence in collecting Scholars. Many hundreds I doubt not have been sent to Cambridge College on account of their famous Library & curious Philosophical Apparatus, who have left the College without soiling the books or profiting much by Experiments in the Philosophy chamber.

I am happy also to find that persons have been appointed to solicit donations to the College, in the particular States. I think there is no time to spare in this business. Our friends here have money as flush now as they may be expected to have it soon. And as the Spirit of encouraging the College has revived among its closest friends I hope it will spread & that something will be done in every State. After all it is my opinion that the fate of the College will ultimately rest on Collections in Europe & in the Town of Providence. This Country is in debt, & what is worse, all seem affrighted at the debt, & to pay taxes with reluctance; these embarrassments afford a ready excuse to those who only wish for one to avoid parting with their money. Yet In fact if we consider the value of our Western territory which contains an Extent of nearly five hundred thousand Square miles & the other resources of this Country our present debt, if we can pay only the intrest for 25 years will be but a mere *Baggatelle* to the wealth of this Country.

The exertions of our friends in the Town of Providence have already been extraordinary & unequalled in any other instance in this Country. I believe they will yet do more. The Town, I expect, will flourish in Commerce & will of course become populous & wealthy. I consider it of great importance towards collecting money in this Country as well as Europe to have Education going on & the College filling with Students. It is a Proverb with the Italians that "*God helps those who help themselves.*" A flourishing cause attracts notice & gives hopes of satisfying the wishes of its adherents & promoters.

I consider your presence so necessary to the well being of the College that I fear should you leave the Institution an universal languor & indifference about its intrests would take place—And that the zeal of its best friends, even in Providence, would greatly abate. You have no doubt considered all difficulties in your way. You only mention one to me, Viz, that of procuring a suitable person to take your place in the College. This indeed appears to me an insurmountable one, but not the only one. I know not how the Church & people of your charge could be supplied with a suitable person to fill the pulpit in your absence.

The risque of a voiage to Europe & the casualties of journeying thro' G. Britain—The labour & fatigue of Solicitation—The little affronts & the cool treatment on some occasions—the compliances & degrading submissions on others, are subjects worthy of your consideration before you set off.

You have every reason to believe that your character stands so high in England at present that encreasing fame can be no object to you. If you should exceed their expectations, you must be more than mortal (I had almost said). Should Mr. Rogers, or any other suitable person go to England on this business, I think he could avail himself & benefit the College very much from your character & from your being actually so necessary to the being of the Collige that you could not be spared from home. And the wish to give you immediate relief in your great Embarrassments would draw out many a Guinea in my apprehension.

You mention that Mr. Wheelock<sup>3</sup> is gone already on a similar errand & that it is proposed, or wished to send some person to Europe this fall. I really think that no time can as yet be lost. By our latest accounts the definitive Treaty was not signed. There has for some years been so much ill-blood & spilt-blood betwixt the two Countries that it is not likely to me that the present juncture is above all others favorable for this purpose.

I hope no time will be lost in making an application to Congress to compensate the dammages done to the College edifice while occupied by the public. My services shall not be wanting.

The French Minister resides at Philadelphia. I cannot therefore confer with him on the Subject you mention—unless he should visit us, or I him. The first opportunity I shall attend to your request.

I am glad to find that Mr. Gain has begun to collect money for the College. £13 is something.

I hope you will be mistaken in your conjecture that Philadelphia will be our Winters residence. There is no appearance of it at present. The Delegates for Delawar have arrived & the vote of that State cannot be obtained for Philada. before its delegates shall be altered. Georgia has not arrived, & should her delegates with all to the Southward join, as they cannot get a State on this Side Delawar, nor Delawar, they form but six States.

The President of Congress has taken a House in this Town; & here I expect we shall winter. I am glad to hear that Mrs Manning & Mrs Anthony have paid Mrs Howell a visit in my absence. Please to present my best regards to Mrs Manning & to all enquiring friends.

It gives me great pleasure to hear that my Son performed well at the last public speakings. Speaking well is the *Unum necessarium* in political life. Had I to live my early days over again I would bestow more attention on that important art. I hope my Son will, as he grows older

be more attentive to his learning & in time make a good Scholar. I doubt not of your endeavors.

My desire to serve the College is so great that I am exceedingly embarrassed with your proposal. But on the whole, I cannot think it either for your interest—that of the Church under your care—or that of the college for you to leave it in its present Situation—provided any other suitable person can be obtained to go to Europe. 18 months or two years absence would be necessary—and much depends on keeping up the Institution at present towards its future prosperity.

With Sentiments of esteem, I am, Dear Sir, your affectionate friend  
& obedient hble servt,

David Howell

RC (RPB-JH: Miscellaneous Manuscripts). Addressed: "The Reverend James Manning, President of the College, Providence."

<sup>1</sup> That is, Prof. Samuel Stanhope Smith and Dr. John Witherspoon, the president of the College of New Jersey.

<sup>2</sup> See Howell to Nicholas Brown, September 25, 1783.

<sup>3</sup> That is, John Wheelock, president of Dartmouth College.

## Pennsylvania Delegates to John Dickinson

Sir, Princeton September 28th 1783.

We have the honor to transmit a Copy of a Report of a Committee on Indian Affairs,<sup>1</sup> that Council may be informed, of the Measures proposed on a Subject in which the State is much interested. If the Honorable Council have any Remarks or Advice to communicate, we shall be happy to receive them, that we may have every Light in a Business of this important Nature, which may be necessary to guide our Determination when Congress shall decide on the Subject.

We have the honor to be with great Respect, Your very obedient  
Servants

John Montgomery

Richard Peters

Thos FitzSimmons

LB (PHarH: Record Group 27).

<sup>1</sup> This committee, of which Peters was a member, had submitted a comprehensive report to Congress on September 19 which was printed for the use of the delegates during the debates that preceded its adoption on October 15. Dickinson was undoubtedly sent one of these printed copies, for which see PCC, item 30, fols. 35–44, 193–94; and JCC, 25:681–95. See also Pennsylvania Delegates to Dickinson, October 2, note 1, and October 24, notes 4 and 5.



## David Howell to John Brown

[September 30, 1783]

Your Brother has made me two proposals.<sup>1</sup> I doubt not of his sincerity in both, for I have reason to beleave that he is my friend, but how far he was warranted in One of them from a Particular Quarter, I Cannot Satisfie Myself.

I have written the Pressident<sup>2</sup> at large with my Reason which I beleave to be Conclusive. I fear My plaint & sincerity will give Offense—but that I Resque[t] Your Brothers two proposals May be fully Understood from the following paragraff in his Lettr to me which I dare Say he will excuse me for Quoting—"Mr. Rogers, as Mr. Maning tells me will not be Able to go. Mr. Manning Therefore in the Course of Conversation Mention'd to Som of Us; that he would go if his place Could be filled to Satisfaction in which Case I suppose there would be no Objection—or if you was to go to Europe & he Continue at home there would be no Kind of Objection I'll Warrant—pray let some of Us hear from as soon as Convenient."

Tr (RPJCB: Brown Papers). Endorsed in an unknown hand: "Extract of a Lettr. from Mr. Howell to Mr. Jno B. Dated Princetown 30 September 1783."

<sup>1</sup> That is, Nicholas Brown, for whom see Howell to Brown, September 27, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> See Howell to James Manning, September 27, 1783.

## James Madison to Thomas Jefferson

Dear Sir

Philada. Sepr. 30, 1783.

My last was written on the supposition that Mr. Jones & myself would be on our way to Virga. by the middle of Ocr. and that my best chance of an interview with you might be at Alexandria at the time of the races. On further thought I fear that you may be led by that suggestion to suspend your setting out longer than you proposed, and that I may not find it practicable to leave this place finally before it will be practicable for you to reach it by pursuing your own plan. One circumstance which increases the uncertainty of my movements is a melancholy event in Mr. Jones family which may affect his plans,<sup>1</sup> to which I shall as far as necessary make mine subservient. It will rather therefore be my wish that you should ha[sten] than retard your journey, if it be a matter of indifference to you, tho' not that you should do either if it be not so.

I have laid a train at Princeton which I hope will provide as commodious quarters as could be expected. If these sd. become necessary in Philada Mrs. House's disposition towards you will be a sure resource. Mrs. Trist concurs in your idea of a boarding school; that it may be expedient for Miss Patsey for hours of instruction but no farther. She will enquire and think for you on the subject as far as her preparations for a voyage to the Mississippi will admit.<sup>2</sup> She & Mrs. House make a tender of their respectful regards for yourself & Miss Patsey. I have nothing to add to my last on public subjects, nor to the above any thing but that I am Dr. Sir,

Yr. sincere friend & obt. Servt.

J. Madison Jr.

[P.S.] As the latest papers are very barren I inclose a former one containing No. 1 of N. American, leaving the Author to your conjectures.<sup>3</sup>

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:362.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Jones had apparently learned of the death of his wife, Mary, making his early return to Virginia necessary. See *ibid.*, pp. 355n.6, 362n.2.

<sup>2</sup> See Madison to Jefferson, September 20, 1783, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For John Francis Mercer's authorship of the "N. American" essay which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of September 17, see Mercer to the Public, and Jacob Read to Thomas Bradford, September 11, 1783.

## James Madison to Edmund Randolph

My dear Sir

Philada. Sept. 30. 1783.

Your favor introducing Mr. Corbin and that by the last weeks post have both been recd.<sup>1</sup> The former did not get to Princeton before Mr. C. had left it, nor did I get to this place before He was so near leaving it that I had no opportunity of manifesting my respect for your recommendations otherwise than by verbal civilities to him. Yesterday's post brought me no letter from you. In answer to your comment in the preceding one on the reception of a Minister from the Œconomical Republic to which we are allied, it will suffice to inform you, that in pursuance of a commission from him *six* elegant horses are provided for his coach, as was to have been one of the best houses in the most fashionable part of this City.<sup>2</sup> Wherever Commerce prevails there will be an inequality of wealth, and wherever the latter does a simplicity of manners must decline.

Our foreign intelligence remains as at the date of my last. I forget whether I mentioned to you that our Ministers unanimously express surprise at the doubt started in America as to the epoch which terminated hostilities on our Coast.<sup>3</sup> They affirm that one month from the date of the instrument was meant & suppose that that exposition will not be contested. Pray can your researches inform me 1st. whether

prizes made by & from parties not subject to the power before whose maritime courts they are carried, are *Provisionally* or *finally* tried? 2d. How far the rules established by the Sovereign of the Captor & those by the Sovereign of the Courts prevail in such trials? 3dly. What difference is made in cases where both the parties concerned in the capture are subject to the same power and where they are subject to different powers?

RC (DLC: Madison Papers). In Madison's hand, though not signed. Madison, *Papers* (Hutchinson), 7:363–64.

<sup>1</sup> For Randolph's two letters of September 13, see *ibid.*, pp. 316–18.

<sup>2</sup> For the "commission" from Pieter Johan van Berckel, the new Dutch minister, see Oliver Ellsworth to Jonathan Trumbull, June 4, 1783, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Madison to Randolph, June 10, 1783, note 6.

## John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush

Dear Sir

Princeton 30th Sepbr 1783

I was anxous for our Child while in Embrow<sup>1</sup> but since it is Come forth and has got such a numrous tribe of god fathers many of whom I am glad to find are fond of it and altho I Still Love the bratt and will Endeavour to raise it up to maturity but I am So Situated at Present that I Cant give it that attention that I Coud wish and ought to give but it is in good hands. I am glad that Col Hill is so Consc[ientious] in providing for its Seport we may Exspect it will thrive when Such gentlemen as Mr. Hill are zealous in promoting its wellfaire. I am pleasd to hear that you have wrote to Mr Bingham. I flatter my Self that he will Succed in Collecting a Large Sum for the Collegue. I think that it is rather too Soon to aplay to the Counties for Subscriptions. I am Doubtfull of thire Succseess. It is uncertain when I Shall be in Philada. I am Stuck Down here and my Coleuges Come and go Just as it Suts them.

The pale faced faxtions has hit on a lye that I am perswaded will answer the End in our County together with thire indoustrey in propagating it. However they may Succseed in other Counties the lye is well Calculated to Kach the Unthinking pople with us. I most Sincery wish that Copeys were Sent to Diferent parts of the County and a few remarks on it Col Magaw woud Carry them up, the old assemblymans letter I make no Doubt will have a good Effect but unless the writers of the Lying letter are Exsposed and the people undecived that party will Carry their point in Cumberland however I am glad to find that your Spirits are high but notwithstanding nothing ought to be left undone to insure Succsess.

I am of opinion that we Shoud not aplay to the Mr Penns before the Election and when we do it ought to be as private as Possiable if it was

Known that I waitd on them it woud Certainly Confirm the report that young Penn was invited by us. I find that the Revd Mr Davidson has been on a Visite to Carlisle and is much pleased with the place and I belive he Coud be prevailed on to go thire as minister to our Congregation and in the mean time perhaps woud assist in making a begining of the Collegue what woud you think of it. The Sooner a beginning is made I think the better. It will be a great inducement to people to Submit and it will Convince people that we are Determined to Carrie it into Effect. I Cant however form any opinion of the practability of doing any thing this winter. Will you Spend a few minutes with Mr. Davidson on the Subject and let me have your and his Sentiments soon if any thing Can be Done I will lay aside Every other Bussiness and attend to it and will Convince you that I am not altogether so Careless of the Infant as you may imagine. Shall I hear from you Soon?

I am Dear sir your assured Frind and Humbl Servt,

John Montgomery

RC (PPL: Rush Papers).

<sup>1</sup> That is, Dickinson College, which Montgomery and Rush had been nurturing.

## Alexander Hamilton to John Dickinson

Sir,

[September ? 1783] <sup>1</sup>

Having always entertained an esteem for you personally I could not without reluctance yield to impressions that might weaken that sentiment—and it is with pain I find myself drawn by circumstances to animadvert upon the late message from the Executive Council to the Assembly of Pennsylvania relative to the mutiny in a manner which may seem to impeach the candor of those who were the authors of it. But it will be impossible for persons who have read the report of the Committee and the message of the Council, however inclined to make allowances for the force of involuntary bias, not to conclude that on one side or the other the facts have been wilfully discoloured. I decline any attempt to set the public opinion right upon this subject, because after all that can be said the judgments of men will eventually be determined by personal and party prepossessions. So far as I am concerned, I persuade myself those who are acquainted with me will place intire confidence in my fairness and veracity. I doubt not Your Excellency's friends will be equally partial to you and those of the council to them. But though I should despair of rectifying or fixing the public opinion by an appeal to the public, and though I have seen too much of the ridicule thrown upon such appeals from men in *(public)* official stations, and of the ill effect they have had upon the national charac-

ter, not to be willing to sacrifice the desire of justifying myself to considerations of prudence and propriety; yet I cannot forbear indulging my *(sensitivity)* feelings so far as to enter into a few explanations with Your Excellency, submitting the justness of them to the testimony of your own mind.

As this is a mere private discussion I address myself to your Excellency in particular; and the rather as from the stile and manner of the message, I take it for granted you had the principal agency in it; and I shall consider on the same grounds, the notes in \_\_\_\_\_ paper of the \_\_\_\_\_<sup>2</sup> as a comment on the report of the Committee by yourself, in aid of the message.

I take up the matter individually, because I mean to treat it on a private footing; and because though I do not acknowledge any peculiar responsibility, it happened to be my lot as Chairman principally to conduct the conferences on the part of the Committee.

I regard the whole of this business as a most unfortunate one; in which probably none of the actors will acquire great credit. I deplore it as tending to interrupt the harmony between Congress and a respectable a meritorious member of the Union. Who were right or who were wrong is a question of less importance than how mutual irritations may be best treated? Whatever revives or continues the former is to be regretted. I lament to be under an inducement to discuss circumstances that relate to it in the remotest degree. Nothing but an attack upon the ingenuousness of my conduct could have called me to it. Its prudence either collectively or individually would patiently have been consigned to the lash of censure and cri[tic]ism merited, or unmerited.

Happily in the present case the members of the Committee have a strong ground from which they cannot easily be forced. Apprehensive of misconception, I will not say of misrepresentation, they tried to render it impossible by written documents.<sup>3</sup> The presumption with impartial minds cannot fail to be in favour of that side which gave so decisive a proof of its disposition to fairness as to endeavour to put it out of its own power to misrepresent.

The professed scruples of the Council cannot be admitted to have any weight. Usage and the plainest rules of propriety will dictate that it never could have wounded the dignity or delicacy of the executive of any state, to have given to a Committee of Congress appointed to confer on a subject of moment, a written answer to a request in writing after previous explanations. The fact stated speaks for itself. The consequences show that the precaution of the Committee was well judged and that it would have been well for the Council to have concurred. In the present case it might be observed, that there was in the first instance a written application from Congress to the Council in the customary form of resolutions; and though a Committee was authorised



to confer and explain, a formal and authentic answer might reasonably have been expected by Congress and when desired by the Committee should have been understood as desired on their behalf.

There is an awkwardness in reasoning upon self evident positions; but as the Council have by their conduct in the first instance and by their message since put forward a doubt upon the subject and made it a point of importance, I shall be excused for examining it a little further. On what could the objection of the Council be founded? They say it had been unusual. Admitting the fact, was the mere novelty of the thing a sufficient reason against it? If there was no apparent inconvenience in making a new precedent, if on the contrary there was a manifest convenience in it, ought not such a punctilio to have given way to considerations of utility?

Was it derogatory to the dignity of the Council? Surely if they communicate in writing with the executive servants of Congress, even those in subordinate stations, as is the practice of every day, and as is indispensable to the prosecution of public business, they might at less expence of dignity pursue the same mode with a part of that body itself.

The distinction taken by the Council in their message to the assembly, respecting the responsibility of such executive officers, as not applicable to a Committee,<sup>4</sup> if it amounts to anything, proves only this—that such officers ought in prudence to take greater precautions for their own justification than a Committee of Congress need to do. It is not to be inferred, if a Committee of Congress acting ministerially think it expedient to use circumspection, that those with whom they are transacting business can with propriety refuse to join with them in that mode which is best adapted to precision and certainty.

But indeed the ground of the d[istinction]<sup>5</sup> is erroneous. A committee of Congress act in [a] ministerial capacity and are therefore responsi[ble to] the body to which they belong as well as the servants of that body though in a different manner. If it be said they do not act ministerially but stand in the place of Congress, then the Council upon their own principles ought to have complied with their request.

To diminish the exceptionableness of their refusal, it is true, as stated by the Council that though they said they could not *condescend* to do what the Committee had asked yet they declared themselves to *grant* an answer in writing, if Congress should request it; and that they proposed that the Committee should put their verbal answer in writing to be afterwards perused and examined by them.

The answer of the Committee as I doubt not Your Excellency will recollect was—as to the first point that Congress in all probability would not make the request, having determined (as the Council had been already informed) not to resume their deliberations in the city till effectual measures had been taken to suppress the mutiny—and should they assemble would naturally feel a delicacy in requesting what

had been denied to their Committee. And as to the second point, that the Council having judged it inexpedient to give a written answer, the Committee would content themselves with making the most accurate report in their power, relying upon the confidence of the body to which they belonged and upon the candour of the council.

Your Excellency is too good a judge of human nature as well as of the force of language not to have perceived at the time the effect which the refusal of the Council had upon my mind. I own it struck me either as an uncandid reserve or an unbecoming stateliness; and in either supposition a disrespect to the body of which the Committee were members.

Though nothing enters less into my temper than an inclination to fetter business by punctilio, after the Council had discovered, such *<misplaced>* overweening nicety, I should have thought it a degradation to my official character to have consented to their proposal.

The desire of self justification is so natural that I should not have been surprised to have seen the transactions which are the subject of the council's message receive a colouring favourable to their purpose. But I did not expect to find material facts either suppressed or denied.

The report made by the Committee on the first interview with the Council was I acknowledge from memory and therefore I admit a possibility of error; but so far as my memory can be relied on the representation was just. And I am certain that there is a mistake in the insinuation, that the circumstance of the message sent to Congress by the Board of serjeants, was not mentioned at all to the Council, for I have a note of it taken immediately after the first conference subsequent to the mutiny.<sup>6</sup> The affair, by the event of <sup>7</sup> having assumed a more serious aspect I kept a regular minute of the proceedings a summary of which made up our report to Congress and which I shall annex at large to this letter for your Excellency's perusal.

The message intirely omits the declaration of the Council that [...] <sup>8</sup> and the note says, that the Council only declared, "that they could not be sure, that such another insult would produce those exertions."<sup>9</sup> The difference in this article is of great importance. The declaration made so deep an impression at the time, that almost the precise words remained in my memory. They were twice repeated as well when we saw Your Excellency alone in your own house in the morning, as when you delivered to us in the Council chamber the determination of the Council. Mr. Elseworth in half an hour afterwards repeated them to several members of Congress assembled at the Presidents house, and in a few hours from that time I committed them to writing. I cannot suppose Your Excellency's recollection fails you in this particular and I must pointedly appeal to your candour.

To show the inaccuracy with which the report of the Committee was composed—it is observed in the notes with respect to that part which

relates to the commission given by the mutineers to the officers, whom they had chosen to represent them, that only two hours intervened between that event and the conference with the Council—and that it was very improbable the knowledge of it could have so early reached the Committee. It is added that none of the Council remembers to have heard a single syllable respecting it during the whole conference.<sup>10</sup>

As to the argument drawn from the short interval between the delivery of the commission and the conference, it will be sufficient to say that the Committee held a constant communication with General St Clair and that he kept a vigilant eye upon all the motions of the mutineers—that his access to them was easy—that the fact in question was a matter of immediate notoriety—that two hours were abundant time for a thing of that nature to be conveyed from the barracks to General St Clairs quarters and that one of the Committee had actually seen and obtained the intelligence from him, a little time before the interview with the Council commenced. It is much more extraordinary that the Council should have been apprized of it so late than that the Committee should have known it so early. As to the memory of the Council it is unfortunate it should have been so fallible as it is said to have been; but I would rather suppose in the quick succession of circumstances, the matter had escaped their recollection than that my minutes as well as my memory should have deceived me. I will recollect also that Your Excellency when it was mentioned acknowledged that it rather contradicted the pacific appearance which the conduct of the troops in other respects wore.

These are the essential differences in point of fact between the report of the Committee and the message of council—the whole complexion indeed of the one materially varies from the other, but the most common observer must have noticed how different an aspect the same facts will bear differently dressed and arranged. It was to avoid this we proposed to reduce them to writing; but as this has not been done, spectators must judge from the situation of the parties and the course of the transactions which side has given the justest relation.

I cannot however forbear remarking that I see expressions of civility on the part of the Committee making a figure in the message very different from their genuine intention; being introduced in a manner that gives them the air of concessions in favour of the conduct of the Council. Your Excellency will certainly recollect that the Committee were very remote from a concurrence in sentiment with the Council; and though they did not presume to judge of the disposition of the citizens strongly urged the expedience and necessity of calling out the Militia and facility of employing them with success against an unofficered and disorderly body of mutinous soldiers. It is true also that they acknowledged the candour with which the Council exposed to them what they deemed the temper of their citi[zens] and their own

difficulties and embarrassments which were no doubt delineated with great energy of language and display of circumstances—but they certainly never admitted the candour of refusing an answer in writing which was a part of the *business* transacted with the Council; nor did they *withdraw* without giving an intelligible intimation of their sense of this proceeding.

I was also surprised to see any part of the private and confidential conversation I had with your Excellency ushered into the message from the council and moulded into such a shape as to imply by an obvious construction an approbation of their reasons. Your Excellency will admit the following state of this transaction to be a just one.

I waited upon the Council to correct a piece of information I had given them respecting ammunition; but even this is mistated, as will be seen by my minutes.<sup>11</sup> Having done this my official business ended when I was taken aside by Your Excellency and a conversation passed in declared confidence. You informed me that a meeting of the Militia officers was then holding and in consultation with the Council about eventual measures (in consequence as I conjectured of a communication to you the preceding evening from the delegates of the state of the intention of Congress to remove from the city in case they did not receive satisfactory assurances of support) you added that you hoped nothing would be precipitated; but that proper allowances would be made for the situation of the Council.

I understood your observation, with reference to the departure of Congress, and replied to this effect—that I viewed the departure of Congress as a delicate measure, including consequences important to the national character abroad and critical with respect to the state of Pennsylvania and in particular the city of Philadelphia—that the triumph of a handful of mutinous soldiers permitted in a place which is considered as the capital of America to surround and in fact imprison Congress without the least effort on the part of the citizens to uphold their dignity and authority, so as to oblige them to move from the place which had been their residence during the revolution, would it was to be feared be viewed at a distance as a general disaffection of the citizens to the federal government, might discredit its negotiations and affect the national interests—that at home it might give a deep wound to the reputation of Pennsylvania might draw upon it the resentments of the other states and sow discord between Congress and the state. That the removal of Congress would probably bring the affair to a crisis and by convincing the mutineers that extremities were intended, would either intimidate them into a submission or determine them to immediate excesses—that impressed with these considerations, and still hoping, notwithstanding some appearances to the contrary, that the mutineers might be sincere in their professions of submission, or that the Council on further examination would find it



in their power to act with vigour, I had declined giving my assent to a report in writing which would necessarily be followed by the departure of Congress—that though the Committee had no discretion by the powers under which they acted, but were bound by the tenor of their instructions, the moment they did not receive, “satisfactory assurances of prompt and adequate exertions on the part of the state for supporting the public authority” to advise the adjournment of Congress to Trenton or Princeton—and I therefore considered the delay of this advice as at their extreme peril, yet, as to myself, I should persist in it ’till the result of the present consultation with the Militia officers or ’till some new circumstance should turn up to explain the designs of the mutineers—that in persuing this line of conduct, I should counteract the sense of some Gentlemen whose feelings upon the occasion were keen and the opinions of others who thought the situation of Congress under the existing circumstances extremely awkward precarious and unjustifiable to their constituents.

Your Excellency approved my intention—wished for time and promised if any new resolution should be taken to give me immediate notice of it.

The Meeting of the Militia officers dissolved. I heard nothing from Your Excellency. General St Clair about two in the afternoon informed the Committee that the officers appointed by the Soldiers to manage their business had in the first instance refused to give him an account of their transactions—which was only extracted from them by a peremptory demand. He mentioned to us the instructions they had received from the soldiers which contained faint and affected concessions mixed with new and inadmissible (*demands*) claims. The whole affair wore the complexion of collusion between the officers of the Committee and the soldiery and of a mere amusement on their part ’till they good [could] gain fresh strength and execute their project whatever it might be with greater advantage.

This behaviour of the officers gave the affair a new and more serious aspect and overcame my opposition to the report. Mr. Peters on hearing the relation of General St Clair declared at once that he thought the Committee had then no alternative; at least what he said was understood in this sense by General St Clair, Mr Elseworth and myself. If I am not much mistaken General St Clair also expressed his opinion that Congress were unsafe in the city.

The ideas I suggested to Your Excellency in the conversation I have mentioned, were substantially expressed to several members of Congress as the motives of my delay—and particularly I recollect to Mr. Maddison, with these observations in addition. That though I was fully convinced Congress under an immediate view of circumstances, would in reality be justified in withdrawing from a place where such an outrage to government had been with impunity perpetrated by a



body of armed mutineers, still for several days in complete command of the city and where either the feebleness of public councils or the indisposition of the citizens afforded no assurance of protection and support; yet as the opinions of men would be governed by events, and as the most probable event was that the removal of Congress, announcing decisive measures of coercion to the soldiery would awe them into submission, there was great danger that the reputation of Congress would suffer by the easy termination of the business, and that they would be accused of levity, timidity or rashness.

Though not within the scope of my original intention I will indulge a few additional reflections on this subject.

I am sensible, that the Council in some respects stand upon advantageous ground in this discussion. Congress left the city because they had no forces at hand, no jurisdiction over the Militia and no assurances of effectual support from those who had. The Council, as the Executive of the state, were necessitated to remain on the spot. Soon after Congress removed, the Mutineers were deserted by their leaders and surrendered at discretion.

The Multitude will be very apt to conclude that the affair was of trifling consequence—that it vanished under its own insignificance—that Congress took up the matter in too high a tone of authority—that they discovered a prudish nicety and irritability about their own dignity—that the Council were more temperate more humane and possessed of greater foresight.

The byass in favour of an injured army—the propensity of the human mind to lean to the speciousness of professed humanity rather than to the necessary harshness of authority—the vague and imperfect notions of what is due to public authority in an infant popular government—and the insinuating plausibility of a well constructed *message* will all contribute to that conclusion.

But let us suppose an impartial man of sense well acquainted with facts to form an argument upon the subject. It appears to me he might naturally fall into this train of combination.

It is a well known fact that from the necessities of the war or the delinquencies of the several states Congress were not enabled to comply with their engagements to the army, which after a glorious and successful struggle for their country, much suffering, exemplary patience and signal desert, they were compelled by the irresistible dictates of an empty treasury and a ruined credit to disband, after having given strong indications of their discontent and resentment of the public neglect. A large part of the army suffer themselves to be patiently dismissed; a particular corps of four or five hundred men stationed in the place where Congress reside, refuse to accept their discharges but on certain specified conditions. They even go further and stimulated by their injuries, or encouraged and misled by designing

persons are emboldened to send a threatening message to Congress declaring to them that unless they would do them justice immediately, they would find means of redress for themselves. Measures are indirectly taken to appease this disorder and give the discontented soldiers as much satisfaction as the situation of things will permit. Shortly after accounts are received that another corps at <sup>12</sup> miles distance have also mutinied, and that a part of them to the number of about Eighty men are on their march to join those who had already discovered so refractory a disposition. A Committee of Congress is immediately appointed to confer with the Executive of the State on the measures proper to be pursued in this exigency. That Committee in the first instance suggests to the Council the expedience of calling out a body of Militia to intercept the detachment of mutineers on its march and represent the danger of the progress of the spirit of mutiny and of future outrages should those on their march be suffered without molestation to join a more numerous corps in the same temper with themselves. The Council urge a variety of difficulties—the shortness of the time to collect the Militia, before the mutineers would arrive—the reluctance with which the citizens would obey a call against men whom they consider as meritorious and injured and the like. The Committee perceiving the unwillingness of the Council to employ the Militia desist from pressing it and recur to expedients. The day after the mutineers march in triumph into the city and unite themselves with those who are already there; and the following day the whole body assemble in arms, throw off all obedience to their officers and in open defiance of government march to the place which is the usual seat of Congress and the Council of the state, while both are actually sitting, surround it with guards and send a message to the council, demanding authority to appoint, themselves, officers to command them, with absolute discretion to take such measures as those officers should think proper to redress their grievances; accompanied with a threat that if there was not a compliance in twenty minutes, they would let in an injured soldiery upon them and abide the consequence. The members of Congress who were at the time assembled request General St Clair, who happened to be present, to take such measures as he should judge expedient without committing the honor of government to divert the storm and induce the troops to return to their quarters without perpetrating any acts of violence. General St Clair in concert with the Council grants the mutineers permission to elect out of officers then or formerly in commission such as they should confide in to represent their grievances to the Council, with a promise that the Council would confer with the persons elected for that purpose. Having obtained this promise the mutineers return to their quarters, in military parade, and continue in open defiance of government.

The concession made was a happy compromise between an attention to dignity and a prudent regard to safety. Men who had dared to carry their insolence to such an extreme and who saw no opposition to their outrages were not to be expected to retreat without an appearance at least of gratifying their demands. The slightest accident was sufficient to prompt men in such a temper and situation to tragical excesses.

But however it might become the delicacy of government not to depart from the promise it had given, it was its duty to provide effectually against a repetition of such outrages and to put itself in a situation to give instead of receiving the law; and to manifest that its compliance was not the effect of necessity but of choice.

This was not to be considered as the disorderly riot of an unarmed mob but as the deliberate mutiny of an incensed soldiery carried to the utmost point of outrage short of assassination. The licentiousness of an army is to be dreaded in every government; but in a republic it is more particularly to be restrained, and when directed against the civil authority to be checked with energy and punished with severity. The merits and sufferings of the troops might be a proper motive for mitigating punishment when it was in the power of the government to inflict it—but it was no reason for relaxing in the measures necessary to arrive at that situation. Its authority was first to be vindicated and then its clemency to be displayed.

The rights of government are as essential to be defended as the rights of individuals. The security of the one is inseparable from that of the other. And indeed in every new government, especially of the popular kind the great danger is that public authority will not be sufficiently respected.

But upon this occasion there were more particular reasons for decision.

Congress knew there were within two or three days march of the city a more considerable body of the same corps part of which had mutinied and come to town and had been the chief actors in the late disorder—that those men had with difficulty been kept by the exertions of their officers from joining the insurgents in the first instance—that there was another corps in their neighbourhood which a little time before had also discovered symptoms of mutiny—that a considerable part of the same line which were in mutiny in town was every moment expected to arrive from the Southward, and there was the greatest reason to conclude would be infected with the same spirit on their arrival, as had presently happened in the case of a small detachment which had joined a few days before—that there were besides large numbers of disbanded soldiers scattered through the country in want and who had not yet had time to settle down to any occupation and exchange their military for private habits—that some of these were really coming in and adding themselves to the revolters—that an

extensive accession of strength might be gained from these different quarters—and that there were all the sympathies of like common distresses and resentments to bring them together and to unite them in one cause. The partial success of those who had already made an experiment would have been a strong encouragement to others—the rather as the whole line had formerly mutinied not only with impunity but with advantage to themselves.

In this state of things decision was most compatible with the safety of the community as well as the dignity of government. Though no general convulsion might be apprehended serious mischiefs might attend the progress of the disorder. Indeed it would have been meanness to have negotiated and temporised with an armed banditti of four or five hundred men—who in any other situation than surrounding a defenceless senate could only become formidable by being feared. This was not an insurrection of a whole people—it was not an army with their officers at their head demanding the justice of their country—either of which might have made caution and concession respectable. It was a handful of mutinous soldiers, who had equally violated the laws of discipline as the rights of public authority.

Congress therefore wisely resolve that “it is necessary that effectual measures be immediately taken for supporting the public authority” and call upon the state in which they reside for the assistance of its militia at the same time that they send orders for the march of a body of regular forces as an eventual resource.

There was a propriety in calling for the aid of the Militia in the first place, for different reasons. Civil government may always with more peculiar propriety resort to the aid of the citizens to repel military insults, or encroachments. Tis there it ought to be supposed where it may seek its surest dependence especially in a democracy, which is the creature of the people. The citizens of each state are in an aggregate light the citizens of the United states and bound as much to support the representatives of the whole as their own immediate representatives. The insult was not to Congress personally it was to the government (*of the Union*), to public authority in general; and was very properly put upon that footing. The regular forces which Congress could command were at a great distance, and could not but in a length of time be brought to effecuate their purpose. The disorder continued to exist on the spot where they were, was likely to increase by delay and might be productive of sudden and mischievous effects by being neglected. The city and the bank were in immediate danger of being rifled and perhaps of suffering other calamities. The citizens therefore were the proper persons to make the first exertion.

The objection that these were not the objects of the care of Congress can only serve to mislead the vulgar. The peace and safety of



the place which was the immediate residence of Congress *endangered too by the troops of the United States* demanded their interposition. The President of the State of Pennsylvania was himself of this opinion having declared to a member of that body that as their troops were the offenders it was proper for them to declare the necessity of calling out the Militia as a previous step to its being done.

Nor is there more weight in the supposition that the danger was inconsiderable and that from the pacific appearances of the troops it was to be expected the disorder would subside of itself. The facts were that the troops still continued in a state of mutiny—had made no submissions—nor offered any—and that they affected to negotiate with their arms in their hands. A band of mutinous soldiers in such a situation uncontrouled and elated [by] their own power was not to be trusted. The most sudden vicissitudes and contradictory changes were to be expected; and a fit of intoxication was sufficient at any moment with men who had already gone such length to make the city a scene of plunder and massacre. It was the height of rashness to leave the city exposed to the bare possibility of such mischiefs.

The only question in this view is—whether there was greater danger to the city in attempting their reduction by force than in endeavouring by palliatives to bring them to a sense of duty. It has been urged and appeared to have operated strongly upon the minds of the Council,<sup>13</sup> that the soldiers being already embodied accustomed to arms and ready to act at a moments warning it would be extremely hazardous to attempt to collect the citizens to subdue them as the mutineers might have taken advantage of the first confusions incident to the measure to do a great deal of mischief before the Militia could have assembled in equal or superior force.

It is not to be denied but that a small body of disciplined troops headed and led by their officers with a plan of conduct could have effected a great deal in similar circumstances; but it is equally certain that nothing can be more contemptible than a body of men used to be commanded and to obey when deprived of the example and direction of their officers. They are infinitely less to be dreaded than an equal number of men who have never been broken to command, nor exchanged their natural courage for that artificial kind which is the effect of discipline and habit. Soldiers transfer their confidence from themselves to their officers, face danger by the force of example, the dread of punishment and the sense of necessity. Take away these inducements and leave them to themselves they are no longer resolute than 'till they are opposed.

In the present case it was to be relied upon that the appearance of opposition would instantly bring the mutineers to a sense of their insignificance and to submission. Conscious of their weakness from the smallness of their numbers—in a populous city and in the midst of a



populous country—awed by the consequences of resisting government by arms, and confounded by the want of proper leaders and proper direction, the common soldiers would have thought of nothing but making their peace by the sacrifice of those who had been the authors of their misconduct.

The idea therefore of coercion was the safest and most prudent, for more was to be apprehended from leaving them to their own passions than from attempting to controul them by force. It will be seen by and by how far the events justly appreciated corresponded with this reasoning.

Congress were not only right in adopting measures of coercion; but they were also right in resolving to change their situation if proper exertions were not made by the particular government and citizens of the place where they resided. The want of such exertions would evince some defect, no matter where, that would prove they ought to have no confidence in their situation. They were to all intents and purposes in the power of a lawless armed banditti enraged whether justly or not against them. However they might have had a right to expose their own persons to insult and outrage, they had no right to expose the character of representative, or the dignity of the states they represented or of the Union. It was plain they could not with propriety in such a state of things proceed in their deliberations where they were and it was right they should repair to a place where they could do it. It was far from impossible that the mutineers might have been induced to seize their persons as hostages for their own security as well as with a hope of extorting concessions. Had such an event taken place the whole country would have exclaimed, why did not Congress withdraw from a place where they found they could not be assured of support—where the government was so feeble or the citizens so indisposed as to suffer three or four hundred mutinous soldiers to violate with impunity the authority of the United States and of their own state?

When they resolved to depart on the want of adequate exertions, they had reason to doubt their being made from the disinclination shown by the Council to call out the militia in the first instance; and when they did actually depart—they were informed by the Council that the efforts of the citizens were not to be looked for even from a repetition of the outrage which had already happened and it was to be doubted what measure of outrage would produce them. They had also convincing proof that the mutiny was more serious than it had even at first appeared by the participation of some of the officers.

To throw the blame of harshness and precipitancy upon Congress it is said that their dignity was only *accidentally* and *undesignedly* offended. Much stress has been laid upon the message from the soldiery being directed to the Council and not to them. All this however is very immaterial to the real merits of the question. Whatever might have

been the first intention of the mutineers in this particular act whether it proceeded from artifice or confusion of ideas, the indignity to Congress was the same. They knew that Congress customarily held their deliberations at the state house; and if it even be admitted that they knew Saturday to be a day of usual recess, which perhaps is not altogether probable, when they came to the place they saw and knew Congress to be assembled there. They did not desist in consequence of this; but proceeded to station their guards and execute their purposes. Members of Congress went out to them—remonstrated with them—represented the danger of their proceedings to themselves and desired them to withdraw, but they persisted until they obtained what they supposed a part of their object. A majority of the same persons had some days before sent a message almost equally exceptionable to Congress; and at the time they scarcely spoke of any other body than Congress; who indeed may naturally be supposed to have been the main object of their resentments: for Congress having always appeared to the soldiery to be [*the*] body who contracted with them and who had broken faith with them—it is not to be supposed they were capable of investigating the remote causes of the failures so as to transfer the odium from Congress to the state.

But the substantial thing to be considered in this question is the violation of public authority. It cannot be disputed that the mutiny of troops is a violation of that authority to which they owe obedience. This was in the present case aggravated to a high degree of atrociousness by the gross insult to the government of Pennsylvania, in the face of Congress and in defiance of their displeasure. It was further aggravated by continuing in that condition for a series of time.

The reasons have been assigned that made it incumbent upon Congress to interpose; and when they called upon the state of Pennsylvania not only to vindicate its own rights but to support their authority—the declining a compliance was a breach of the confederation and of the duty which the state of Pennsylvania owed to the United States. The best apology for the government of Pennsylvania in this case is that they could not command the services of their citizens. But so improper a disposition in the citizens if admitted must operate as an additional justification to Congress in their removal.

The subsequent events justly appreciated illustrate the propriety of their conduct. The mutineers did not make voluntary submissions in consequence of negotiation, persuasion or conviction. They did not submit 'till after Congress had left the city publishing their intentions of coercion, 'till after there had been an *actual call* upon the Militia—till their leaders and instigators alarmed by the approach of force and the fear of being betrayed by the men fled. They were reduced by coercion not overcome by mildness. It appears too that while they were professing repentance and a return to their duty, they were tampering

with the troops at York Town and Lancaster to increase their strength—and that two officers at least were concerned in the mutiny, who by their letters since, have con[fessed] that some project of importance was in contemplation.

The call for the militia was made the day after it had been pronounced ineligible by the Council. There could have been little change in that time either in the temper or preparation of the citizens. The truth is that the departure of Congress brought the matter to a crisis and that the Council were compelled by necessity to do what they ought to have done before through choice.

It is to be lamented that they did not by an earlier decision, prevent the necessity of Congress taking a step which may have many disagreeable consequences. They then would <sup>14</sup>

MS (DLC: Hamilton Papers). In the hand of Alexander Hamilton.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton wrote this letter in response to the publication of John Dickinson's August 19 "message" to the Pennsylvania Assembly, which was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on September 24 and in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on September 25, 1783, and was entered on the minutes of the Pennsylvania Council under the date August 18, for which see *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:654–66. As Hamilton had left Congress on July 29 and was in Albany at this time, it is quite likely that he did not actually draft this letter until early October although it is printed in Hamilton, *Papers* (Syrett), 3:438–58, under the date "September 25–30, 1783."

Dickinson's report to the Pennsylvania Assembly on the occasion of its reconvening on August 19 was not so much an assessment of the mutiny, for the council had never investigated it, as it was a response to the July 1 report of the committee Congress had appointed to confer with the Pennsylvania council on the army's unrest, which consisted of Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, and Richard Peters. See *JCC*, 24:413–21; Ellsworth to Joseph Reed, July 1; and Pennsylvania Delegates to Dickinson, July 2, 1783. For an analysis of both Dickinson's rebuttal of the committee's report and Hamilton's response to Dickinson's message to the assembly, see Kenneth R. Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," *PMHB* 101 (Oct. 1977): 446–49.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Hamilton would have expanded this passage to read "Hall & Sellers' paper of the 24th" or "Dunlap's paper of the 25th," references to the publishers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Pennsylvania Packet*, respectively. The "notes" referred to, which are also in *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:658, read as follows:

"The committee of Congress, in their report, have fallen into several mistakes by confounding facts and sentiments, and representing them as happening, or expressed, at times when they had not happened, or were not expressed. These mistakes were owing, no doubt, to the quick succession of circumstances, and the ideas that, without noticing dates, in consequence took possession of the mind. The obvious construction of the first report is, that the committee informed Council 'of the letter to Congress from the Board of Serjeants,' tho' not a single member of Council, nor the Secretary, has any remembrance of its being mentioned by them, nor does any member now know what that message was. The argument annexed to it in the report is no more recollected.

"The committee say that Council informed them, 'the exertions of the militia were not to be expected from the repetition of the insult which had happened,' tho' the Council only said 'they could not be sure that such another insult would produce those exertions.'

"In short, to shew the extreme inaccuracy with which these reports, to be entered upon the minutes of Congress, and preserved among the archives of the Empire, have been composed, it is necessary only to attend to that part where the committee say that

'represented to Council, that Congress would probably continue to pursue *the object of having the soldiers in their power*, unless it should be superceded by unequivocal demonstrations of submission on the part of the mutineers; that they had hitherto given no satisfactory evidence of this disposition, having lately presented the officers they had chosen to represent their grievances, with a formal commission in writing, enjoining them to use compulsory means for redress, and menacing them with death in case of their failing to execute their views.'

"The conference in which the committee say they made this representation, was held, according to their own report, on the twenty-third day of June. It began at ten o'clock in the morning. The commission from the mutineers to the officers bears date, and was presented to the officers on that day, about eight o'clock in the morning. It is highly improbable that the committee should have discovered its contents in the two hours that intervened between its being *presented* and *their meeting* the Council; and the improbability is increased by this circumstance, that not a man who was in Council knew anything of the commission, nor remembers to have heard a single syllable respecting it mentioned by the committee during the whole conference.

"The first knowledge Council had of the commission was on the twenty-fourth, when they received the letter from Captain *Christie*, and that same day they sent a copy of it to Congress by their Secretary."

<sup>3</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's refusal to communicate with Hamilton's committee in writing, see Committee of Congress to Dickinson, June 23, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton is replying to the following explanation by Dickinson of the council's refusal to respond to the committee in writing: "... that it might be very proper for responsible officers to ask for answers in writing to justify themselves to their superiors, and a generous condescension in the persons from whom they were solicited, would induce them to comply; hut the committee were a part of the body representing the sovereignty of the United States, and we had the honor of representing the sovereignty of this State. That conferences, especially between persons vested with such authorities, were intended to obtain a free and full communication of sentiments without the intervention of writing, and that no inconvenience could be apprehended from proceeding in this usual method, as each party could rely upon the integrity of the other." *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:660–61.

<sup>5</sup> Material in brackets in this paragraph was restored from the text in *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. John C. Hamilton, 10 vols. (New York: John F. Trow, 1850), 1:377.

<sup>6</sup> No such "note" by Hamilton has been found, but for his June 20 report "on the first interview with the Council," see *JCC*, 24:413–15.

<sup>7</sup> That is, of June 21—a reference to the "more serious" turn given to the "affair" when the troops surrounded the State House on that date.

<sup>8</sup> At this point Hamilton left three lines blank.

<sup>9</sup> In the committee's report to Congress, the council's explanation on this point was reported in the following terms: "That they had consulted a number of well informed officers of the militia, and found that nothing in the present state of things was to be expected from that quarter. That the militia of the city in general, were not only ill provided for service, but disinclined to act upon the present occasion. That the council did not believe any exertions were to be looked for from them, except in case of further outrage and actual violence to person or property. That in such case a respectable body of citizens would arm for the security of their property and of the public peace; but it was to be doubted what measure of outrage would produce this effect; and in particular, it was not to be expected merely from a repetition of the insult which had happened." See *JCC*, 24:417–18. It was perhaps this passage that Hamilton would have inserted in the space left blank above.

<sup>10</sup> For the Pennsylvania Council's attempt "to shew the extreme inaccuracy" of Hamilton's committee report, see the third and fourth paragraphs of the document quoted in note 2 above.

<sup>11</sup> No such minutes by Hamilton have survived, but the dispute "respecting ammunition" arose from Dickinson's claim that he had first been "assured by one of the committee of Congress that we could be supplied with any quantity of musquet and cannon cartridge in fifteen minutes," and then later was told that "there were not more than two hundred musquet cartridges to be found." See *Pa. Council Minutes*, 13:661-62.

<sup>12</sup> That is, at Lancaster, about 65 miles distance.

<sup>13</sup> At this point Hamilton inserted an asterisk to which he keyed the following note at the foot of the page: "Your Excellency will recollect that in our private conversation, you urged this consideration and appealed to my military experience—& that I made substantially the observations which follow."

<sup>14</sup> Remainder of MS missing.



## INDEX

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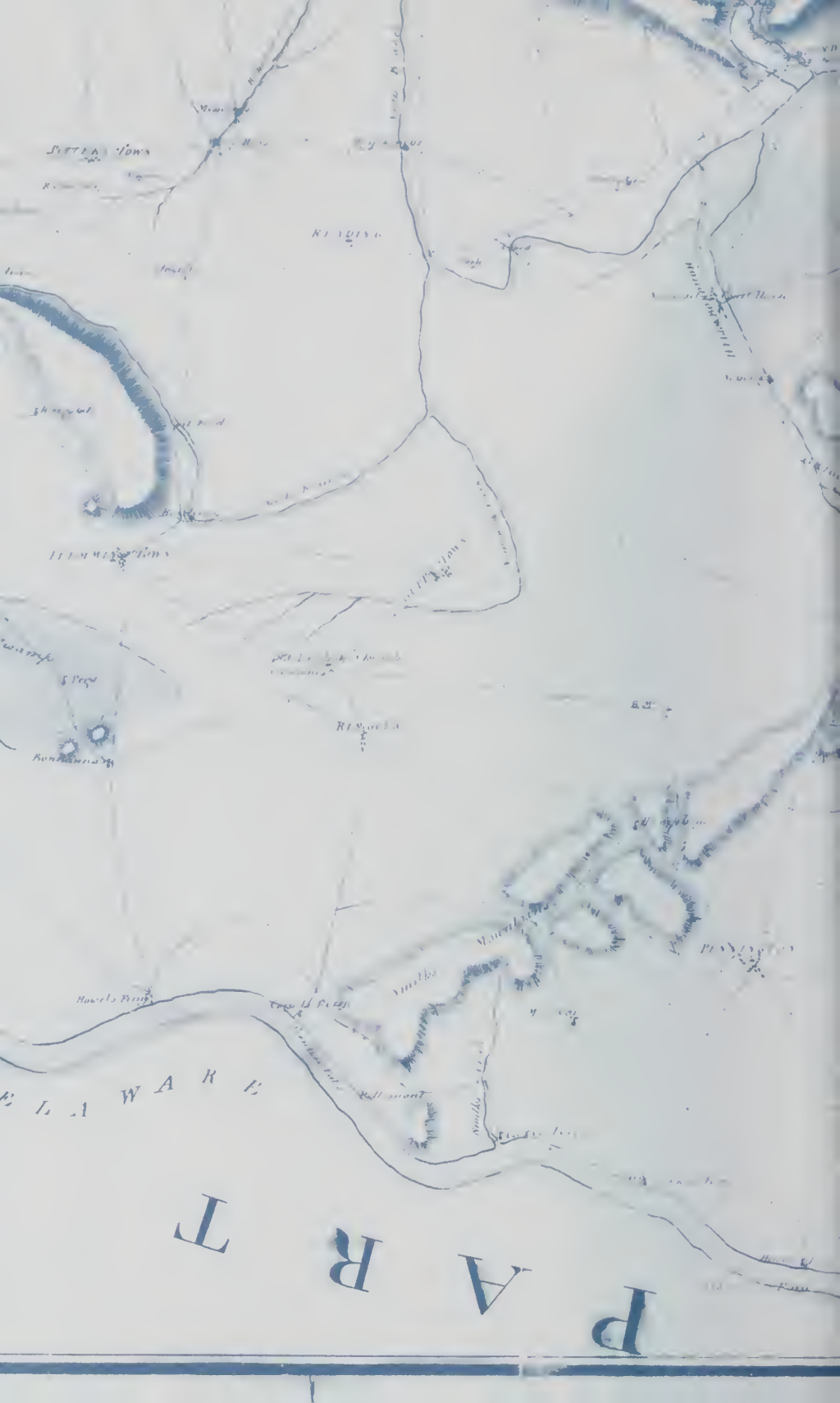












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